HISTORY OF

MODERN EUROPE & U.S.A.

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BY

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FOREWORD

This book does not claim originality. It has been compiled mainly with the idea of meeting the difficulties of students. The Punjab University recently re-organised the teaching of History. A few years back one option for study by the B.A. students of the Punjab University was "Europe since Waterloo." The study of Indian History was confined to British Rule in India from the battle of Plassey. In the Intermediate the study of the history of England was compulsory, and a period of Indian History, either Hindu period or Muslim period, was optional. This was considered to be unscientific distribution. Under this system it was necessary for a B.A. candidate, to omit one period of Indian history from his study. He was either to omit Muslim or Hindu history. In order to require that a candidate taking up history should have read the whole of Indian history, it was divided into two parts. The Hindu period and the Pathan period of Muslim history have been now prescribed for the Intermediate, and the modern period consisting of Mughal dynasty, the rule of East India Company, and India under the British Crown have been put in the B.A. course. The Modern Period really begins in circa 1500 A.D., both in the West as well as in the East. Modern History in Europe begins after the Geographical discoveries of the 15th century, and India also comes into contact with Europe in 1498. It was felt that it would be profitable for an Indian student to study the modern history of Europe and the modern history of India simultaneously. But since detailed study of the modern history of Europe would have put too great a burden on the student it was considered proper to prescribe for study a few important topics only. Then the next difficulty was that there was no one book which could

adequately deal with all these topics. They are scattered about in different books all of which it is not possible for students to purchase. There are some very excellent books on the modern period of European history. Webster, Robinson, Hayes and Moon, Marriott, Hazen, Ramsay Muir are some of these books. But the trouble is one book deals with one topic properly and the other does so with regard to another topic. On the other hand, some of the topics for example Reformation, or Renaissance, geographical discoveries, are dealt with in a very sketchy manner. Some of the topics prescribed are not found in any book at all. This caused difficulties not only to the student but also to the teacher. Under such circumstances many students who wished to study European History were scared away. And yet I feel that it is very necessary for Indian students who go up as far as the B.A. standard to study the history of modern Europe. I believe it is useful for Indians to understand the story of Religious Reformation in Europe. They should know how scientific knowledge has grown in the west. They should understand the causes of the Industrial Revolution, and the changes in social structure it has brought about. They should, above all, understand how sentiments of patriotism and nationalism have grown in that continent, and how these sentiments have led to the unification of Italy and Germany. All this is necessary for us to know if we are to take an intelligent part in the reconstruction of India, which nationalist Indians are at the present moment attempting. The book contains 758 pages but it need not frighten the students or the teachers. The first two chapters, which furnish only a background, and are by no means within the prescribed course take up as many as 90 pages. Then again it must be remembered that exhaustive summaries have been added at the end of each chapter. It is hoped these summaries will make the task of the student very easy. But they take space, and 126 pages have been

taken by the summaries. This leaves a text of only five hundred and forty two pages, which I believe is not much. The one great thing that has been aimed at in this book, is to put all the information concerning the topics prescribed in one place. In doing this I have freely utilised the labours done in this field by the authors of the existing histories on modern Europe. I hope this compilation will meet the needs of the B.A., students and make it easier for them to study the history of modern Europe, which is so very useful to Indians.

SANATANA DHARMA COLLEGE :

Lahore, 1st November, 1935. GULSHAN RAI

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CHAPTER I

POLITICAL HISTORY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

Racial Composition of European Population. The continent of Europe is connected through Russia and the straits of Bosphorus, with Asia on the one hand, and through the straits of Gibraltar, with Africa on the other hand. Naturally immigration into Europe in the earliest times could have taken place from the two continents of Africa and Asia. It is believed that the earliest inhabitants of Spain and Portugal came from Africa. They are still found in the hilly regions of northern Spain. The bulk of the population in Europe, however, must have come from Asia. It is admitted on all hands, that if not racially, atleast from the cultural point of view, the bulk of the European population is Aryan, or akin to those people who live in Asia in the countries of the present day Persia, Afghanistan, and northern India. In Europe these Aryan people can be divided into five racial groups, the Greeks, the Romans, the Kelts, the Teutons, and the Slavonians. In addition to the Aryan races, there are some Turanian races too living in Europe. They are the Finns, the Huns, the Magyars, and the Bulgarians. All these different races are found to be living in Europe from the earliest times recorded in history.

The Home in Europe of the different Races. At the dawn of history, the Greeks are found in the western parts of Asia Minor, and in the Balkan peninsula. The Latin race is found in Italy. The Kelts are

found in Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain, and Ireland. The Teutonic people are found in Scandinavia, Denmark, Holland, and in Central Europe, in between the Rhine and the Vistula. The earliest known home of the Slavonians was in the lowlands of the present day Poland. It seems Finland, and eastern Europe comprising the whole of the present day Russia were in the earliest times inhabited by Turanian races. It also looks probable that the Aryans and the Turanians first became mixed up in Central Asia. The Scythians and the Sarmatians who are in the earliest times known to be occupying Central Asia, and the northern shores of the Caspian and the Black Seas, were a mixed race. So were the later Turks. At the present time the Turanian people in Europe are confined mainly to Finland in the north, and Hungary and Bulgaria in the south, and the Slavonians have expanded to fill the Baltic provinces in the north, Russia in the east, and the Balkan Peninsula in the south. The Teutonic people, on the other hand, have expanded towards the west and the south. On being pressed by the Teutonic people in the east the Kelts have become confined to the extreme western parts of Europe.

Tribes of the Teutonic people. During the height of prosperity and power of the Roman empire, the Mediterranean Sea was a Roman lake, surrounded on all sides by Roman territory. On the continent of Europe the Rhine and the Danube formed the boundaries of the empire. Beyond these boundaries, in the second century A. D. are found living the Teutonic people. It seems these people were divided into a number of tribes. The Goths whose original home was in Gothland, an island in the Baltic Sea, had crossed over to the present day eastern Germany, and occupied the territories of modern Rumania, and Ukrania, on the shores of the Black Sea. They became divided into two sections, the eastern, and the western. The eastern section living in Ukrania were

known by the name of the Ostrogoths, and the western section living in Rumania were called Visigoths. North-West of the Goths in Germany lived the Vandals. South of the Vandals lived the Lombards. The Franks occupied the eastern banks of the river Rhine. The Burgundians lived south of the Franks and towards the west of the Lombards. The Saxons lived in western Germany, north of the Franks, along the shores of the North Sea. The Frisians lived in Holland. The Angles lived in the southern parts of modern Denmark, the Jutes in the peninsula of Jutland, and the Danes in the islands of Denmark. The Normans lived in Norway and the Russian Section of the Normans in Sweden.

Overthrow of the Roman Empire. In the middle of the 4th century A. D. the Huns, a Turanian people, advancing from Central Asia invaded Europe and came into southern Russia. Here they came into conflict with the Goths, and compelled them to leave the territories occupied by them. On the south of the Danube there lay the eastern Roman empire. The Goths being hard pressed by the Huns, requested permission from the Roman Emperor to cross the Danube and take refuge in the imperial territory. The permission was granted, and the Visigoths crossed the Danube in 376 A. D. But they soon became dissatisfied with the Roman officials in Thrace, and revolted. The Roman Emperor Valens himself took the field against them. In 378 a battle was fought at Adrianople. The Romans were defeated, and the Emperor was killed. After this the whole of the Empire lay at the feet of the Visigoths. They spread themselves over the eastern Empire, and then crossed over the Adriatic Sea to Italy under their leader Alaric. Rome was sacked in 410. After this the western Roman emperor was reduced to the position of a non-entity. The Huns now appeared on the scene under the leadership of their King Attila, who in 451, sacked Rome. At length, in 476, the last

Roman Emperor of the west was deposed and the Visigoth leader Odoacer, founded a new kingdom on the Italian soil.

The Roman Territories occupied by the different Teutonic Tribes.

While the Goths were devastating the home provinces of the Empire, the Vandals in 406 crossed the Rhine, and took possession of Gaul (modern France). Great Britain was now cut off from the Empire, and so the Romans were compelled in 407 A. D. to evacuate that country, and to hurry back to Italy in order to defend their homelands. But the Visigoths were soon displaced in the Balkans and in Italy by the Ostrogoths, and the former were compelled to move out of Italy into Gaul. Here they came into conflict with the Vandals, whom they drove out into Spain. Sometime after this another Teutonic people the Franks, crossed the Rhine, and now they took possession of Gaul. The Visigoths were driven out into southern France and Spain. The Vandals were now compelled to cross over the straits of Gibraltar into Africa, and here in the Roman provinces of Mauretania and Africa, they established a powerful kingdom. It was from here that the Vandals came into Sicily, and the mainland of Italy, and in 455, they were able to attack Rome and sack the eternal city. From this rapid sketch of the movements of the Teutonic people, it becomes clear that in the 5th century A. D. the Ostrogoths were in occupation of the Balkan and Italian peninsulas. The Franks and the Burgundians took possession of north-eastern France. The Visigoths established themselves in southern France, and in Spain and in Portugal. The Vandals spread themselves over the present day territories of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and Sicily. Lastly on the withdrawal of the Romans from the British Islands the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes took possession of great Britain. By 500 A. D. the western Roman empire was completely overthrown, and its territories became split up among the different Teutonic

tribes, who established therein new kingdoms. This brought about the close of the Classical Age and the beginnings of the Middle Ages.

Eastern Roman Empire during Middle Ages. Before the irruption of the Teutonic hordes into the Roman empire in the 5th century, the eastern Roman empire consisted of seven provinces. (1) Egypt, (2) Eastern Provinces, consisting of Palestine, Arabia, Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia, (3) Pontus or eastern portions of the present day Turkey, (4) Asia, or western portions of the present day Turkey, (5) Thracia, or the present day Bulgaria and European Turkey, (6) Macedonia, consisting of the present day territories of Greece, Albania, and Macedonia, and (7) Dacia, or the modern Serbia and Montenegro. In the time of Justinian, Roman emperor of the east, who ruled from 527 to 565, Mauretania, and Africa were conquered from the Vandals in 533, and Italy was won back from the Ostrogoths in 553. But after the death of Justinian, the empire again fell under weak rulers. Italy was soon lost, this time to the Lombards. On the rise of the Arabs into power, the Eastern Provinces were lost in 638, and Egypt in 640. On the other hand, from across the Danube, other races invaded and settled within the empire. The Bulgarians and the Serbs came into the Balkan peninsula in the 7th century A. D. In the 11th century the Seljuk Turks attacked the empire, and took away the whole of Asia Minor, which comprised the two Roman provinces of Pontus and Asia. After this the Turks continued to press on the empire. They took Bulgaria in 1378. At length in 1453, they took Constantinople and thus brought the eastern Roman empire to an end. The present day Serbia was taken by them in 1459. But by this time the Middle Ages had also come to an end, thus ushering in the commencement of the modern Age. By 1500 A. D. the whole of the Balkan peninsula, consisting of the present

day territories of Greece, Albania, Yugo-Slavakia, Bulgaria, and Rumania had become parts of the Turkish empire. They had also taken possession of a great portion of Hungary. The northern shores of the Black Sea were also ruled by the Turks.

Italy. The western Roman empire contained the six provinces of (1) Illyria, consisting of the present day territories of Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, (2) Italy, (3) Gaul, (4) Britain, (5) Hispania, comprising the existing countries of Spain, Portugal, and Morocco, and (6) Africa, made up of the modern territories of Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli. We have already seen that Rome was sacked by the Goths in 410, by the Huns in 451 and by the Vandals in 455. The Roman empire of the west came to an end in 476. After this, Italy was ruled from 476 to 493, by the Visigoths, from 493 to 553 by the Ostrogoths, and from 553 to 568 by the Roman emperors of the east. The country was then invaded by the Lombards from the north. They occupied almost the whole of the country, and established therein their own principalities. They ruled in Italy from 568 to 774. During all these political revolutions the Pope of Rome had gathered round his person a great amount of temporal authority. Pope Gregory the Great, who occupied the pontifical throne from 590 to 604, was the founder of the temporal authority of the Pope in Rome. When the officers of the eastern Roman empire stationed in Italy could not defend the country against the Lombards, the people began to look up to Gregory for the protection of person and property. In 752, Pepin, the mayor of the palace at Paris was with the permission of the Pope Zacharias anointed king of the Franks. Since the Pope of Rome was the representative of St. Peter, the apostle of Christ, the son of God, Pepin became "king by the Grace of God." Such was the beginning of "the Divine Right of Kings." Shortly after Pepin became the

king of the Franks, the Lombards attacked Central Italy, and took possession of Ravenna and Rome. The Pope invoked the assistance of the Frankish king, who invaded Italy in 754. The Lombards were defeated, and driven out of central Italy, which was now handed over to the Pope as a gift from Pepin. Thus were founded the Papal States, which lasted up till 1860. In 774 Charlemagne, the son of Pepin was again invited to fight against the Lombards. This time the Lombard kingdom in northern Italy was overthrown, and its territory annexed to the Carolingian empire of the Franks. But when Charlemagne died in 814, his weak successors could not hold the empire together. A separate kingdom was established in northern Italy in 843. On the other hand, southern Italy and Sicily were conquered by the Arabs, who held these territories till the middle of the 11th century. The Pope of Rome, however, was able to hold the central portions of Italy under his own rule. From this time onward right up to the middle of the 19th century, Italy remains divided into three main divisions: northern, central, and southern.

Northern Italy. The Carolingian kingdom in northern Italy soon became split up into a number of principalities carved out by the feudal barons. At length in 951, it was conquered by the German King Otto the Great. He then marched to Rome and received in 962 the imperial crown at the hands of the Pope. The Germans held northern Italy from 951 to 1177. On account of trade with the Oriental Countries which sprang up during the wars of the Crusades cities in northern Italy like Venice, Milan, Genoa, Pisa and Florence became wealthy. As a consequence of this, a powerful middle class of merchants and traders grew up. They could no longer tolerate the oppressive despoticism of the German emperors. So they revolted and became practically free of the Emperor Frederick I in 1177. During the rest of

the Middle Ages there existed in northern Italy the practically free and independent city states of Venetia, Lombardy, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence.

Southern Italy. Southern Italy and Sicily were in the middle of the 9th century conquered by the Arabs. They ruled these tracts till the end of the 11th century, when they were displaced by the Normans. The Normans ruled till the death of their last King Tancred, which took place in 1194. But in 1186, Constance the heiress of Sicily was married to Henry, the son of the German Emperor Frederick I. Sicily thus became a fief of the German empire. This position was not liked by the Pope, for he was thereby caught in a vice, as it were, between the German empire in the north, and a German feudatory state in the south. The Germans held southern Italy and Sicily from 1186 to 1254. When the German Emperor Conrad IV died in 1254, the throne of the Holy Roman Emperor remained unfilled for 19 years. So there again began disturbances in southern Italy and Sicily. The Pope now invited the French, who ruled in these parts from 1266 to 1282, but the people of Sicily rose against them, and the throne of this island was now offered to the Spanish Prince, Peter of Aragon, who was connected by marriage with the Norman kings of Sicily. The French continued to rule in Naples (southern Italy) till 1435, when on the extinction of the French ruling house, this kingdom also passed into the hands of the House of Aragon. Kings of this Spanish royal family continued to rule in Naples, and in Sicily right up to 1860.

The Papal States. We have already seen that Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) founded in Rome the temporal power of the Pope. Gradually his spiritual position in Christendom, invested him with some amount of superiority, even in temporal affairs, over the Teutonic kings. It has been stated above that in 752, Pepin, the mayor of the

palace in the Merovingian kingdom of the Franks, sought and obtained the permission of the Pope to dethrone the last Merovingian king, and himself became the king of the Franks. This made the Pope superior to the kings. In 800, Charlemagne the Frankish king was anointed by Pope Leo III as the Holy Roman Emperor of the west. In 962 king Otto the Great of Germany received at Rome the imperial crown of the Roman emperors at the hands of the Pope. But from this time there began a contest for supremacy between the Pope and the Emperor. Otto the Great and his three Saxon successors installed and deposed Popes at their own sweet will. The kings and the Dukes, too began to appoint Archbishops and Bishops. The Church thus became a subordinate department of the Empire. But in 1056, Henry IV a child of six years became the Emperor. The bonds of the empire became loose, and the princes rose against the emperor. There were disturbances all over the country. So the Pope Nicholas II was able in 1059 to shake off the authority of the emperor in the appointment of the Pope. Henceforth the Pope was elected by a college of Roman cardinals. It was again during these times that in 1073, the monk Hildebrand was elected Pope. He adopted the name of Gregory VII. In 1075, Gregory issued a decree declaring that henceforth Bishops should not be chosen by the emperor, nor by any lay person, but that the investiture should be entirely in the hands of the Church. On this Emperor Henry IV deposed Gregory in 1076. The Pope retaliated by ex-communicating the emperor, and he set free all the feudatory princes from their allegiance to him. The princes being already rebellious, the decree of the Pope gave them a license to rise against the emperor. Henry IV was compelled to submit. But this peace was short-lived. The moment Henry felt himself strong enough, he again defied the Pope. This struggle continued throughout the life time

of Henry IV and his successor Henry V. At length an agreement was arrived at in 1122 at Worms. It was agreed that the Pope should have the right to investiture, with ring and crozier, but that the Bishops should be chosen with the consent of the emperor, and they should do homage to him for their fiefs in the same way as lay men. After the death of Henry V in 1125, his successor Lothaire II acknowledged in respect of his Italian possestions the Pope as his overlord. Thus eventually the Pope in this contest with the Emperor came out victorious. In the time of the Emperor Frederick I (1152-1190) the struggle between the Pope and the Emperor again started. During this struggle the cities of northern Italy won their freedom, and the Popes again triumphed. Next in 1296 the Pope came into conflict with the King of France. King Philip IV of France (1285-1314) had in 1296 levied a tax on the clergy. This seemed to the Pope a usurpation of his rights, and he issued a bull forbidding the clergy to pay tax to a temporal ruler without his consent. Philip retaliated by forbidding the export of gold and silver from France, thereby cutting the Pope's revenues from the French Clergy. Finally in 1302, the Pope was taken prisoner, and when he died in 1305, his successor was chosen by the French King, and required, to live in Avignon, a place surrounded on all sides by French territories. It remained the residence of the Popes for seventy years from 1306 to 1376. Naturally by these events the prestige of the Popes suffered very much. During this period they were controlled by the French, and the peoples of other nations became unwilling to accept his decisions. In 1338 the princes of Germany decided that the election of the German emperor did not require any confirmation from the Pope. After this the political power of the Pope in Europe became confined only to Central Italy.

Spain. Hispania was one of the six provinces into which the western Roman empire was divided. It consisted

of the present day territories of Morocco, Spain, and Portugal. It has already been stated that the Vandals, the Alans and the Sueves, crossed the Rhine in 406, and took possession of the Roman province of Gaul. In 409 they crossed over the Pyrenees into Spain. In 411 they entered into an agreement with the Roman Emperor, and settled in the country. The north-western districts of Spain, known by the name of Galicia, fell to the share of the Sueves, and the Asdingian Vandals. The Silingian Vandals settled in southern Spain. The Allans on the other hand occupied modern Portugal and central Spain. But they were soon overtaken by the Visigoths. With the exception of the north-western provinces of Galicia, the whole of Spain, together with south-western France right up to the river Loire, were now subdued by the Visigoths. The Vandals then crossed over the straits of Gibraltar and went into Morocco and the Roman province of Africa. Here they established a very powerful kingdom. The present day territories of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, were all ruled by the Vandals. They also took possession of the islands in the Mediterranean Sea, and in 455 even sacked Rome. Their empire was, however, overthrown by Justinian the Roman Emperor of the East in 533. In the Iberian peninsula the Sueves continued to occupy the north-western portions of Spain. In the rest of Spain the Visigoth kingdom lasted till 712, when it was conquered by the Arabs. After conquering Spain the Arabs crossed the Pyrenees and took possession of southern France. But in 732 they were defeated at the battle of Tours by the mayor of the palace, Charles Martel. This finally stopped the advance of the Arabs into Europe from this side. They were driven out of France altogether by his son, king Pepin. By 811 Charlemagne, the son of Pepin, had crossed the Pyrenees and conquered from the Arabs the strip of Spanish territory

in between the Pyrenees and the river Ebro. This was called the Spanish March. After the death of Charlemagne in 814, when weak rulers succeeded him, and his empire became divided among his grandsons, the Spanish march of the Carolingian empire became split up into a number of little principalities. The north-western districts of Spain which were never conquered either by the Visigoths or by the Arabs, produced the three principalities of Galicia, Asturia and Leon. In the hilly regions of the Pyrenees there arose the little states of Castile, Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia. In the rest of Spain the Arabs ruled from Cordova. This Caliphate of Cordova lasted from 766 to 1034. On the fall of the Caliphate, the Arab kingdom in Spain became split up into a number of principalities, which always fought among themselves. The Arab rule in Spain was no longer strong. That encouraged the Christian rulers of the small states in the north to extend their dominions. In addition to conquering lands from the Arabs, the Christian rulers in northern Spain began to unite their different states by matrimonial alliances. The result was that after some time these different principalities increased in size and became more powerful. At first the three states of Galicia, Asturia, and Leon combined. The kingdom of Castile began to expand at the expense of the Arabs. Later on in 1230 the two kingdoms of Leon and Castile combined to form one kingdom. On the north-east the two kings of Aragon and Castile conquered Velencia from the Arabs in 1118. The neighbouring Christian state of Catalonia was annexed to Aragon in 1137. In 1212 Pope Innocent III proclaimed a crusade against the Arabs of Spain and from this time onward, the kings of Castile and Aragon began the task of reconquering Spain from the Moors. These two kings came to a mutual understanding and fixed their respective spheres of influence in the Moorish territories in Spain. The kings of Castile conquered the Moorish

territories of Toledo in 1085, southern Portugal in 1174, Badajoz in 1228, Cordova in 1236, Murcia in 1243, and Seville in 1244. The kingdom of Aragon, on the other hand, spread out in the east and the north-east. The King of Aragon took the Balearic islands in 1235, Sicily in 1282, and the kingdom of Naples in southern Italy in 1435. In 1479 the two Royal Houses of Castile and Aragon were united in a matrimonial alliance. Queen Isabella of Castile married king Ferdinand of Aragon. After the two kingdoms were thus united, Isabella and Ferdinand attacked the Moorish kingdom of Granada in the extreme south of Spain, which had existed from 1238. It was conquered in 1491, and annexed to the new united kingdom of Spain. The Moors were thus finally driven out of Spain.

Portugal. It appears that the nothern portions of the present day Portugal were in the 5th century A. D. colonised by the Teutonic tribes Sueves and Vandals. During the ascendancy of the Visigoths, the Sueves seem to have retained some portions of their territories. In the beginning of the 8th century, Portugal was with the rest of Spain conquered by the Arabs. On the fall of the western Caliphate of Cordova, a number of small principalities were set up. Some few were set up in Portugal as well. They were, however, all conquered by the kings of Castile. The Christian princes who were now put in charge of the conquered territories, became the feudatory princes of Castile. In 1254, the Count of Portugal was recognised as an independent prince. From this time onward Portugal became an independent kingdom, and continued to retain its separate existance throughout the rest of the Middle Ages. There were several wars between Castile and Portugal, but the latter managed to preserve her independence.

Absolute Despotism in Spain and Portugal The Caliphate of Cordova fell in 1034, but the Moors were not finally driven out of Spain till 1491. The

task of reconquest, therefore, took about four and a half centuries. In order to be able to drive the Moors out of the country, the kingdoms of Aragon, Castile, and Portugal had to organise their military resources. The greater portion of the time of these kings was spent in war. It is, therefore, quite natural that the type of government established by them was absolute and despotic. At the same time the circumstances of the times united all the people, and roused in them a national and patriotic spirit. So by the close of the 15th century we find established both in Spain and Portugal strong monarchies backed up by the support of a united nation.

France. The Roman province of Gaul was first conquered by the Teutonic people in 406, when the Vandals crossed the Rhine. But as has already been stated they passed on into Spain, and then into Africa. The Visigoths then came into Gaul from Italy in 412. They established their power in the whole of the south-western Gaul in between the Loire and the Pyrenees. In 476 when the western Roman empire was overthrown, Syagrius the Roman Governor of northern Gaul became practically an independent sovereign. His territories extended to the Loire in the south, and the Somme in the east. But by that time, north-eastern Gaul right up to the somane was occupied by the Franks, and South-eastern Gaul along the river Rhone was occupied by the Burgundians. Clovis became king of the Franks in 481, and he ruled till 511. He overthrew Syagrius in 486, and annexed the whole of northern Gaul to his dominions. In 507 he defeated the Visigoths, and annexed to his territories almost the whole of southern Gaul right up to the Pyrenees. After this he defeated the Teutonic tribe Alemans, and thus brought within his kingdom the territories of the Upper Rhine, in southern Germany. His descendents conquered the kingdom of the Burgundians. In this way the whole of the ancient Gaul was brought under

the rule of the Franks. Clovis may be said to be the founder of the French kingdom. His dynasty is known by the name of the Merovingian dynasty. It ruled from 481 to 752, when Pepin the mayor of the palace of the Merovingian kings, dethroned the last king of this dynasty, and himself seized the throne of France. Pepin was the son of Charles Martel, who had defeated the Arabs in 732 at the battle of Tours. This dynasty is after the name of Charles called the Carolingian dynasty. It ruled from 752 to 987. Charlemagne the son of king Pepin is the most famous king of this dynasty. He ruled from 771 to 814. He conquered the Lombard kingdom in northern Italy in 774, the Saxons in 804, and the Spanish territory in between the Pyrenees and the Ebro from the Arabs in 811. He was crowned emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the west in 800. Charlemagne on his death in 814 was succeeded by weak rulers. His empire was at length in 843 divided into three kingdoms, the western kingdom of the Franks, the eastern kingdom of the Franks, and the kingdom of Italy. From this time onward may be dated the establishment of the separate French kingdom. But as the successors of Charlemagne were weak, the provincial rulers became more or less independent. The northern portions of France were towards the end of the 9th century seized by the Normans, who had invaded the country from across the North Sea. The whole of the kingdom was divided into the feudal territories of Normandy, Flanders, Champagne, Burgundy, Anjou, Maine, Brittany, etc. They ruled over these lands like independent sovereigns, paying little or no heed to the wishes or commands of their overlord the king. At length in 987 the Carolingian dynasty ended, and Hugh Capet, Count of Paris, was elected by the barons king of France. But he too possessed very little power over the great feudal lords. This Capetian dynasty ruled from 987 to 1328. It was in the reign of a Capetian king, Philip I (1060—1108) that William, Duke of Normandy and Maine

conquered England. The Duke of Normandy, ostensibly a vassal of the king of France, thus became more powerful than his overlord. In the time of Louis VI, of France, who ruled from 1108 to 1137, there began a struggle between France and England. Louis VI was the first French king of the Capetian dynasty who tried to make his power felt in the entire country. He began by subjugating the turbulent princes of the realm. He fought them, imprisoned them, and threw down their great castles. But while fighting against the Nobles, Louis protected the villeins and serfs, who now became free. In his time England was ruled by king Henry I. As Duke of Normandy Henry was his vassal. Louis found it very difficult to subdue Henry. In the time of Louis VII of France, who ruled from 1137 to 1180, the task of the French king in uniting his kingdom became still more difficult. Henry II of England (1154—1189) being the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou, inherited not only Normandy and Maine, which belonged to the Normans, but Brittany and Anjou too, which came to him from his father. In 1152, Henry before his accession to the throne of England had married Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII of France. By this marriage Henry became lord also of Acquitain, that is south-western France. When in 1154 he became king of England, he became a very powerful monarch. He began to entertain dreams of building a great Angevin empire, which would include the whole of France and England. But on account of the rebellions of his sons, Henry could not succeed in attaining his objects. In 1180 Louis VII was succeeded on the throne of France by his son, Philip II, who ruled from 1180 to 1223. He continued the struggle against England, but could not make much headway. In 1199, with the accession of John to the throne of England, the struggle entered on a new phase. King John was indolent, and very unpopular among the people. John was suspected of having murdered

his nephew Prince Arthur. He was also accused of carrying off and marrying a lady betrothed to one of his own vassals. Philip II of France who was technically speaking his overlord, summoned him to appear at the French court to answer the charges. Upon John's refusal to appear before his court, Philip issued a decree confiscating almost all his lands in France. As John received very little support from his own people, all his French territories, excepting Gascony were annexed to the dominions of the French king Philip II. John made an alliance with the Emperor Otto IV of Germany, and even invaded France, but Otto was defeated by Philip at the battle of Bouvines in 1214. His son Louis defeated John. Philip was thus able to unite the whole of ancient Gaul under his crown. The only great fiefs that were not directly ruled by the French king were, Flanders, Brittany, Burgundy, and Guienne. From this time, the kingdom of France gained the foremost position among the nations of Europe. The struggle with the kings of England also aroused among the people of France a national spirit, and the king of France was not only an overlord of the barons of France, but he also became a king of the French people. The last king of the Capetian dynasty, Charles IV died in 1328 without leaving any male descendant. He was succeeded by Philip VI, his collateral, and a member of the younger branch of the same family. As this Philip was a son of Charles, Count of Valois, his successors are known by the name of the kings of the Valois dynasty. This Valois dynasty ruled France from 1328 to 1589. As Isabella the sister of King Charles IV of France was married to King Edward II of England, her son King Edward III laid claim to the throne of France. The Salic Law of the Franks, however, did not permit females to inherit. This led to the Hundred Years' War between England and France. With some breaks this war lasted from 1336 to 1453. The Flemish towns, which had intimate trade relations with England, and the

Dukes of Burgundy took the side of England. France suffered heavily during this war. At length a peasant girl Joan of Arc infused the people with the sentiment of patriotism. In 1453, the English were finally driven out of France. Only the town of Calais on the northern coast remained with them. Charles VII (1422-1461) became the undisputed king of France. The long struggle with England had shown the necessity of strengthening the monarchy. So Louis XI, the son of Charles VII, began to strengthen the monarchy. He started with crushing the feudal lords, both great and small, out of existence, and took possession of their lands. He ruled from 1461 to 1483, and when he died he left France united, with borders well defined and protected. With him the Middle Ages may be said to have ended in France.

England. Britain was from the first century B. C. a province of the Roman Empire. When this empire was hard pressed by the German invasions, the Romans were compelled in 407 to evacuate Britain. It was then inhabited like Gaul by Keltic people. In about the middle of the 5th century A. D. the Teutonic tribes, Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, who were then living in northern Germany and Denmark, invaded the island and settled in the country. The Kelts were driven northwards into the highlands of Scotland, westward into Wales and Ireland, and south-westward into Cornwall, and into the peninsula of Brittany in north-western France. The rest of the country was colonised by the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes, and parcelled out among them. From this time Britain began to be called England. At first several small principalities were established in the country by these Teutonic tribes, but after sometime the west Saxons were under King Egbert, a contemporary of Charlemagne, able to unite the greater part of England under their rule. It was during the time of Egbert that the Danes invaded England. King Alfred (871-901) the most famous king of the Anglo-

Saxons had to fight hard against the Danes, who were confined to the eastern portions of the country. After the death of Alfred, the Danes again invaded the Anglo-Saxon territories, and in the beginning of the 11th century a Danish king Canute ruled as the king of England from 1016 to 1035. But after the death of Canute, the Anglo-Saxon dynasty was again restored, and Edward the Confessor ruled England from 1042 to 1066. He died without leaving any heirs. In 1066 William Duke of Normandy invaded England and conquered the country. The Norman kings ruled the country from 1066 to 1154. King William brought with him from Normandy a large number of retainers, and English lands were distributed among them. But he took care not to make the barons, a strong body in England, as was the case in France and other parts of Europe conquered by the Teutons. In the first place he collected together all the available information about the sources of revenue in the country. This compilation is well known by the name of the Domesday Book. While distributing lands to his retainers he took care not to create big estates in one place, but gave them small tracts of land scattered about in the different parts of the kingdom. Under this scheme, a baron who wanted to revolt could be put down before he was able to collect his retainers from distant parts of the country. Under the Feudal System as it prevailed on the continent, the retainers owed allegiance only to the lords immediately superior to them. In case a baron revolted against the king, his retainers were bound to follow the baron. They had no obligations towards the king. William the Conqueror laid down that if a baron rebelled, and his retainers followed him, they were to be treated as traitors. In 1086 he summoned all the landowners in England to a great meeting on Salisbury plains, and there they all promised to be faithful to the king against all other men. This Salisbury Oath may be considered

to be a national act of homage and allegiance to the king. The result of these measures was, that the Feudal System never became strong in England, and the king was able from the start to establish a strong monarchy in the country. Under the Angevin king Henry II who ruled from 1154 to 1189, the English monarchy was still further strengthened. He first destroyed the illegally erected fortresses of the barons, and expelled from England the foreign soldiers engaged by them. Before the time of Henry II, disputes among the people, civil, and criminal, were either decided in the old Anglo-Saxon, Shire-moots, or in the courts set up by the feudal lords. That gave to the barons a considerable amount of power over the people. The king, as the chief baron, at that time possessed a court consisting of his chief retainers. It was more or less an appellate court, which met only very occasionally. Henry II transformed this court of feudal lords into a regular body of trained lawyers, and at the same time opened its doors to all freemen. Now in this king's court all freemen could find speedier and more effective justice than that provided by the courts of the feudal lords. Henry also took measures to bring the king's justice directly to the people. He sent judges of the king's court on circuit throughout the kingdom. At least once in a year the judge was to hold a court in each county and try such cases as were brought to him. This system of circuit judges not only brought the king's justice to the doors of the people, but it also made the law uniform throughout the country. These courts soon became very popular among the people. The establishment of courts directly by the king increased his powers enormously, and to a corresponding extent the powers of the feudal lords were reduced. Henry II was a very powerful king, holding also extensive territories in France. But his successor John, who ruled from 1199 to 1215 lost most of his French possessions to King Philip II of France. The loss of the French territories

was in a way beneficial to England. It made the possessions of the English kings more homogeneous in population. We have seen that from the time of William the Conqueror, the efforts of the English kings had been to reduce the powers of the barons, and to concentrate authority more and more into their own hands. But King John had abused his powers so much, that the barons had to revolt against him. In order to resist the king successfully, they were obliged to unite with the clergy and the commons. In 1215 they forced the king to grant them a charter of rights and privileges. This charter is called the Magna Charta. This was the beginning of the constitutional freedom for the people of England. John was succeeded in 1215 by his minor son, Henry III, who ruled from 1215 to 1272. During his reign were laid the foundations of the British Parliament. After this the sovereign powers in England began to be shared between the king and the Parliament. In the time of Edward I (1272-1307) Wales was conquered, and Scotland was also subdued. So a united Great Britain was now coming into sight. When in the 14th century the Hundred Years' War began with France, and after the conclusion of this war began the Wars of the Roses, between the two branches of the Royal family, the Yorkists, and the Lancastrians, the flower of English Knighthood was destroyed. When on the conclusion of the Wars of the Roses, Henry Tudor ascended the throne of England, he found the country entirely exhausted. Most of the feudal lords had disappeared, and the country was now in need of rest and strong administration. Henry Tudor, therefore, could very easily establish an autocratic form of government in the country. Henry VII established a court of the Star Chamber to further curb the powers of the barons.

Germany. We have so far dealt with the history during the Middle Ages of all the countries which formed part of the ancient Roman Empire, and made a rapid survey

of the different Teutonic kingdoms that were established therein from the overthrow of the Western Roman Empire in 476 A. D. to 1500 A. D. We now come to those parts of Europe which were never under the Roman Empire. It has already been stated in an earlier part of this Chapter, that the earliest historically known home of the Teutonic races was in Central and Northern Europe, consisting of the modern countries of Germany, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. In Central Europe their territory lay in between the Vistula in the east and the Rhine, in the west. We have seen that some of the Teutonic tribes, the Goths, the Vandals, the Sueves, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Lombards, the Saxons, the Angles, the Jutes, the Danes, and the Normans invaded the different parts of the Roman Empire, and succeeded in establishing different kingdoms in different parts of Western and Southern Europe. During this general emigration it seems the Germans evacuated their eastern territories in between the Vistula and the Elbe. The lands in between the Elbe and the Rhine continued to be occupied by the Frisians, the Saxons, the Allemans, the Thuringians, and the Marcomannis. When the Merovingian kingdom of the Franks was established in northern France, they held some territory to the east of the Rhine as well. After King Clovis conquered northern France in 486, he turned against his German neighbours in the east. He conquered southern Germany occupied by the Allemans between 496 and 507. The present day territories of Thuringia were conquered by his successor in 531, the Frisians occupying the present day Holland were conquered in 534, and Switzerland was taken in 536. This process of conquering the German tribes by the Franks was continued in the time of the Carolingians. The territories of Bavaria were conquered by king Pepin, and the lands of the Saxons were taken by Charlemagne. It has already been stated that in 843 the empire of Charlemagne was finally

divided into three kingdoms. The kingdom of the eastern Franks comprising the present dey territories of Germany, came to the share of Louis. From this time we can have a separate history of Germany. But king Louis of the eastern Franks, like his cousin, Charles of the Western Franks, was only a nominal king. The real power was in the hands of the great feudal lords, who were ruling the different principalities into which the kingdom was divided. Some of the most important principalities in Germany at this time were Lotheringia, Swabia, Franconia, Saxony, and Bavaria. The Carolingian dynasty in Germany ruled from 843 to 911. When this dynasty ended the different feudal lords of the kingdom elected one of themselves, Conrad of Franconia, as the king of Germany. He ruled from 911 to 919. He too was a nominal king. The different feudal lords continued to carry on their private wars, and so peace and tranquility could not be maintained in the country. When Conrad died in 919, Henry Duke of Saxony was elected king. There were five Saxon kings, and they ruled Germany from 919 to 1024. These kings were very strong rulers, and they expanded the German kingdom in the east beyond the Elbe, which was at this time occupied by the Slavonian tribes. Henry I (the Fowler) who ruled from 919 to 936, conquered the territory in between the Elbe and the Oder in the east, and the Danish land of Schleswig in the north. To defend his dominions against the Slavonians in the East, he created the Mark of Brandenburg in between the Elbe and the Oder. Otto the Great, the son of Henry the Fowler, who ruled from 936 to 973, defeated the Magyars in 955, and created in the east the Mark of Austria, to defend his dominions against the Magyars. He had conquered northern Italy in 951, and in 962 he was crowned by the Pope, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the west. Otto the Great was a very powerful monarch. He not only kept

feudal lords under proper control, but he also asserted his authority over the Popes of Rome. He deposed many Popes and appointed several of them himself. Otto the Great exacted from the people of Rome an oath that they would never recognise any Pope to whose election the emperor had not consented. From this time onward, the Pope was practically appointed by the emperor and the Archbishops and the Bishops were to all intents and purposes appointed by the great feudal lords. In this way the church became a subordinate department of the state. Otto the Great was succeeded by three more Saxon kings. But when the last Saxon king Henry II died in 1024, Conrad the Duke of Franconia was elected king. These Franconian kings ruled Germany for about a hundred years from 1024 to 1125. Conrad II and his son Henry III were both strong rulers. But when Henry III died in 1056, his son Henry IV was only a child of six years. During his reign, therefore, the feudal lords again became turbulent. Many of them revolted against the king. That was a good opportunity for the Pope to free the church from the control of the state. So in 1059, Pope Nicholas II issued a decree which took the election of the Pope once for all out of the hands of both the emperor and the people of Rome, and placed it in the hands of the Cardinals who represented the Roman clergy. This college of Cardinals still exists, and it elects the Pope even to-day. The emperor could not at the moment prevent this change. In 1073 a very forceful personality, Hildebrand, was elected Pope, who assumed the title of Gregory VII. Two years after the assumption of his Pontifical throne, Gregory VII, in 1075, issued a decree declaring that no emperor, king, duke, marquis, count, or any other lay person should presume to grant investiture, under pain of ex-communication to any Bishop or to any other church dignitary. King Henry IV of Germany strongly

opposed this Papal decree, and demanded the abdication of Gregory. But Gregory knew that the emperor had very little support among his feudal lords. He deposed Henry as emperor, excommunicated him, and freed his subjects from allegiance to him. The Church at this time had great influence on the minds of the people. Henry's adherents fell away, and it seemed probable that the German nobles would elect another ruler as emperor. Henry IV then made an abject submission to the Pope. At length in 1122 in the time of Henry V of Germany a compromise was arrived at. The Emperor and the Pope agreed to what is known as the Concordat of Worms. Under this agreement, the emperor agreed that the Bishops and the Abbots should be elected by the clergy, and their appointment should be confirmed by the Pope. But for feudal lands held by them the Bishops and the Abbots should like other feudal lords owe allegiance to the king. After the death of Henry V in 1125, Lothaire the Duke of Saxony was elected king. He was a weak prince fearful of arousing the Pope's wrath. He went even so far as to acknowledge the Pope as his overlord in respect of his Italian lands. But when the Saxon king, Lothaire II died in 1137, Conrad of Hohenstaufen in Swabia was elected king. This Hohenstaufen family ruled in Germany from 1137 to 1254. In the time of Frederick I (Barbarosa) who ruled from 1152 to 1190, the struggle for supremacy between the Emperor and the Pope again started in full force. But in this struggle the emperor again suffered a severe defeat. In 1177, Frederick was compelled to grant autonomous powers to the city states of northern Italy. It was also during this time that the commercial towns of northern Germany formed the celebrated Hanseatic League for their mutual defence. On the death of the last Hohenstaufen king Conrad IV in 1254, the empire during its struggle against the Pope was weakened to such an extent, that no emperor of Germany was elected for 19 years,

In 1273 Rudolf of Hapsburg was with the consent of the Pope elected emperor. He renounced all his claims in Italy but compensated himself by conquering Austria and Styria in 1282 from the Bohemians. After this the struggle between the Emperor and the Pope ceased. By the end of the 14th century the Hapsburg family was also able to take possession of Corniola, Corinthia, and Tyrol. Thus their territories extended right up to the Adriatic Sea. The Hapsburg family however lost Switzerland. Some of the Swiss cantons revolted in 1291, and they continued to struggle against Austria till in 1499 Switzerland became independent. From 1439 the empire became hereditary in the House of Hapsburg.

Scandinavia. The modern countries of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, are the earliest historically known homes of the Normans, the Danes, the Russians, the Jutes, the Angles, and the Goths. Up to the end of the 8th century A. D. almost nothing is known about Scandinavia. From the beginning of the 9th century, these northern Teutonic people begin to sail forth from their homes in the Baltic Sea. The English people were attacked by the Danes, and the French people by the Normans. The earliest attack of the Danes upon England is known to have taken place in 787. The Danes settled in the eastern parts of England in the time of king Alfred, and the Normans settled in the northern part of France in the time of the Caroligian king Charles, who ruled from 898 to 922. Rollo the Norman leader occupied what is now called Normandy in 911. Some half a century before this in 862, a Swedish chief Ruric established a principality at Novgorod in Russia. Soon after this another Swedish principality was founded at Kief in western Russia.

Denmark. The first time that we find mention of a Danish king, is in 804 during the Saxon wars of Charlemagne. But it appears up to the beginning of the 10th century,

Scandinavian countries were ruled by a large number of tribal chiefs. Denmark first rises into prominence in the time of King Sweyn, who began the conquest of England and Norway. His son Canute was a great and powerful king. He ruled from 1016 to 1035, and when he died he was a ruler of a great northern empire. Canute took back Schleswig, which had been conquered by the German king Henry the Fowler. But immediately after the death of Canute, his empire broke into pieces. England, Denmark, and Norway, became separate kingdoms. Denmark again became a powerful state in the time of king Valdamar who ruled from 1157 to 1182. He made extensive conquests, so much so that the Baltic Sea became practically speaking a Danish lake. This dynasty ruled till the year 1389, when Eric of Pomerania, grand nephew of Margaret, who was at this time regent for both Norway and Denmark, became the king of Denmark. In 1397, all the three crowns of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were again united under Eric.

Norway. Norway seems to have been first united under king Harold Haarfager in 872. His family ruled in Norway till 1030, when its last king Olaf was overthrown by king Canute of Denmark. But on the death of Canute in 1035, Norway became independent under king Magnus, whose descendants ruled till the death of king Hakon V in 1319. He was succeeded by his grandson Magnus king of Sweden, who ruled from 1319 to 1355. He was succeeded on the throne of Norway by his son Hakon VI, who ruled from 1355 to 1389. He had been married to Margaret, daughter of the king of Denmark. So when Hakon VI died in 1389, and was succeeded by his minor son, Olaf, Margaret became regent. But this boy died in 1397, and Margaret gave the throne of Norway to her grand-nephew Eric of Pomerania. The crowns of Denmark and Norway were thus united,

Sweden. In Sweden serious history begins with the reign of the boy king Olaf in 993. His descendants ruled till 1319. In the reign of king Eric (1150-1160) Finland was conquered, and annexed to Sweden. It continued to form part of this kingdom till 1809, when it was conquered by Czar Alexander I of Russia. In 1319, Magnus, a grandson of king Hakon V of Norway was elected king of Sweden. He was only 3 years old when he became king. In the same year king Hakon V of Norway died, and Magnus became king of Norway also. He ruled Norway till 1355, when his son Hakon became separate king of that country. Magnus continued to rule in Sweden till 1363, when he was overthrown by the nobles, and the crown of Sweden was offered to his brother-in-law, Albert of Mecklinburg. Then ensued a civil war in the country. In 1389, king Hakon VI of Norway was succeeded by his minor son Olaf, and Margaret was regent both in Denmark as well as in Norway. The Swedes appealed to her for help. Albert was in 1389 defeated and taken prisoner. But the war still continued in Sweden. In 1397, Margaret's grandnephew, Eric of Pomerania received the crown of Sweden also. Thus all the three Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were in 1397 united under Eric of Pomerania. This union, known in history by the name of the Union of Calmer, lasted throughout the rest of the Middle Ages. Sweden separated in 1523, and formed an independent kingdom. In 1815, as a result of the Napoleonic wars, Norway was separated from Denmark, and added to Sweden.

Russia. It has already been stated how in the 9th and 10th centuries, the Norsemen invaded England, France, and southern Italy and established Danish and Norman kingdoms in those countries. But it appears the activities of these Norsemen were not confined only to

western Europe. They seem to have crossed over the Baltic Sea into Russia as well. In the middle of the 9th century some Swedes sailed east and established settlements on the coasts of the Gulf of Finland. Eventually a Viking Chief Ruric with his followers came into central Russia, and established therein in 862 a principality. The inhabitants of Finland called these Swedes by the name of "Rousses". So the kingdom established by these Swedish Vikings began to be called by the name of Russia. Ruric fixed his capital at Novgorod. After some time another Russian principality was founded by a relative of Ruric at Kief. In 880 these two Russian principalities of Novgorod and Kief were united under Olag the son of Ruric. After this Olag entered upon a career of conquest, till at length in 904 he attacked Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, and obtained an immense ransom from the Emperor. During the next two hundred years the Russians attacked Constantinople four times. In 980 Vladimir became the Grand Duke of Russia. He ruled from 980 to 1015. In 988 he was baptised Christian, and then he received in marriage a sister of the Roman Emperor. After this there was peace between Russia and the Eastern Roman Empire, and from this time onward the people of Russia began gradually to be converted to the faith of Christ. But soon after the death of Vladimir, Russia was torn asunder by civil wars. Rival princes claimed the title and authority of grand Dukes, and so petty principalities sprang up in different parts of Russia. It was under such circumstances that the Mongols burst in from Central Asia, and conquered Russia in 1238. They ruled Russia for about 200 years from 1238 to 1445. During this period the Russian princes who traced their descent from Ruric the Norseman, were forced to pay tribute to their Asiatic conquerors. At length the Mongol rule began to

weaken, a spirit of resistance was aroused among the Russians and after a fierce and long struggle they threw off the yoke of their Asiatic rulers. The princes of Moscow were the first to break the supremacy of the Mongols. After this the princes of Moscow set themselves to the task of uniting the whole of Russia, under one sceptre. This task of union was begun by Ivan III, who ascended the throne of Moscow in 1462. He richly deserves the title of Ivan the Great. He ruled from 1462 to 1505, and during his reign he crushed the lesser princes in the country with an utterly ruthless hand. When the sixteenth century opened the Grand Duchy of Moscow had grown into a goodly sized kingdom. But since the kingdom was built up by an outward expansion from the central nucleus of Moscow, a principality in the very centre of the country, the kingdom was still from the very nature of things shut out on all sides from the sea. As the kingdom had been built up by a ruthless extinction of all the lesser principalities, we can well understand that the circumstances were quite favourable for the establishment of the absolute despotism of the monarch.

Slavonic Principalities. Now we come to that portion of Europe which was in the historical period the earliest home of the Slavonians. At the dawn of history they are found to be occupying the present day territories of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary. When in the 5th century A. D. the Teutonic tribes invaded the Roman Empire, and emigrated in large numbers to the south and the west, the country in between the Vistula and the Oder became evacuated. So this territory was immediately occupied by the Slavonians. This meant their expansion towards the west. But it seems the Slavonian hordes expanded in two other directions as well. They expanded towards Russia

in the east, and towards the Balkan peninsula in the south. The Serbs are known to have established themselves in the Balkans in the 7th century. They occupied Russia also about the same period. But it seems they remained for long centuries in a tribal condition. They were unable like the Teutons to establish strong monarchies. We have seen that in Russia a Swedish chief Ruric succeeded in establishing a strong kingdom. In Hungary they were displaced by the Magyars, and in the eastern parts of the Balkan Peninsula by the Bulgarians. The Baltic territories of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Prussia were soon over-run and occupied by the order of the Teutonic knights. They took possession of Latvia in 1237, Prussia in 1283, and Esthonia in 1346. But some stable Slavonian kingdoms seem to have been established in Serbia, Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland. Serbia was conquered by the Turks in 1459. The other three kingdoms of Poland, Moravia, and Bohemia carried on internecine wars among themselves throughout the middle ages. They had also during this period to carry on a struggle for independence against the German empire in the west. During the rule of the Saxon emperors of Germany, the Slavonians lost the territory in between the Elbe and the Oder. Although feudalism did not develop in Slavonian countries, as it had done in western Europe, yet the absence of any recognised law of succession to the throne, and the extremely factious spirit among the nobility, kept the Slavonian kingdom very weak and helpless. We will see later on that they become an easy prey to their neighbours.

Political Map of Europe at the close of Middle Ages.

We have now traced the territorial development of all the European countries during the middle ages, and are in a position to construct the political map of Europe as it existed at the beginning

of the Modern Age. In 1500 Portugal and Spain had reached their present territorial limits. France had also become consolidated, but some of its present territories in the east, and south-east had not yet been annexed. The island kingdom of Great Britain had not yet become the United Kingdom. Although Ireland and Wales had been conquered, yet Scotland was at the beginning of the modern age a separate and independent kingdom. In the extreme north there existed at this time a strong and powerful Scandinavian empire of Denmark which contained the territories of Denmark, Schleswig, Holstein, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Pomerania. The Baltic Sea was practically a Scandinavian lake. Russia was at this time almost entirely land-locked. It was open to the sea on the extreme north, which for the greater part of the year remained frozen. It had at that time no opening on the Baltic Sea, and no opening on the Black Sea, for Crimea and its adjoining territory on the northern shores of the Black Sea were ruled by the Turks. West of Russia there existed at this time the independent Slavonian kingdoms of Lithuania, Poland, and Bohemia. The kingdom of Bohemia at this time consisted of the territories of Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary. The small states of Esthonia and Latvia on the shores of the Baltic were at this time under the Teutonic knights. The whole of South eastern Europe, consisting of Greece, Albania, Servia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Rumania, Macedonia, Thrace, and a greater portion of Hungary, together with all the northern shores of the Black Sea were under the Ottoman Turks. Central Europe, in between the kingdoms of Bohemia and France, formed the Holy Roman Empire of Germany, ruled by the House of Hapsburg. The Hohenzollern House which had by this time become rulers of Brandenburg, had not yet come into prominence. Their territories were entirely land locked. Coming towards Italy we find that it was divided into three main political divisions.

In northern Italy there were a number of independent city, states and republics, like Florence, Genoa, Venice, and Milan. Central Italy was ruled by the Pope of Rome. Southern Italy and the island of Sicily were ruled by the kings of Spain. The House of Savoy, which in the 19th century became master of the whole of Italy had not yet risen into prominence. Such in short was the political map of Europe at the close of the middle ages.

Summary

1. Culturally speaking there are 5 Aryan races settled in Europe, the Geeeks, the Romans, the Kelts, the Teutons and the Slavonians.

2. The earliest known homes of these 5 races in Europe were as follows :—

(*a*) The Greeks............Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula.
(*b*) The Romans.........Italy, Sicily and the neighbouring isles.
(*c*) The Kelts.............Spain, Portugal, France, and the British isles.
(*d*) The Teutons.........Germany, Holland, Denmark, Scandinavia.
(*e*) The Slavonians.......Poland, and the Baltic Shores.

3. The most important of the Teutonic tribes that overthrew the Roman Empire and established their own kingdoms in western and southern Europe were :—(*a*) the Ostrogoths, (*b*) the Visigoths, (*c*) the Vandals, (*d*) the Franks, (*e*) the Burgundians, (*f*) the Lombards, (*g*) the Saxons, (*h*) the Angles, (*i*) the Jutes, (*j*) the Frisians, (*k*) the Danes, (*l*) the Normans, and (*m*) the Russians.

4. *Overthrow of the Roman Empire.* In the middle of the 4th century the Huns invaded Europe. This caused the Visigoths to cross the Danube and take refuge within the Eastern Roman Empire, in 376. They revolted in 378 and the Roman emperor was killed. The Visigoths then occupied the whole of the Balkans. They sacked Rome in 410. The Hun King Atilla attacked Rome in 451. In 476 the Western Roman Empire was overthrown by the Visigoths.

5. *The Roman territories occupied by the different Teutonic tribes:*

(*a*) Ostrogoths............Balkan states and Italy.
(*b*) Lombards............Northern Italy.
(*c*) Visigoths..............Southern France, Spain, and Portugal.
(*d*) Vandals................Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and Sicily.
(*e*) Franks..................Northern France.

(*f*) Burgundians............................South-eastern France.
(*g*) Saxons, Angles, and Jutes.........England.

6. *Eastern Roman Empire in the Middle Ages.* The Eastern Roman Empire consisted of seven provinces :—(*a*) Egypt, (*b*) Eastern provinces consisting of Arabia, Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia, (*c*) Pontus, or Eastern Asia Minor, (*d*) Asia or Western Asia Minor, (*e*) Thracia, consisting of the present day Bulgaria and European Turkey, (*f*) Macedonia, consisting of the present day territories of Greece, Albania, and Macedonia, and (*g*) Dacia, or modern Serbia and Montenegro. Under emperor Justinian (527-565) the Vandal territories of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoly, and Sicily were conquered in 533, and Italy was taken from the Ostrogoths in 553. But after the death of Justinian, the empire broke into pieces. Italy was taken by the Lombards in 568. The Arabs took the Eastern provinces in 638, and Egypt in 640. The Slavonians occupied large portions of the Balkan peninsula. In the 11th century, Asia Minor was conquered by the Turks. The Eastern Roman Empire was overthrown in 1453. The Turks conquered Bulgaria in 1393, and Servia in 1459.

7. *Italy in the Middle Ages.* The Roman Empire of the West was overthrown in 476. After this Italy was ruled by

(*a*) the Visigoths...................................from 476 to 493.
(*b*) the Ostrogoths.................................from 493 to 553.
(*c*) the Eastern Roman Emperors............from 553 to 568.
(*d*) the Lombards.................................from 568 to 774.

On the overthrow of the Lombards Italy became divided into three parts, Northern Italy, Central Italy and Southern Italy.

Northern Italy :—(*a*) Franks ruled from 774 to 951.
(*b*) the German Emperors ruled from 951 to 1177.
(*c*) the City States enjoyed autonomy after 1177.

Southern Italy :—(*a*) the Eastern Roman Emperors ruled up to the middle of the 8th century.
(*b*) the Arabs ruled from 750 to 1100.
(*c*) the Normans ruled from 1100 to 1194.
(*d*) the German emperors ruled from 1194 to 1254.
(*e*) Local princes ruled from 1254 to 1266.
(*f*) The Angevin princes of France ruled Sicily from 1266 to 1282.
Southern Italy from 1266 to 1435.
(*g*) the Kings of Aragon in Spain ruled Sicily after 1282.
Southern Italy after 1435.

Central Italy:—Pope Gregory I (590-604) first assumed political power in Rome during the Lombard invasions. Through the assistance of

Pepin, the king of the Franks, he obtained Ravenna, aud thus became master of Central Italy. The Popes of Rome held these territories up to the year 1860. During the weak rule of the Merovingian and Carolingian kings of the Franks the Pope of Rome gathered round his person a considerable amount of political power. He assumed to himself the right of confirming the appointment of kings and emperors. But very soon there arose a keen rivalry between the Pope and the emperor. In this struggle the German Empire could not become strong and consolidated. When the Pope came into conflict with the king of France, he found himself weaker. In this struggle the Pope lost considerably, and from 1376 the political authority of the Pope again became confined to Central Italy.

8. *Spain in the Middle Ages*. The Vandals conquered Spain in 409, but they were soon driven out of the country by the Visigoths, who now established their empire in southern France, Spain and Portugal, They ruled the country up to 712, when their kingdom was overthrown by the Arabs. A separate Caliphate was established in Spain in 756 with Cordova as its capital. This Caliphate lasted from 756 to 1034. After that the Arab kingdom in Spain was split up into a number of small principalities. This gave an opportunity to the Christian principalities in the north to extend their territories at the expense of the Arabs. During this period of reconquest, two states came into prominence, Castile and Aragon. These two states came to a mutual understanding, and divided Spain into their respective spheres of influence. Castile conquered Toledo in 1083, Southern Portugal in 1147, Badajoz in 1228, Cordova in 1236, Murcia in 1243, and Seville in 1244. Aragon conqured the Balearic islands in 1235, Sicily in 1282, and Naples in Southern Italy in 1435. At length the two states of Castile and Aragon united in 1479 in a matrimonial alliance, when Queen Isabella of Castile married king Ferdinand of Aragon, With the conquest of Granada in 1491 the Moors were finally driven out of Spain.

9. *Portugal in the Middle Ages*. The north western corner of Spain was never conquered by the Arabs. Southern Portugal was, however, under the rule of the Arabs. On the fall of the Caliphate in 1034, southern Portugal also became split up into a number of small principalities. They were gradually conquered by the kings of Castile and put under the rule of feudal lords. In 1254 the Duke of Portugal was recognised as an independent sovereign. Since then Portugal continued to be a separate kingdom.

10. *France in the Middle Ages*. The Vandals invaded Gaul (France) in 406. But they were displaced by the Visigoths in 412.

They established their kingdom in southern France. But soon after the Franks crossed the Rhine, and they established themselves in north-eastern France. In 486 the Franks established a kingdom under the leadership of their chief Clovis. He became master of northern France in 486. The following dynasties ruled in France during the Middle Ages :—

(*a*) the Merovinglans ruled..............from 481 to 752.
(*b*) the Carolingians ruled..............from 752 to 987.
(*c*) the Capetians..........................from 887 to 1328.
(*d*) the House of Valois....................from 1328 to 1589.

During the weak rule of the Merovingians and the Carolingians feudalism was developed in France, and the whole of the country became split up into a number of feudatory states. The most important states in France during this period were, Brittanny, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Flanders, Champagne, Burgundy, and Acquitaine. Much of the time of the king in the middle ages was spent in curbing the powers of the big feudal lords. It was a Duke of Normandy who in 1066 became king of England. Again it was a Duke of Anjou who became king of England in 1154. So these dukes who were technically speaking feudatories of the kings of France were even more powerful than their suzerain lord. The result was a constant war between England and France. In the time of king John of England, King Philip of France took possession in 1213 of all the Angevine territories in France. In the 14th century the hundred years' war broke out between England and France. This war lasted from 1336 to 1453. At the conclusion of this war England lost all her possessions except Calais in France, and from this time France began to grow into a strong and united kingdom.

11. *England in the Middle Ages.* The Romans evacuated Great Britain in 407. In the middle of the 5th century the country was occupied by the Teutonic tribes, the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. The west Saxons succeeded in establishing a stable kingdom. The Danes occupied the eastern parts of the country in the beginning of the 10th century. The Normans conquered the country in 1066. They ruled England from 1066 to 1154. They were succeeded by the Angevins. Feudalism was never very strong in England, but still the kings of England took special steps to make themselves strong. They took the administration of justice into their own hands, and made the retainers of the feudal lords to owe personal allegiance to the king. The Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses further weakened the nobility. The result of all this was that in 1483, the Tudors were able to establish a strong monarchy in England.

12. *Germany in the Middle Ages.* Germany was conquered by the Frankish kings. King Clovis conquered southern Germany between 496 and 507, His successor conquered Thuringia in 531, the Frisians in 534. and Switzerland in 536. This process of the conquest of the Germans was continued by the Carolingians. Bavaria was conquered by king Pepin, and the Saxons were conquered by Charlemagne. In 843 a separate Carolingian dynasty was established in Germany. The following dynasties ruled in Germany in the middle ages :—

(*a*) the Carolingians....................................843 to 911.
(*b*) the Franconians.......................................911 to 919.
(*c*) the Saxons...919 to 1024.
(*d*) the Francoians.......................................1024 to 1125.
(*e*) the Hohenstaufens...................................1125 to 1254.
(*f*) the Hapsburgs...1273 to 1308.
(*g*) the Hapsburgs as hereditary Emperors......1438 to 1806.

The kingdom of Germany was originally divided into the five dukedoms of Lotheringia, Saxony, Fronconia, Swabia, and Bavaria But as feudal system developed, the country was split up into a large number of principalities. As the ambition of the German emperors was always to extend their rule over Italy, they came into conflict with the Popes. The result has been that neither Germany nor Italy was able to become a strong and united kingdom. The German Emperors also carried on wars against the Slavonian powers of Poland, Bohemia and Moravia, and conquered extensive territories from them. When the Hapsburgs became emperors, they became friendly towards the Popes and relinquished their ambitions in Italy. But they compensated themselves by taking possession of Slavonian and Magyar territories. They had, however, to recognise the independence of Switzerland.

13. *Denmark in the Middle Ages.* The Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden remained in a tribal condition right up to the 10th century A. D. Denmark first came into prominence in the time of king Sweyn who conquered England. His son Canute was a very powerful king. He ruled Denmark, Norway, and England. After his death his empire broke up into pieces The three Scandinavian countries became united under king Eric of Pomerania in 1397.

14. *Norway in the Middle Ages.* Norway emerged out of tribal condition in 872, when the country became united under Harold. His family ruled till 1030, when it was conquered by the Danish king Canute. It became independent in 1035 under its king, Magnus, whose descendants

ruled the country till 1389. It became united with Denmark in 1389 under king Eric of Pomerania.

15. *Sweden in the Middle Ages*. Serious history of Sweden begins in 993, when king Olaf becomes its king. Finland was conquered in the reign of king Eric (1150-1160). In 1319, Magnus of the royal house of Norway was elected king of Sweden, who ruled till 1363. He was overthrown by the nobles, and in his place Albert a German prince was put on the throne. This led to a civil war. At length in 1397 Sweden was also put under the rule of king Eric of Pomerania.

16. *Russia in the Middle Ages*. Russia was at an early age settled by the Slavonian people. But they long remained in a tribal condition. At length in 862 Ruric, a Swedish viking chief established a principality with Novgorod as his capital. Another relation of his established a principality at Kief. In 980 Vladimir a descendant of Ruric became Christian, and adopted the Greek Church faith. After the death of Vladimir, the kingdom became split up into a number of principalities, and the country became torn by civil war. In 1238 Russia was conquered by the Mongols, who ruled the country from 1238 to 1445. Then the Duchy of Moscow rose into prominence. It was a Grand Duke of Moscow, Ivan III, who began the task of reconquering the country, and bringing it under one sceptre. He ruled from 1462 to 1505. Although he extended very much his dominions, still it remained landlocked. It had no access to the sea.

17. *Slavonic Principalities in the Middle Ages*. The earliest known home of the Slavonians was in the present day Poland, They expanded westward up to the banks of the Elbe, eastward into Russia, and southwards into the Balkan peninsula, They occupied also the Baltic coasts of Esthonia, Lithuania, and Prussia,. They were driven out from the Elbe to the Oder by the Germans, and out of the Baltic coasts by the Teutonic knights. In Russia they became subject to the Norsemen rulers from Sweden. But they were able to establish some stable kingdoms in Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, and Serbia. The last kingdom was conquered by the Turks in 1459. The other three states had throughout the middle ages to fight against the German emperors.

CHAPTER II

CIVILISATION AND CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Definition of Civilisation and Culture. The expression "Civilisation" is derived from the Latin word "Civis" which means citizen. So also the word "Civil" conveys the idea of anything pertaining to an organised community, or well ordered society. Civilised people are those who have been reclaimed from a wild and savage life, or those who live under a well-established government, whose lives are governed by definite and well-recognised laws, and who follow in their dealings with each other certain body of customs and manners. In a word progress of civilisation means the various stages travelled in the development of checks and curbs put on the brutal instincts which mark the life of primitive man, and it is very intimately connected with Government, Law, and Social structure. The social structure of a society must always depend on the economic stage the society has reached, the family, clan, or tribal relations that exist among them, and the church organisation it has developed. So under civilisation, we can discuss Government, Law, Agricultural, Industrial, and Commercial life of the people, family, village and town life, sports, festivals, and entertainments of the people, and the most important of all in Social life, their Church Organisation.

"Culture" on the other hand, is derived from the Latin word "cultum" to till or to cultivate. Cultivation or tilling is the application of labour in developing or refining. Development or improvement of land with a view to produce crops is called Agriculture. So development and refinement of mind is called culture or enlightenment. We can, therefore, include in culture all those processes by

means of which one can sharpen the intellect, refine the mind, and purify the soul. Hence culture is intimately connected with Cosmology, Theology, Philosophy, Literature, Art, and Sciences.

After this explanation we come to the conclusion, that civilisation is mainly concerned with social control and culture with individual enlightenment. It shall be our business in this chapter to find out what was the civilisation and culture of the Europeans in the middle ages.

The Origin of Feudalism. "Feudalism" is derived from the Latin word *Feudum* from which are derived the French "fief" and the English "fee." The origin of Feudal system can be traced to the decaying period of the Roman empire, when the power of the Roman emperor had declined, his ability to protect the citizens and preserve order in the outlying provinces had gone and every now and then there were witnessed in the different parts of the empire, usurping emperors, rebellious peasants, mutinous troops and invasions by the Teutonic hordes. It was under such circumstances, when the individual citizen could not find protection from the state, that he put himself under the protection of men of wealth and influence in the locality. The small landowners put themselves under the protection of big landowners. They handed over their lands to the big landlords in the locality, and received them back as tenants. In return the lord became responsible for the protection of the life and property of such tenants. The big landlords who possessed extensive areas of land, and were not able to arrange its cultivation by the labour of their own slaves alone, were in the habit of giving them on lease to free peasants. These free lessees and the small land-owners under the protection of the big lords in course of time assumed the same position and status. This practice of giving gifts of land on lease was the well known Roman institution of "*Precariae.*" On the other hand, landless poor freemen also

were in the old Roman society in the habit of putting themselves under the protection of influential patrons. These poor freemen known by the name of clients entered the households of the patrons. The patron was responsible for the protection of the life and property of clients, and the clients were under the obligation of doing service to the patron. This practice of taking landless freemen under the protection of influential men in the locality was the well known Roman institution of "*Patronicium.*" So when the Teutonic Franks established their empire in Gaul, and later on in northern Italy, these old Roman institutions of *Precariae* and *Patronicium* continued to exist in these countries. In fact these institutions were not strange to the German invaders. Among them also existed the practice of ambitious young men putting themselves under the protection of powerful military chiefs, under whose leadership they could fight battles and win renown. This practice was known by the name of the "*comitatus.*" When the Merovingian empire broke up in the middle of the 8th century, and the Carolingian empire in the middle of the 9th century, the conditions existing in the decaying period of the Roman empire were repeated. During the German invasions all trade, commerce, and industry in the Roman empire had been destroyed. Consequently money had disappeared from circulation. State revenues and taxes could no longer be paid in cash. Under such circumstances it was impossible for the king to maintain standing armies. In the old Roman empire the excellent roads built by the Romans had fallen into disrepair, and in central Europe roads had never existed. So even if the king managed to have some troops, he could not move them with sufficient rapidity to put down rebellions and disturbances in the interior of the country. Over the top of this all came in the middle of the 9th century, the Norman and Danish invasions from the north, the Slavonian and Magyar

invasions from the east, and Arab invasions from the side of Spain and Sicily. It seemed as if the Franks, the Burgundians the Lombards, the Goths and the Saxons were hemmed in on all sides by enemies. The Frankish kings did not at this moment have sufficient strength to meet the new invaders. Within the borders of their kingdoms they did not have the means to maintain peace and tranquillity. Under such circumstances the provincial governors, dukes, counts, and marquises, were handed over the administration of big areas of land. They were required to maintain peace and tranquillity within their own lands, and come to the assistance of the king in times of need. But as these big provincial rulers also did not have money to engage standing armies, they distributed their lands on similar conditions among lesser lords. This process of division and sub-division went on till a small bit of land sufficient to maintain a horse was granted to a knight. Thus the entire land in the kingdom was divided among a hierarchy of feudal dignitaries, knights, barons, counts, or earls, marquises, dukes, and archdukes. The king became practically speaking a non-entity.

The Chief Characteristics of the Feudal System.

A feudal lord was in the middle ages practically speaking an independent sovereign. He owed only a nominal allegiance to the king. He did homage to the king only so long as he did not feel strong enough to defy the king. The feudal lord ordinarily exercised autonomous powers within his territories. All the arable land within his dominions was cultivated by his tenants, or vassals. They were his subjects. All the artisans and craftsmen living on his lands owed allegiance to him. All the disputes between the people living on his lands were settled by him. He was entitled to a share of the produce from his tenants, and to certain aids or payments from his people on definite occasions. The cultivators living on his lands were under an obligation to give him free labour

whenever he required it, and in times of war the services of his people were at his disposal for a certain fixed number of days in the year. If there were disputes between different knights owning allegiance to a particular baron, they were settled by the baron. If there were disputes between different barons owning allegiance to a particular count, they were settled by the count. In this way the disputes between the different feudal lords were decided by the lords to whom they owed allegiance. One peculiarity of this feudal system was that the feudal lords of the lower grades did not owe any allegiance to the king. They were under obligation to serve only their immediate superiors. If the superior lords rebelled against the king, their retainers were to go with their lords and were not bound to support the king. Under such circumstances the ordinary mass of the people were bound to serve only their local lords. They had no obligations towards the king. It is thus evident that under such conditions strong and powerful monarchies could not be established. The kings were weak. Most of their time was spent in fighting against their own powerful feudatories. The feudal lords too were engaged mostly in fighting either against the king, or against one another, or against their own vassals. We can, therefore, imagine that under such a system there could hardly be any peace or tranquillity in the country. The whole of the country was divided into small bits of feudal territories, ruled by feudal lords Each feudal lord had a castle in the middle of his territory, and his retainers, dependents, slaves, peasants, cultivators, and other artisans all lived under the shelter of his castle. The castles were at first built of timber, but later on from the 11th century onward they were built of stone. In times of danger the people took shelter in the castle of the lord. Under the feudal system the people lived under the government of local lords. The king was too distant a personality to bother about. It is clear

under such circumstances patriotism was local, allegiance was owed to only known local personalities, and nationalism had no chance of growth. The outlook of the people was necessarily narrow and restricted.

The Decay of Feudalism. From the point of view of feudalism, the middle ages can be divided into three periods. The first period is from 500 A. D. to 800 A.D. when the ancient Roman empire was overwhelmed by the Teutonic invasions. During this period the different Teutonic kingdoms were established in western Europe and the old Roman institutions of *Precariae* and *Patronicium* which had in the decaying period of the Roman Empire enabled local magnates to own extensive areas of land actually held by a large number of tenants, and to secure to them the services of a large number of freemen, became well established in Gaul. These two Roman institutions enabled the local magnates to usurp to a considerable extent the powers of the state which the Roman Emperor, considered illegal. But as these practices were similar to the German institution of the *Comitatus* these old Roman institutions came to be considered legal by the Frankish kings of Gaul. The second period lasts from 800 A. D. to 1200 A. D. The historical Feudal system began and developed during this period. During the third period, which lasts from 1200 to 1500 we have the decay of the feudal system. There were several reasons for the decay of feudalism. We have seen that originally lack of money prevented the kings from employing standing armies and thus they were compelled to rely on their great provincial governors and military chiefs for maintaining internal peace, and meeting foreign aggression. In the middle ages it seems the entire business of government was done by personal service, with very little exchange of money. But in 1095 began the crusades. The Turks had in the 11th century taken possession of the two Roman provinces of Asia

and Pontus in the present day Asia Minor. The Roman Emperor of the East invoked the assistance of Christians in western Europe. Peter the Hermit roused the feelings of pious Christians by depicting the pitiable condition of the Christian pilgrims in the Holy Land of Palestine. Pope Urban II too proclaimed a holy war against the Turks, who were treating the pilgrims so badly. For about two hundred years the wars of the crusades went on. A large number of Christians from western Europe took part in these crusades. Shiploads of crusaders left European shores from the ports of Venice, Brindisi, Naples, Genoa, Marseilles, etc. These ships on their return journey came laden with goods of Oriental countries. In connection with the crusades therefore a brisk trade sprang up. The nobility in Europe were attracted by these Oriental articles of luxury. The local artisans now began to produce a surplus of goods in order to buy Oriental goods in exchange. The promotion of these trade transactions brought money into circulation. The feudal lords in order to purchase Oriental luxuries, now began to commute personal services of their retainers into cash. The king also now began to accept from his immediate vassals cash in place of personal services. He could now also tax the merchant communities. In this way the king began to have revenues in cash, from which he could now maintain standing armies. With these standing armies he could contend against the feudal lords more successfully. This naturally weakened the feudal system. Again in the wars of the crusades a large number of feudal lords were either killed or financially ruined. After the crusades the feudal lords were no longer strong enough to successfully contend against the kings, their suzerain lords. Then again the traders and merchants in the towns which had on account of revival of trade with the oriental countries, developed trade and industry became rich and wealthy, could no longer bear the petty tyrannies of the local lords. These traders and

merchants combined themselves into guilds and corporations, and won certain immunities from their lords either by actual fighting, or by advancing to them certain fixed lump sum monies in lieu of their feudal obligations. The lords were during the crusading period always in need of money, so in this way a large number of commercial and industrial towns won freedom for themselves. These towns and cities became the homes of freedom. Before the rise of the cities, the only two influential classes were the clergy and the nobility. But now the third estate the *bourgeoisie*, the residents of the cities, rose into prominence. With their increasing wealth they soon became influential. Their influence was always cast against the feudal system. By allying themselves with the kings, they eventually succeeded in overthrowing feudalism. The third anti-feudal force was the Church. The Roman Catholic Church as a universal organization, including men of all ranks and classes, was necessarily opposed to feudalism, a local and an aristocratic system. Private war on which feudalism lived was naturally odious in the eyes of the church. It cast its influence always on the side of peace. In about 1000 A.D. several church councils in Southern France, decreed that the fighters were not to attack churches or monastries, churchmen, pilgrims, merchants and women, and that they must leave the peasant and his cattle and plough alone. After this the church councils began to issue what was known as the "Truce of God," which provided that all warfare was to stop during Lent, and various other holy days, as well as on Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday of every week. During the truce no one was to attack any one else. If any one failed to observe the truce, he was to be ex-communicated by the church. The influence of the church must, therefore, have helped a good deal in stopping war. The king, the church, and the Cities, all three combined to overthrow feudalism. When in the middle of the 14th century gunpowder began to be used in warfare, and guns and muskets

began to be used in place of bows and arrows, the castles of the feudal lords ceased to give them protection. The kings by taxing the traders and merchants, and by commuting the feudal services of their vassals by cash payments were now able to have in their hands large resources. They could now have powerful standing armies armed with guns and muskets. The kings also now began to take the administration of justice into their own hands. With well-filled treasuries, powerful standing armies, and the administration of justice in their hands, and with the Church and the cities as their allies the kings again became powerful. Under such circumstances feudalism rapidly decayed. By the end of the 15th century the feudal nobility in Spain, Portugal, France and England had been thoroughly crushed and strong monarchies that had been established, had now succeeded in bringing into existence powerful and united kingdoms. Germany and Italy, on the other hand, continued to remain in a divided condition.

The Church Organisation. If in the middle ages feudalism was a very powerful influence in fixing the status of the individual in society, the Church too was no less powerful an instrument in controlling the relations of man with man. It was in 311, that Christianity received equal treatment with other religions in the Roman Empire. But it was in the reign of Emperor Constantine (306—337) that Christianity became the religion of the Roman State. It seems the Christian Church was organised on the model of the Roman Empire. As the empire was monarchical, so was the Church Episcopal. In the Roman Empire, the Vicar was at the head of the Diocese, in the Christian Church the Diocese was controlled by a Patriarch. In the empire the province was ruled by a governor, in the church, it was supervised by an archbishop. In the empire the city was administered by the municipal officials, in the church it was looked after by the bishop. There were as many as 5 patriarchates in the Empire, Alexandria,

Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, and Rome. On the rise of the Arabs, Egypt, Palestine and Syria, were lost to the empire, and with the loss of these provinces, the three Oriental patriarchates also disappeared. So there were only two Christian patriarchates left, one at Constantinople, and the other at Rome. The Patriach of Rome adopted from a very early time the title of "Pope". It appears that while the influence of Constantinople remained confined to the Eastern Roman Empire, and the present day territories of Russia, the influence of Rome spread all over western and northern Europe. It was the example of the Roman empire that furnished to the Christian Church from the very beginning the practice of having a hierarchy of church officials. The duties of the priests were to perform the ceremonies in connection with baptism, marriage, burial, mass, confession, and absolution. The Bishops presided over a diocese, looked after church property, held ecclesiastical courts, visited the priests in the parishes, conscerated new churches and performed the two Sacraments of conformation and ordination. The Pope issued Bulls and Dispensations. He called general church Councils, appointed archbishops, confirmed the appointment of bishops, deposed and transferred them in case of need. He was supreme appellate court in all ecclesiastical cases. In the earlier days of the church, when it had not yet attracted public notice to any great extent, the church officials who were drawn from all ranks of society, obtained their livelihood either by farming or by shopkeeping. Later on when people began to give endowments and contributions to the church, secular engagements for the priestly classes were prohibited. But endowments caused another difficulty. There was a danger of the church officials diverting church income, and transferring church properties in favour of their own children, for uptill the end of the 4th century A. D. there was no bar against

marriage among the Christian priests. In order to guard against this danger the priests were now required to lead a life of celibacy. From the 5th century onward the priests began to wear a distinctive dress. At first the Roman Emperor was the head of the Christian Church. He remained so in the eastern Roman empire. But the western Roman empire was overthrown in 476. During the period of anarchy that followed this event, the Pope of Rome gathered round his person considerable amount of temporal authority. The Pope of Rome, therefore, unlike the Patriarch of Constantinople, became independent of the authority of any temporal sovereign. On the other hand, the circumstances of the times enabled him to assume a certain amount of superiority over the temporal kings of the west. Gradually the two churches at Constantinople and at Rome drifted apart so much in methods of worship and doctrines, that in 1054 the Greek Church became quite separate from the Roman Church. Both the churches agree in recognising an hierarchy of church officials, such as bishops, priests, deacons, etc. Both of them believe in baptism. The actual ceremony of baptism is, however, performed differently in the two churches. The Greek Church performs it by total immersion. The ceremony of confirmation is performed among the Greek Church people soon after baptism, and among the Roman Catholics, on the attainment of the age of reason. In the Greek Church the ceremony of Communion is performed by giving leavened bread dipped in wine. The Roman Catholics use dry unleavened loaf. Lastly the dates of the religious festivals in the two churches do not coincide. The Greek Church follows the Julian calendar, and the Roman Church follows the reformed calendar of Gregory. Then again the Greek Church was divided into as many as sixteen branches, each of which was within itself self-governing. There was, however, no local autonomy in the Roman Church. The Pope of Rome was quite supreme in

all church matters throughout the west. The word of the Pope was law, and no archbishop, bishop, deacon, or priest, had the right to act in contravention of the expressly declared orders of the Pope. That explains why the Roman Church remained for a sufficiently long time strong and powerful, while the Greek Church became weak by division into a large number of sects.

Functions of the Church, Religious, Social, and Political. In the middle ages the Church to a very great extent controlled the lives of individuals. Every Christian had to perform during his life-time, from birth to death, a number of Sacraments. There were usually seven sacraments to be performed by a Christian. (1) Baptism was performed at the time of birth. It was supposed to purify the soul of the original sin. (2) The sacrament of Confirmation was performed after baptism among the Greeks, and on the attainment of the age of reason among the Romans. By the performance of this sacrament a person obtained a full fellowship in the Church. (3) The sacrament of the Holy Euchrist or trans-substantiation was performed in memory of the last supper of Christ with his apostles. The blood and body of Christ was represented by bread and wine. (4) The Sacrament of marriage bound man and woman in a perpetual bond. Marriages among certain relations were prohibited, and no divorce was allowed without the special permission of the Church. (5) Once in a year every Christian was required to make a confession of his sins to a priest, and do penance and obtain absolution either by giving something in charity, or by making an endowment to the church, or by going on a pilgrimage. (6) Ordination was a sacrament by means of which a person could take Holy Orders, and be admitted to priesthood. (7) The sacrament of Extreme Unction, or purification for the soul, was performed on death bed. The sacraments of Confirmation

and Ordination were performed by the Bishop, and the remaining five were performed by ordinary priests. The doctrine of purgatory required the holding of Masses for the souls of the dead. In case the Church was offended with any one, he was ex-communicated, with the result that his children could not be baptised and they could not be confirmed as members of the church, marriages could not be performed, and the dead could not be buried. This ex-communication was a terrible punishment, and its fear kept the people sufficiently subservient to the authority of the church. This enabled the church to control the religious and social life of the people to a very great extent.

In addition to the performance of purely religious functions, the Church had a good deal to do in the administration of justice. A considerable body of Ecclesiastical Law known as Canon Law had been developed in the middle ages. A section of this law was of course concerned with the internal administration of the church organisation. But a large body of this law had to deal with relations between individuals. As no "will" could be valid without confession, so all rights of inheritance under "wills" could only be considered in accordance with the Canon Law. Similarly all contracts made under "oath" were also governed by canon law. Heresy, blasphemy, usury, and witchcraft, all such cases were heard before ecclesiastical courts. All marriage and divorce laws were administered by the church courts. Then again it was the duty of the church to protect widows, orphans, and the families of the pilgrims and the crusaders. It was the duty of all Christians to have reverence for Christian saints and martyrs. If any locality, district, or kingdom, was under an interdict of the church, all churches in the territory were closed, no sacraments could be performed there, and no masses for the benefit of the souls of the dead could be held there.

This shows that practically speaking the entire social life of the people was completely under the control of the church.

In the field of politics, too, the church had in the middle ages considerable influence. The Popes of Rome gave approval to the appointment of kings and emperors. The Bishops and Archbishops performed the coronation ceremonies of kings, and the church prohibited all wars during certain festivals, and on certain days in the week. Certain classes of people were held not liable to attack during war. For the suppression of heresy there existed the powerful institution of the "Inquisition." The church thus dominated entirely the Religious, Social and Political life of the people.

Law and Justice From a discussion of feudalism and Church Organisation given in the preceding pages it would become clear, that in the middle ages people were governed by two kinds of laws. One the customary or common law administered by the feudal lords, and the other the Canon Law administered by the ecclesiastical courts. During the middle ages there was very little occasion for the sovereign authority to legislate. The two privileged orders, the clergy and the nobility, among themselves, were sources of all new legislative measures, whenever enacted, and the administration of justice was also in the hands of these two privileged orders. But the life of the people was mostly governed by custom.

Agriculture It has already been stated that in the middle ages, all land in the country was divided among the great feudal lords of the king. These feudal lords divided their lands among their own retainers, who in their turn distributed their lands among their tenants. In this way the whole of the land in the country was divided into big and small bits of land, each being in charge of an autonomous feudal lord. The feudal lord reserved for himself as much

of his arable land as was needful for his own use. The rest of the land he allotted to his peasants who were his tenants. They cultivated their holdings in common according to the "Open field" system. A farmer instead of having his land in one compact mass, had it split up into a large number of small strips, scattered over the village. These strips were separated not by fences or hedges, but by banks of unploughed turf. The reason for the intermixture of the stripes seems to have been to make sure that each farmer had a portion both of the good land a well as of the bad. Under such circumstances all peasants were compelled to work according to a common plan. Every cultivator was compelled to sow the same kinds of crops, and to till and reap them at the same time. It is clear agriculture under such conditions must have been very backward. Then again the farmers in these times did not know how to enrich the soil by the use of manures, or how to provide for a proper rotation of crops. Under this system one third of the land was always kept fallow. So in each year only two thirds of the land could be brought under cultivation. This system of agriculture brought very little yield per acre. Farm animals were also weak and small, for scientific breeding had not yet begun. Farm implements too were few and clumsy. It took many days to reap and gather the harvest. The peasants laboured from sunrise to sunset, ate coarse food, lived in thatched huts, and suffered from frequent epidemics. But when Arab rule was introduced into Spain and southern Europe, many improvements were introduced into European agriculture. Arabs knew a good system of irrigation, they practised rotation of crops, employed fertilizers and understood how to graft and produce new varieties of plants and fruits. It were the Arabs who introduced into Europe cotton, flax, hemp, rice, sugar cane, coffee various kinds of vegetables, and such fruits as melons, oranges, lemons, apricots, and plums.

Industries. It appears under the Roman empire, there were in western Europe a large number of flourishing cities which were centres of trade and industry. But the Germanic invasions led to a gradual decay of these towns and cities. Later on when feudal system was established all over western and central Europe, and the mass of the people began to live in isolated rural communities, an estate or Manor became the centre of all commercial and manufacturing activities. An estate in land when owned by a feudal lord and occupied by dependent peasants was called a Manor. The word "Manor" is derived from the old French word *Manoir* which means "Mansion." Each manor varied in size according to the wealth of its lord. Each lord had one manor, and great nobles had several manors, scattered all over the country. Even the king depended on his many manors for the food supply of the court. In the middle ages most of the local needs in the villages were satisfied locally. Each mediaeval village was self-sufficient. The land gave to the people their food. The forest provided them with wood for houses and furniture. From wool, flax, or leather, they made their own clothes, their corn was ground and milled at the village mill, and their farm implements were manufactured at the village smithy. The only things they needed to import from outside the village were salt, iron for various tools, and mill stones. So in the early middle ages there was hardly any commerce or industry in the countries of western and central Europe. But as a result of the wars of the crusades, which, lasted for about two hundred years, from 1095 to 1291, trade and commerce began again to revive in Europe. This revival in trade and commerce encouraged the growth of cities. The city at first formed part of the feudal system. It arose on the territory of the feudal lord, and naturally owed obedience to him. The citizens ranked not much higher than serfs, though they were traders and artisans instead of farmers. As in the middle ages

there was not much security for life and property, it became the custom for merchants of a particular locality to combine. Such combinations or associations were called "Guilds." The Anglo-Saxon word "guild" means to pay. It came to be applied to an association whose members made contributions for some common object. This form of association is very old. It existed in the old Roman empire. It exists even to-day in China and in India. Just as merchants guilds were formed to protect the interests of the merchants, so were crafts guilds formed to protect the interests of the artisans. There was a separate guild for each of the crafts, such as weavers, shoemakers, bakers, tailors, carpenters, etc. The names of the various occupations came to be used as surnames of those engaged in them, so that to-day we have such common family names as Smith, Cooper, Fuller, Potter, Chandler, etc. In big cities like London, Paris, and Cologne the number of crafts guilds was very great, and in smaller cities their number was proportionately small. The members of a particular guild usually lived in the same street or part of the city. Each craft guild regulated its own industry in the town. No one could engage in any craft without becoming a member of the guild which controlled it, and without submitting to the guild regulations. Hours of work and the prices of goods manufactured was fixed for each artisan by the guild. Everything made by an artisan was carefully inspected by the guild, to see if it contained shoddy material or poor workmanship. Failure to meet the test meant either a heavy fine or expulsion from the guild. The guild possessed a monopoly in its own particular line of industry. Such an organisation of industry gave protection both to the producer as well as to the consumer. Full membership in the guild was reached only by stages. A boy started as an apprentice. He paid a sum of money to his master and agreed to serve him for a period usually of seven years. The master in turn promised to

provide the apprentice with food, lodging, and clothing, and to teach him all the secrets of the craft. At the end of the seven years the apprentice had to pass an examination by the guild. If he was found fit, he then became a Journeyman, and worked for daily wages. As soon as he had saved enough money he could begin his career as an independent master in his own separate shop. Under this system of industry, a master was at once workman and employer, labourer and capitalist. But as craft guilds prospered and increased in wealth, they tended gradually to become exclusive organisations. Membership fees were raised so high that few could afford to pay them. The number of apprentices for each master was restricted. It became increasingly difficult for an apprentice to qualify as a journeyman, or for a journeyman to rise to the status of a master. When in the 18th century power run machine-made work began to take the place of manual work, and factory system of industry began to displace the domestic system, the different craft guilds lost their monopoly. We will see that in the 19th century, the craft guilds give way to trade unions.

Trade and Commerce. When the Teutonic hordes overthrew the Roman empire, and after some time feudalism was gradually established, trade and commerce practically disappeared from western Europe. Whatever little commercial intercourse there still remained was subject to many obstructions. In the territories of the old Roman empire, roads had gone completely out of repairs, and in Germany there existed no roads at all. The rivers were very rarely spanned by bridges. The merchant travellers could not find good and comfortable inns. As tnere could be no wheeled traffic, goods were transported on pack-horses rather than in wagons. Highway robbery was very common. Over the top of this all, goods were liable to frequent tolls. The different feudal lords could not give to the merchants-

adequate protection. Under such circumstances trade and commerce in the early middle ages languished, and for a long time they remained in the hands of the Greeks and the Arabs. In the middle ages there were three main commercial routes from the oriental countries to Europe. The northern route, entirely overland, traversing high mountain passes and long stretches of deserts, passed through Central Asia, northern Persia, modern Turkey, and led to the ports on the Black Sea, and terminated at Constantinople. The central and most important route, starting from the ports of India, led up the Persian Gulf and the Tigris river to Baghdad, from which city goods went up by caravan to Antioch and Damascus. The southern Soute reached Cairo and Alexandria by way of the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea. But in the beginning of the 11th century the Caliphate of Baghdad which had already been decayed, and the empire split up into a number of sultanates, was overwhelmed by the Seljuk Turks. They took possession of Persia and Iraq in 1055, of Asia Minor in 1074, and of Syria in 1076. These Turkish conquests greatly interfered with the northern and central trade routes. Oriental goods upon reaching the Mediterranean were carried by water to northern Europe.

In the middle ages nearly every town of any consequence held a weekly market. Outsiders who brought cattle and farm produce for sale in the market were required to pay tolls, either to the town authorities, or to the feudal lord owning the town. Besides markets which were held every week, many towns held fairs once or twice in the year. These fairs lasted for a month or more, and they gave opportunity for the sale of commodities brought from the most distant regions. These fairs helped the various European peoples to become better acquainted with one another. The wars of the crusades which were fought during the 12th and the 13th centuries, brought the

east and the west face to face, and greatly stimulated trade. The Mediterranean lands first felt the stimulating effects of intercourse with the east. and before long the commercial revival extended to the rest of Europe. As the business in the middle ages was mostly of a retail character, and was conducted in markets and fairs, it means that business enterprise was on a small scale. The society at this time was mostly rural in character, and each village community could to a very great extent supply its own needs locally. Under such circumstances there was very little exchange of money. The stimulation of commerce as a result of the wars of the crusades helped to increase the money supply, but it was not sufficient for the needs of business. There existed at this time in Europe a great prejudice against any lending of money at interest. It seemed wrong for a person to receive interest, for it was held he lost nothing by the loan of his money. The church condemned the receipt of interest as un-Christian. So business of lending money fell into the hands of the Jews. As in all European countries, the Jews could not become members of crafts guilds and neither could they engage in agricultural occupation, they took to money lending. The Jews were the only capitalists in the middle ages. But as they were hated by the Christians, the law of the land gave them no protection, and the kings and nobles constantly extorted large sums of money from them. During the wars of the crusades they were very much persecuted. In the Italian cities of Florence, Genoa, and Venice, which were in the 13th century financial centres of Europe, the Jews were treated better.

Sports, Festivals, and Entertainments. In the middle ages the Europeans hardly knew any indoor games. But it seems during the wars of the crusades some of the oriental indoor games such as chess, checkers, and playing cards were introduced into Europe. Chess is an old Indian war game. The four arms of the ancient Indian

army, infantry, cavalry, elephantry, and chariots, are represented in the game of chess. The outdoor games in Europe in the middle ages were cock-fighting, horse, bull and bear bating. Later on Polo, a Tibetan game, and Cricket, golf, hockey, and tennis became introduced into Europe

Mediaeval festivals could be divided into two classes, those which were introduced by Christianity, and those which had come down from pre-Christian times. Many of the festivals were fixed by the Christian Church. The Chrismas day celebrated on the 25th of December represented the birth day of Christ. The Epiphany (6th of January) represented the day on which Christ was baptised. During Easter days Christ was supposed to have been crucified. A period of fasting lasting for 40 days preceeded the Easter. Whitsunday or Pentecost was celebrated on the 50th day after Easter. Many other feasts and fasts, together with numerous saints' days were afterwards added to the calendar of the "Christian year." The festivals not of Christian origin were derived from the ceremonies with which the heathen people of Europe had been accustomed to mark the changes of seasons. Thus April Fool's day like the Indian Holi, formed a relic of festivities held at the vernal equinox. May Day, another festival of spring, like the Indian Vasant, honoured the spirit of trees and of all budding vegetation. On the Midsummer Eve which marked the summer solstice, came the fire festival, when people lit bonfires and leaped over them, walked in procession with torches round the fields. and rolled burning wheels down the hillsides. These rites may have been once connected with sun worship. Even the festival of Christmas which is celebrated near about winter solstice, continued to have some heathen features. The use of the mistletoe reminds one of the ceremonies which the Keltic priests performed at the altars of their gods.

Religion of the Romans. The world-wide conquests of Alexander the Great had ushered in a new age in the ancient world. The ancient empires and kingdoms of Persia, Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Egypt had all been brought into intimate contact with Greece, and later on when Rome rose into an imperial power, all the ancient civilised countries west of Persia, were brought into closer contact with each other under the common imperial sway of Rome. In ancient times separate religions had developed in Babylonia, Assyria, Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Egypt. Being members of the same empire, the people professing the religions of all these different countries, began to mix with each other. The different religions of the ancient world began to be compared with each other. With the introduction of new religious ideas, and the worship of new gods, into Greece and Rome, the people of these two latter countries lost faith in their old national gods. The existence of a multiplicity of religious systems each offering a new method for the attainment of salvation had an unhinging effect on the masses. So at the beginning of the Christian era, people in the Roman empire had lost all enthusiasm for religion. Although the worship of the official gods was still carried on but these once impressive ceremonies had ceased to attract the populace. It was under such circumstances that Christianity was introduced into Europe. According to the old religious conceptions of Greece and Rome, there were no clear ideas about life after death. According to this view the life that was lived on this earth was the most important. So to some extent Epicurism was the fashion of the day.

Distinctive Features of Christianity. Christianity, on the other hand, had an entirely new outlook on life. It was quite emphatic in believing in another life after death. The Christian teaching made a

distinction between a spirtual life and a material life, and held that the spiritual life was infinitely superior to a material life. The Christians held that the life on this earth was only a trial life, and that if an individual lived a pure life on this earth, it could result in a better spiritual life after death. To the Christians, therefore, the life after death was the more important one. So to them it was very necessary to look into the conduct of the individual on earth in this life. One must, therefore, avoid committing sins while living on this earth. If he has committed some sins, he must secure remission for them. He must also have some one to help him in leading a virtuous life, and in attaining salvation, or higher spiritual life after death. Christianity offered to satisfy all these needs, Christ was the son of God Almighty, and was, therefore, himself a divine personality. He had suffered crucifiction to atone for the sins of all humanity, and three days after death he had arisen again and joined God his father. It was maintained that if people followed his teachings, and lived a life of piety and self-sacrifice, as he had done it, his sins would be forgiven, and he would gain an everlasting admission into the kingdom of heaven. The teachings of Christ were simple and free from all ritualism. They could appeal to the ordinary masses, and they could also be acceptable to the intellectuals of the day. By the time of Constantine (306-337) Christianity spread widely throughout the eastern half of the Roman empire. In his time Asia Minor was largely Christian, and ecclesiastical provinces were constituted in Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece, and Christians were also found in Syria and Egypt. Christian Churches also existed in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Arminia, and Persia. This new faith of Christianity continued to expand in the empire from the time of Constantine to the time of Justinian.

Christian Theology.

But Christianity in the eastern part of the empire differed from that of the western part in one respect. Christians in the east devoted

themselves to theological speculations to a much greater extent. Constantinople and the great Greek Cities of Antioch, and Alexandria, contained many learned scholars, who indulged in subtle questions of belief. Theologians engaged in many controversies upon such subjects as the connection of Christ with God, and the nature of the Trinity. In order to obtain an authoritative expression of Christian opinion, councils of the higher clergy were held at which the conflicting views were debated, and decisions arrived at. Some theologians led by Arius, a priest of Alexandria, maintained that Christ the son, having being created by God, the father, was necessarily inferior to him. Athanasius, another Alexandrian priest, opposed this view and held that Christ was not a created being, but was in all ways equal to God. The council of Nicaea, which was held in 325, cendemned Arianism. It was the first council of the type. After the decision of such a council, when once a decision was arrived at on any matter of Christian belief, it was held unlawful to maintain a contrary belief. Those who did so were punished for heresy. After the Arian controversy was settled in the 4th century, other disputes concerning the nature of Christ broke out. Was Christ entirely a divine personality, or a purely human personality, or a mixture of the two. These disputes gave rise to many heresies. The heresy known as Nestorianism, from Nestorius a bishop of Constantinople, spread widely in the east. It is known that Nestorian missionaries even penetrated to India, China, and Mongolia. They established a large number of. influential and powerful churches in the middle ages, but on the rise of Muslim power in the East most of them were destroyed. After the formation of the Nestorians and other heretical sects, the orthodox faith was preserved in the east only by Greeks in Asia Minor and Europe. At first this orthodox church in the west remained united with the Roman church in the west, but they finally separated in 1054. The Roman

Church in the west differed from the Greek church in the east in two respects. In the first place the great theological controversies which divided the east, hardly affected the west. In the second place among western Christians, there existed no union between the church and the state.

Heresies in the West. After Christianity had triumphed in the Roman Empire, and won the support of the Government, the Christian church began to persecute people who held heretical beliefs. According to the ideas prevalent in the middle ages, a heretic was a traitor to the church, for he denied the doctrines considered to be essential for attaining salvation, so it was the duty of a good Christian to reclaim the heretic, and if that was not possible then to rid society of one who was dangerous to the faithful and an enemy of God Almighty. Consequently in the middle ages severe punishments were given for heresy. But inspite of all persecutions, heretics were not uncommon in the later middle ages.

The most important of the heretical movements during this period was that of the Albigenses, who had first risen in the town of Albi in southern France. They believed in the existence of two gods, one good, whose son was Christ and the other evil whose son was Satan. The Albigenses set up a rival church, with separate priests, bishops and councils. As they could not be reclaimed by peaceful means Pope Innocent III proclaimed in 1209 a crusade against them. A series of bloody wars were fought, and it took practically a century to extirpate them.

Another heretical movement that started in the 12th century was that of the Weldenses. Peter Waldo the leader of this movement did not attempt to set up a new religion, but he and his followers objected to certain practices of the church, such as masses for the

dead, and the invocation of saints. They also condemned the luxury of the clergy, and urged that Christian priests should like the Apostles live lives of poverty. For the Weldenses the Bible was a sufficient guide to religious life, and so they translated parts of the scriptures and allowed every one to preach, without distinction of age, or rank, or sex. As the Weldenses were poor, they did not have much influence. They, however, survived persecution and now form a branch of the Prostestant church in Italy.

In England John Wycliffe (1320-1384) held views very much similar to those held by the Weldenses. He also appealed from the authority of the church to the authority of the Bible. He was the first man to translate the Bible into English. He was denounced as an heretic by the Council of Constance in 1415. He had at that time long been dead, so his bones were dug up, burned and thrown into a stream. The followers of John Wycliffe were known by the name of the Lollards. They were bands of priests, who went about from place to place and preached to the common people in the English language. They not only attacked many beliefs and practices of the church, but also demanded social reforms.

The doctrines of John Wycliffe found favour with Queen Anne of Bohemia, wife of king Richard II. and through her they reached that country. Here the followers of Wycliffe attracted the attention of John Huss (1373-1415) a distinguished scholar in the University of Prague. John Huss began like Wycliffe to attack many of the doctrines of the church in sermons and pamphlets, and he also began to question the supremacy of the Pope. He was ex-communicated, but that did not silence him. He was at length ordered to appear before the Council of Constance. He was given a safe conduct by the German Emperor, and so he appeared before the

council. He was declared guilty and burnt in 1415 outside the walls of Constance. The death of John Huss led to the Bohemian wars against the Empire.

System of worship. As soon as Christianity had triumphed over its rivals in the empire, more attention began to be paid to the method of worship. Many of the practices prevalent in the rival faiths were adopted. Magnificent church buildings were erected. Church interiors were decorated with paintings, pictures, images of saints and martyrs, and the figure of the cross. Lighted candles on the altars, and the burning fragrant incense lent an additional impressiveness to the worship. Beautiful hymns and prayers were composed. By the time Pope Gregory came to occupy the pontifical throne in 590, music came into use in connection with church services, and church bells, for summoning the worshipers to divine service, became attached to church buildings. It appears the Christians from the very start observed Sunday as a day of rest and religious exercise, in memory of the resurrection of Christ.

Christian Monasticism. In the middle ages the greatest allies of the Church were the monks. Monasticism is derived from a Greek word which means "living alone." It is well known that spiritual-minded men in all ages have always considered it desirable to withdraw from the world, its temptations and its temporary pleasures. They have always preferred a life of solitude, prayer, and religious contemplation. Such people have held, that soul can be purified by subduing the desires and passions of the body. Some of the teachings of Christ, taken literally, also helped to exalt the worth of monastic life. At a very early period in the history of Christianity, there were found Christian men and women, who abstained from marriage, and gave themselves up to devotional exercises and works of charity.

This they did without abandoning their families. But gradually such devotional men began to withdraw completely from the world. This practice first grew in Egypt. As early as 270 A. D. we are told St. Anthony who was born in 250 in Egypt, left the world, and lived among ascetics. After spending 15 years among them, he went into complete solitude, taking up residence in a deserted place on the banks of the river Nile. He spent 20 years in the strictest seclusion, spending all his time in prayer and religious exercises. At length, he attracted around him some people who wished to lead ascetic life. They requested him to become their teacher and guide. St. Anthony complied with their wishes, came forth from his seclusion, and became the founder of Christian monasticism. This is supposed to have taken place in 305 A. D. From this time onward monasteries began to be established in different parts of the Roman empire. In the middle of the 4th century St. Basil a Greek monk established a monastery in Pontus (eastern part of Asia Minor) and in about 360 A.D. drew up a set of rules and regulations for regulating the lives of monks. Every novitiate was required to pass a period of probation. The time of the monks was divided between prayer, work, and the reading of Holy Scriptures. They were to lead an austere life, and they were to pay strict obedience to the Abbot, which was the name given to the head of the monastery. The word "Abbot" is derived from the Syrian word "Abba" which means father. These regulations began gradually to be adopted by all monasteries in the east. St Basil's Regulations still remain the basis of Monasticism in the Greek Church.

Monasticism in the West. In western Europe monastic life is said to have been introduced by the influence of St. Athanasius. Accompanied by two Egyptian monks, he came to Rome in 339 A. D. By the end of the 4th century there were a large number of monasteries in Italy. In the 5th century monasteries were established in Spain

and France, and then in the 6th century monastic life spread into central Europe and Great Britain. But these monasteries in western and central Europe were not brought under a common organization till the time of St. Benedict. He was born in Italy in 480. He is supposed to have established a monastery at Monte Cassino midway between Rome and Naples in about 520. In 529 St. Benedict drew up a constitution for the control of monks at Monte Cassino. This constitution was modelled, in some respects, after the earlier constitution of St. Basil, but it was so modified as to suit the conditions of the west. According to this constitution the monks formed a sort of corporation presided over by an Abbot who held office for life. Every candidate took the vow of obedience to the Abbot. Any man, rich or poor, noble or peasant, could enter the monastery after a probationary period of one year. The monks were to live under strict discipline. They could not own any property, they could not go beyond the monastery walls without the abbot's consent, they could not even receive letters from home, and they were to go to bed early. A violation of the Regulations was punished either by warning, or exclusion from common prayer, or in case of grave offence by expulsion from the monastery. The constitution of St. Benedict was adopted by all monasteries in the west.

Other monastic Orders. All the monasteries in western and central Europe in the early middle ages belonged to the Benedictine order. But by the 10th century the constitution of St. Benedict lost much of its force. As the monasteries increased in wealth through gifts of land and goods, they became centres of idleness, luxury, and corruption. The monks forgot their vows of poverty, and instead of themselves working as cultivators, craftsmen, and students, they employed laymen to work for them. At the same time powerful feudal lords very often obtained control

over monastic properties by appointing their own relations or servants as abbots. A revival of strict monasticism, however, began in 910, when a monastery was established at Cluny in eastern France, whose monks lived lives of the utmost self-denial, and followed the Benedictine constitution in all its strictness. Before long Cluny became a centre of a reform movement which spread all over Europe. Gradually in all monasteries in the west the system of Cluny was followed, and they formed parts of one organisation "the congregation of Cluny." The abbot of Cluny appointed the "priors" or heads of the different monasteries, and he required every monk to pass several years of his monastic life at Cluny itself. That made the abbot of Cluny, next after the Pope, the most important ecclesiastical authority in Europe. In the 11th and 12th centuries there arose other monastic orders. The Cistercian order was founded in 1098 at Citeaux, not far from Cluny. The Cistercians laid great emphasis on manual labonr, and in the middle ages they were known to be the best farmers, and cattle breeders. St. Bernard, who lived from 1090 to 1153 and who is so famous in the monastic history of western Europe, was a Cistercian monk.

The Friars. The Christian monasticism has undergone a gradual evolution. The early hermits devoted themselves to the service of God by retiring to the desert for prayer, meditation, and bodily mortification. The constitution of St. Benedict did away with extreme forms of self-denial, brought the monks together under a common organisation, and required them to engage in daily manual labour. It was thus compared with the earlier asceticism a distinct change for the better. But still under the Benedictian system, the monks lived apart from the world, and worked mainly for the salvation of their own souls. A new conception of religious life arose when the friars came to the front in the 13th century,

with social service as their object. They devoted themselves strictly to the salvation of others. The foundation of the orders of Friars was the work of two men, St. Francis in Italy, and St. Dominic in Spain. St- Francis (1181-1236) was the son of a merchant. He put away all thoughts of riches and honour, took the vow of poverty, and began to work for lepers and other social outcastes. He gathered round him a band of devoted followers. The Franciscan order spread so rapidly that even in the life time of the founder there were several thousand members in Italy and other European countries. St. Dominic (1170-1221) was a clergyman and a student of theology. He and his followers worked among the heretical Albigenses, and tried to reclaim them. The Franciscans, and the Dominicans resembled each other in many ways. They were wandering mendicants, and went on foot preaching from place to place. They possessed no property and lived on the alms of the charitable. They preached to the people, not in Latin, but in the mother tongue of the country they visited. The Franciscans worked among the poor, and the Dominicans among the upper classes and the educated people. They are still engaged in the different parts of the world as teachers and missionaries. The activities of the Friars brought about a good deal of religious revival in Europe in the 13th century. They helped a good deal in strengthening the authority of the Pope. The Pope also granted them many privileges. They were employed by the Popes, for raising money for church purposes, for preaching crusades, and for the proclamation of ex-communications and interdicts. The Franciscans and the Dominicans were practically the agents of the Pope.

The Rise of Vernaculars. In the middle Ages Latin was the international language of western and central Europe. The Roman church used it for Papal Bulls. Prayers were recited, hymns sung and sermons preached in

Latin. In the mediaeval Universities, Latin was the medium for instruction and examination. In the law courts, the lawyers addressed the judges in Latin, and the judgments were pronounced in the same language. The merchants too living in different countries of Europe corresponded with one another in Latin. Throughout the middle ages all learned books were written in Latin. But along with this Literary language of the Scholars there also existed in each country, by its side, the language of the common people. In those countries which formed part of the old Roman Empire the colloquial Latin took up, after the German invasions, many Teutonic words, and thus rose the present day Ramance languages of Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese. In these national languages the basic structure is still Latin, but they have absorbed many Teutonic words. In those countries which were not parts of the Roman Empire the basic structure of the national languages is Teutonic, but they have absorbed many Latin words. The English language, on the other hand, occupies a position midway between the Romance and Teutonic languages. The original colloquial Latin was driven out by the Anglo-Saxon language, but later on it was itself modified to a very great extent by the French imported by the Normans. The earliest works in the vernacular languages were, "*king Arthur and the knights of the Round Table*" and "*Robin Hood*" in English, *Song of Roland* in French and *Nibelangenlied* in German. It were these vernacular languages that from 13th century began to be used by the friars in their preachings.

Mediaeval Education. On the overthrow of the Roman empire of the west, dark ages came over western Europe. In the prevailing chaos and disorder, literature and arts could hardly flourish. All the ancient seats of learning became deserted. The people now relapsed into illiteracy. It was not till the time of Charlemagne that schools and colleges

began to be restored. But in the middle ages teaching lay entirely in the hands of the clergy. The school classes were held either in cathedrals, or in monasteries. The education that was imparted in these schools was of a very elementary character. Pupils read Latin grammar sufficient enough to read religious books. They learned music which was just enough to follow the services of the Church. They studied Arithmetic by means of the old Roman notation, and geometry in Euclid's propositions without the demonstrations. They had a smattering knowledge of Astronomy, and sometimes a little knowledge of such subjects as geography, law, and philosophy. In addition to these schools held in monasteries and cathedrals, there were other schools maintained by the different crafts and merchants guilds. There were also schools maintained by private philanthropic individuals.

Mediaeval Universities. The mediaeval universities in Europe developed out of the cathedral and monastic schools. In the 11th and 12th centuries there was great intellectual revival. It seems to have been stimulated by intercourse with cultured Arabs in Spain, Sicily, and Egypt. During the wars of the crusades Europeans of western Europe came into contact with the Greek scholars of Constantinople. After this the desire for education became so general that the Church schools could not satisfy the demand. Other schools now began to be opened in the different cities of Europe. It is stated that the number of students who flocked for study to these institutions became so great, that special organisations, which were given the name of universities began to spring up. The word "University" meant at first simply a union or association. In the middle ages all artisans were organised in guilds, and when masters and pupils associated themselves

for teaching and study, they modelled their organisations after the guilds, We are told that some 80 Universities were established between 1150 and 1500. The University consisted of professors and students just as the guilds consisted of the masters and the apprentices. The mediaeval Universities did not require expensive libraries, laboratories, and museums. Their only equipment was lecture rooms for the professors. Even benches and chairs were not required, for students sat on floors covered with straw. As there were no printed books, and manuscripts were very costly, the students were not required to purchase books, and the professors were compelled to give all instruction by means of oral lectures. Although these Universities were established independently of Church institutions, still they were under the protection of the Church, and so the students and the professors possessed many of the privileges of clergymen. Students did not pay taxes or serve as soldiers. They also enjoyed the right of trial in their own courts. The members of a University usually lived in a number of colleges. These seem to have been at first mere lodging houses, where poor students were cared for at the expense of some charitably disposed rich man. In course of time, as these colleges increased in wealth, through gifts and endowments made in their favour they became centres of instruction also, under the direction of masters. These colleges were more or less self-governing. The studies in a mediaeval University were grouped under the four faculties of arts, theology, law, and medicine. The Arts faculty taught the seven liberal arts of grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Theology, Law, and Medicine, were professional studies, taken up after the completion of the Arts course. Paris University specialized itself in Theology, and Bologna in Italy in Law.

Scholasticism. As theology formed the chief subject of study in most of the mediaeval Universities, and the most famous scholars of the age were theologians, an effort was made to arrange the doctrines of the Church in a systematic order. For this purpose it was necessary to take the assistance of Philosophy. This union of theology with philosophy is known by the name of Scholasticism. But the philosophy on which the scholastics depended was mainly of Aristotle. The study of Aristotle was first introduced into mediaeval Europe by the Arabs. It was translated into Latin from the Arabic version. Later on in the wars of the crusades, Greek copies of Aristotle were found in Constantinople. Thirteenth century scholars of Europe were so fascinated by the logic of Aristotle, that the great theologians of the time did not hesitate to prepare elaborate commentaries on all his works. The European scholars of the middle ages were so pleased with the learning of Aristotle that they considered him to be an authority on each and every branch of knowledge. To the scholastics therefore, Aristotle, the Church fathers, the Bible, and the Roman Law were of equal authority. In the mediaeval Universities Greek however as a language was not studied. No attention was paid to the study of history. The vernaculars, which have given rise to the great modern languages of Europe, were not considered worthy of study. But from the beginning of the 14th century people in western Europe began to be attracted towards the study of Greek. Petrarch (1304-1374) a Florentine scholar of Italy set the example of collecting all the writings of the Romans, and he also himself made an effort to learn the Greek language. But sometime after his death in 1396, A. D. Chrysolaras a Greek scholar of Constantinople came to Florence, and began to teach the Greek language to the students in that city. Soon after this the study of Greek became popular in

Italy. A search began to be made of the writings of all the ancient Greek writers. By 1430 Greek books began once again to be studied in western Europe. Those who devoted their time to the study of Latin and Greek literatures were called Humanists. The name is derived from the Latin word *humanitas* which means "culture". In course of time the colleges in the different Universities gave up the exclusive study of Aristotle, and substituted in its place the study of the Greek and Latin literatures. This was known by the name of the *classical course* of studies. From what has been said above, it would appear that in the middle ages there was practically no original research. Law students committed the code of Justinian to memory. Medical students learned anatomy and physiology not in the dissecting room, but from old Greek books. The Theologians and Philosophers settled all their problems on the authority of the Bible, the Church Fathers, and Aristotle. This method is known by the name of the scholastic method.

The Sciences in the middle Ages. The present day civilisation owes a good deal to the ancient Greeks in the departments of literature and arts, philosophy and sciences. Among the Greeks philosophy and science were very closely related to one another. The Greek philosopher was very often a student of natural and physical science as well, and it was thought that the arrangement of the Universe and the component parts of all bodies could be determined by speculation rather than by investigation. The Greeks were very fond of mathematics, and such physical sciences as physics, astronomy, and chemistry. It seems the Romans made very little contribution to the knowledge of physical sciences. Whatever knowledge of sciences was borrowed by the Romans from the Greeks was lost in the middle ages. The study of the physical sciences was first stimulated by the Arabs who had

taken possession of Spain in the 8th and of Sicily and southern Italy in the 9th century. Various scientific inventions such as magnifying glasses, clocks, and mariner's compass had come into use. But real scientific interest was awakened after the study of Greek literature became popular. When in the 14th century the study of Greek language revived in western Europe, the scientific achievements of the Greeks began to be appreciated. The first step taken was to find out what the ancients had known, and then to begin a new progress from the point which they had reached. The first medical lectures for instance were commentaries on the Greek texts. In astronomy the first step of Copernicus was to search the classics for a theory of the solar system different from that propounded by the Ptolemaic school. We may say the first scientist in western Europe was Roger Bacon a Franciscan monk, who lived from 1214 to 1294. He was a great critic of Aristotle. He used to say that even if Aristotle was very wise he had only planted the tree of knowledge, and this had " not as yet put forth all its branches nor produced all its fruits ". Bacon held that truth could be reached a hundred thousand times better by *experiments* with real things than by pouring over the bad Latin translations of Aristotle. Bacon would not rely on the *authority* of ancient writers unless their statements were corroborated by actual experiments

According to the Greeks all earthly things were made of the four elements—earth, air, water, and fire. They knew nothing of the mariner's compass or gunpowder, or the printing press. In the middle ages the Europeans had not advanced beyond this stage. The study of chemistry was during this period much mixed up with alchemy, which was also studied in ancient Greece, and from whose books the Arabs learnt it. The Alchemists believed that baser metals could be transmuted into gold, which was considered to be a perfect metal. This

transmutation could take place with the assistance of a "philosopher's stone," and so all energies of the alchemists were directed towards the discovery of this stone. Although this stone was never found, yet these activities enabled the alchemists to learn a good deal about the various metals and their compounds. Thus alchemy helped to some extent the advance of chemistry. In the middle ages there were no telescopes, but still people took great interest in astronomy. In the middle ages the astronomers followed Ptolemy, a Greek astronomer of 2nd century after Christ, who believed that the earth was the centre of the universe and that the Moon, the Sun, the planets, and the stars all rotated round it. Along with astronomy people also studied astrology, a subject which is known to have been studied in ancient Babylonia several thousand years before Christ. The students of astrology believed that the earth and the people living thereon were controlled to a very great extent by the celestial influences of such heavenly bodies as the Sun, the Moon, the planets, and the stars. The astrologers claimed that by calculating the positions of these heavenly bodies at the time of the birth of an individual it was possible to predict his fate. It was during the 13th century that new inventions came into use. The mariner's compass which was supposed to be known to the Chinese, began to be used by the Europeans. Again it was in the 13th century that the properties of the lens were discovered, and before the end of the century spectacles began to be made. Out of this lens developed later on the telescope, the microscope, and the spectroscope. In mathematics, the awkward Roman numerals began to be substituted by the Arabic numerals, which are an adaptation of Indian numerals. Further more it was during this century that the explosive nature of a compound of sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal, now known as gunpowder, was discovered. The earliest gun is supposed to have been made before 1326. By the middle of

the 14th century gunpowder was used in warfare. Paper in the earliest times was imported from Egypt. On the conquest of this country by the Arabs, Europe could not be supplied the Egyptian Papyrus, and on the revival of learning in the later middle ages Europeans began to use in place of paper, parchment, made from the skin of lambs and goats. But this was very expensive. It is supposed that the art of paper manufacture was in the ancient times known to the Chinese. The Arabs learnt this art from them, and by them it was introduced into Europe. It came into common use in the 13th century. The art of printing was also first known to the Chinese. It was introduced into Europe in the 15th century. Printing presses were soon established in all the important towns of the continent. Printed books, which contained far less clerical errors than manuscript books, were now produced in very large numbers. We can very well say that the printing press brought such a great revolution in the intellectual life of the people, that it may rightly be said to have ushered in the modern age.

Art in the middle ages. For more than three hundred years after the overthrow of the western Roman empire by the Germans, there was hardly any architectural development in western Europe outside Italy and Spain. In Italy architecture was influenced very much by Constantinople, and Spain was during this period a centre of Muslim culture. But in about 800 A. D. the old Roman architecture began to be revived. This architectural style called Romanesque, first rose in northern Italy, and southern France, and from there it gradually spread to other parts of Europe. The chief characteristics of Romanesque style were to have circular arches, and vaulted roofs supported by thick and heavy walls. The windows under this style had to be small in order that the walls should not be weakened. The Romanesque churches were consequently rather dark inside. This style of architecture lasted for about

300 years from 800 A. D. to 1100 A. D. The architects of northern France were not satisfied with the Romanesque method of building, and in the 12th century they invented a new way of constructing their churches, and other buildings, which enabled them to do away with the heavy walls and put high, wide and graceful windows in place of small semi-circular-ones. This new style of architecture is called Gothic, not because this style was introduced by the Goths, but because all non-classical styles were in the eyes of the Italians, Gothic which was another name for barbarian. The Gothic style in reality was a natural development of the Romanesque style. The Romanesque vaulted ceiling was retained, but thick solid walls, which left little window space, were done away with. This was done by putting in a large number of stone ribs, which rested on pillars, and gathered up the weight of the ceiling. In this way ribbed vaulted ceilings could span wider areas, make the ceilings higher, and give space for larger windows. The pillars supporting the ribs were themselves connected by means of flying buttresses with strong masonry piers, outside the walls. Another change in the style that was now introduced was to have long pointed arches in place of circular ones. The pointed arch was probably borrowed from the Arabs of Sicily. So ribbed vaulting, flying buttresses, and pointed arches were the distinctive features of Gothic architecture. Many churches and public buildings were in the middle ages constructed in this style. In the later middle ages the interior of these buildings were profusely decorated by Byzantine paintings, brilliant frescoes, beautiful wood carvings, and figures of men, animals, and plants.

Magic and Popular superstitions In the middle ages people believed in all kinds of magic. The Oneiromancers took omens from dreams. Palmists predicted the destinies of individuals from the lines on

their hands. The Necromancers professed to hold communications with the spirits of the dead. Talismans were prescribed by magicians to ward off different kinds of evils, or adversities. The belief in witchcraft was widely prevalent, and trials and executions for witchcraft were frequently held in the middle ages. The great French patriot Joan of Arc after being captured by the English in 1431 was tried and burnt as a witch. During this period many persons were supposed to be possessed of evil eye by means of which people could be bewitched, injured or killed by a single glance. Various kinds of charms, including texts from the holy Bible, were used to guard against the evil eye. Many stories of fairies, giants and ogres were current. Story telling formed one of the chief amusements in the middle ages. These folk tales were told by mothers and nurses to children, and the simple village folk used to spend their long winter evenings by reciting these tales while sitting round the fireplaces.

Customs and Manners. In the middle ages the houses of even the rich nobles were very poorly built and scantily furnished. They were poorly lighted, and ill-ventilated. In these days there were no fire-places, built, and during the long winters the rooms and the halls were warmed by open wood fires made on the floor in the centre. The houses in the middle ages hardly contained any furniture. The Halls in the manor house usually contained a long dining table, with benches and stools which were used at the time of meals. The floors of the rooms were very rarely covered with carpets or rugs. People in the middle ages could not afford to have many utensils, and glass and silver were hardly known. In these days it was not considered decent to wear tight-fitting garments. The feudal lords and knights as a rule went clean shaven. To wear a beard was considered a sign of effiminacy. The introduction of long

beards seems to have been due to the contact of Europeans with the east during the wars of the crusades. In the middle ages over-eating and drunkenness were common vices. They used a large amount of meat diet, and in these days people ate with their fingers. Knives and forks were not used. The use of tea, and coffee had not yet begun among the people. But it seems from about 1300 A. D. onwards the custom and manners of Europeans began to undergo a change. Now fire-places began to be built at one or both ends of the manor hall, instead of in the centre. The wooden shutters of windows began to give way to glass windows. Tight fitting garments now came into use, and the inconvenience of putting such garments on led to the use of button-holes. Knives and forks in eating also began to be used from this time.

SUMMARY

1. *Definition of Civilisation and Culture*, Civilisation is mainly concerned with social control, and culture with individual enlightenment. Under civilisation we have to discuss Government, Law, and Social structure. The social structure of a society depends upon the economic stage a society has reached, the family, clan, or tribal relations that exist among them, the church organisation it has developed, and the customs and manners that prevail among its people. Under the head culture we have to discuss Cosmology, Theology, Literature, Art, and Science.

2. *The Origin of Feudalism*, The word "feudalism" is derived from the Latin word Feudum from which are derived the French "fief". and the English "fee". In the decaying period of Roman empire there existed two Roman institutions :—*Precariae*, and *Patronicium*. The big landlords possessing extensive areas of land were in the habit of giving them on lease to free peasants. This tenure of land was called by the name of *Precariae*. When landless poor freemen put themselves under the protection of big and influential patrons, they were called clients, and were supposed to be under the *patronicium* of the patrons. When the Roman empire was overwhelmed by German invasion these big and influential Roman landlords usurped many of the political powers of the Roman emperor. In Germany, on the other hand, there existed the practice of ambitious young men putting themselves under the protection

of powerful military chiefs, under whose leadership they could fight battles and win renown. These victorious chiefs after conquering the lands of their enemies distributed them among their warriors. This practice was known by the name of *comitatus*. During the decaying period of the Merovingian Empire of the Franks, the two Roman institutions of *Precariae*, and *Patronicium*, and the German institution *Comitatus* became mixed up, and the lords assumed the position of historical feudal lords.

3. *The Chief Characteristics of the Feudal System.* The feudal lord did homage to his king only so long as he did not feel strong enough to defy him. He exercised autonomous powers within his territories. All land within his dominions belonged to him, and all those who cultivated this land were his subjects. All the artisans and craftsmen living on his lands owed allegiance to him. All disputes between people living in his dominions were settled by him. He was entitled to a share of the produce from his tenants, and to certain aids and payments from his people on definite occasions. The cultivators living on his lands were under an obligation to give him free labour and in times of war the services of his people were at his disposal for a certain number of days in the year. The people under this system owed allegiance only to their immediate lords. They were under no obligation to the king. The natural consequence was that the country was always in a disturbed condition, no strong kingdom could come into existence, and no feelings of patriotism could be roused in the minds of the people.

4. *The Decay of Feudalism.* The middle ages can be divided into three periods. (1) From 500 A. D. to 800 A. D. During this period the old institutions of *Precariae*, *Patronicium* and *Comitatus* got mixed up, and during the weak rule of the Merovingians, as the king could not protect the country against foreign aggression and internal disturbances, the country became split up into a large number of feudal territories. (2) The second period lasted from 800 A. D. to 1200 A. D. During this period the historical feudal system developed and flourished. (3) The third period lasted from 1200 A. D. to 1500 A. D. During this period the feudal system decayed. The following were some of the causes for its decay. (*i*) During the wars of the crusades when trade in Europe revived, money began to circulate freely. A strong merchant class came into existence. So the king could obtain money by taxing the merchants, and by granting charters to city corporations, and guild organisations. With money thus obtained the king was in a position to keep standing armies, and thereby crush the power of the feudal lords.

(*ii*) The revival of trade in Europe as a result of the wars of the crusades introduced many articles of luxury in the west. In order to purchase these articles of Oriental luxury, and in order to find money to provide themselves with war materials, so that they may efficiently take part in the wars of the crusades, they in return for money grants from the corporations of merchants gave them many civic rights. That brought into existance a free urban class, the *bourgeoisie*, who helped the king much in crushing the feudal lords. (*iii*) Many feudal lords were killed and financially ruined in the wars of the crusades, and that enabled the king to crush them easily. (*iv*) The Roman Catholic Church as a universal organisation was opposed to feudalism, which was necessarily a local and aristocratic system. By prohibiting war on certain days in the week, and on certain festivals, and exempting certain classes of people from war-like operations, the Church must have succeeded in stopping war to some extent, a state of affairs on which feudalism flourished. (*v*) When the kings took into their own hands the administration of justice, a heavy blow was struck on the influence and prestige of the feudal lords. (*vi*) When gunpowder began to be used in warfare, the feudal lords could get no protection from the walls of their castles.

5. *The Church Organisation.* Christianity received equal treatment with other religions in the Roman Empire in 311 A. D. But emperor Constantine made Christianity the State religion of the empire. As the empire was monarchical so was the Church made monarchical There were a hierarchy of officials appointed in the church. Originally there were 5 patriarchates in the Christian church, at Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, and Rome. On the conquest of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, by the Arabs, the first three patriarchates disappeared, and there remained only the patriarchates of Constantinople and Rome. Later on in 1054 the Church became divided into the Greek Church at Constantinople, and the Roman Catholic Church at Rome. In the earliest history of the Church, the priests maintained themselves either by farming or by shop-keeping. But later on when by gifts and endowments the church became rich, the priests gave up all secular occupations. In the earliest days of the Christian church, the priests, led a married life. But later on when there arose the fear of the priests distributing church property among their own children, they were required to lead a life of celibacy, In the Greek church the emperor was the head of the church, but in the west the Pope of Rome, after the fall of the Roman empire in 476, became not only independent of the state, but even superior to it.

6. *Functions of the Church, Religious, Social, and Political.* In the middle ages there were seven sacraments prescribed by the Christian church. 1. Baptism, 2. Conformation, 3. Holy Euchrist or Transsubstantiation, 4. Marriage, 5. Confession, 6. Ordination, and 7. Extreme Unction. The sacraments of Conformation and Ordination were performed by the Bishop, and the rest by the parish priest. In case the church was offended with any one, he was ex-communicated, with the result that his children could not be baptised, they could not be confirmed as members of the church, marriages could not be performed, and the dead could not be buried. Thus the fear of excommunication kept the people sufficiently subservient to the authority of the church. Besides controlling the religious and social life of the people in this way, the church in the middle ages administered the canon law, under which all alienations of proporty made by will, contracts made under oath, and all cases in connection with marriage, divorce, heresy, blasphemy, usury, and witchcraft, were heard and decided by ecclesiastical courts. It was also the function of the church to protect widows, orphans, and the families of the pilgrims and the crusaders. The doctrine of purgatory required the holding of masses for the souls of the dead. If any locality, district, or kingdom, was put under an interdict of the church, all churches in the territory were closed, no sacraments could be performed there, and no masses for the benefit of the souls of the dead could be held there. In this way the church controlled the entire life of the people. In the political field, the Pope of Rome gave approval to the appointment of kings and emperors, the bishops and archbishops performed the ceremonies of coronation, and the church prohibited all wars during certain festivals, and on certain days in the week. For the suppression of heresy there were the special courts of Inquisition.

7. *Law and Justice.* In the middle ages people were governed by two kinds of law, the common or customary law, and the canon or ecclesiastical law. The common law was administered by the feudal lords, and the canon law by the church courts. So the entire administration of justice was in the hands of the two privileged classes the nobility and the clergy, During this period there was very little occasion for the sovereign authority to legislate.

8. *Agriculture.* In the middle ages all land belonged to the feudal lord. The cultivators were mere tenants. But so long as they fulfilled their obligations to the lord they were not disturbed in the possession of the lands they cultivated. They were attached to the

soil. In these days the open field system prevailed. A farmer instead of having his land in one compact mass, had it split up into a large number of strips. In the middle ages agriculture was very backward. The fields were not manured, and the system of cultivation by rotation of crops was not known. So large areas of land had to be kept fallow. The farm animals were weak, for scientific breeding was not known. Farm implements too were few and clumsy. After the introduction of Arab rule in Spain in the 8th century, and in Sicily in the 9th century, many improvements were introduced into European agriculture. The Europeans now began to cultivate cotton, flax, hemp, rice, sugar cane, coffee, various kinds of vegetables, and such fruits as melons, oranges, lemons, apricots, and plums.

9. *Industries.* When the Roman empire was overwhelmed by the Teutonic invasions, the commercial and industrial cities of the empire suffered very heavily. Later on when the feudal system became well established in western and central Europe the Manor or the place of residence of the feudal lord became for the local rural area the centre of commercial and industrial activities. In the middle ages most of the local needs in the villages were satisfied locally. Each Mediæval village was self-sufficient. So there was hardly any trade or commerce between one territory and another. But as a result of the wars of the crusades, which lasted from 1095 to 1291, trade and commerce began to revive in Europe. This encouraged the growth of cities, which at first arose in the dominions of the feudal lords, and naturally owed obedience to them. As there was very little security of person and property in the middle ages, the merchants of these cities organised themselves into guilds, and as trade operations had made them rich they were able to purchase from their feudal lords many civic privileges. This made the towns and cities practically speaking free and autonomous. In each city there were several guilds, one guild for each craft. No one could engage in any craft without .becoming a member of the guild which controlled it, and without submitting to the guild regulations. Hours of work and the prices of goods manufactued were fixed by the guild. The guild possessed a monopoly in its own line of industry. Full membership of the guild was reached by stages. A boy started as an apprentice, and spent seven years as such. After passing a test of fitness held by the guild, the apprentice became a journeyman, or a daily wage earner. When as a journeyman he saved enough money he could set up a separate business as an independent master craftsman. Under this system of industry a master was at once

an employer, labourer, and capitalist. Gradually these guilds became very exclusive, and a good many restrictions were placed in the way of persons joining a craft. When power run machinery was introduced these guilds lost their monopoly, In the 19th century these guilds were transformed into trade-unions.

10. *Trade and Commerce*. As in the middle ages there were no roads, and very few inns for travellers, there was very little wheeled traffic. Goods were transported on pack-horses, and highway robberies were common. Moreover goods were subject to frequent tolls. Under such circumstances there was very little commercial life among Europeans So the entire trade was in the hands of the Greeks and the Arabs. In the middle ages there were three main commercial routes from the East to Europe. The northern route entirely overland, traversing high mountain passes, and long stretches of deserts, passed through central Asia, northern Persia, modern Turkey, and led to the ports of the Black Sea, and terminated at Constantionople. The central and the most important route, starting from the ports of India, led up the Persian Gulf and Tigris river to Baghdad, from which city goods went up by caravan to Antioch, and Damascus. The southern route reached Cairo and Alexandria, by way of the Arabian sea and the Red sea. When in the 11th century the Turks conquered the territories of the Caliphate the northern and the central routes were stopped. Trade could now be carried on by the southern routes alone From the ports of the Mediterranean the oriental goods were carried to Europe by the merchants of Venice and Genoa. In the middle ages almost every town held a weekly market, and in some of the bigger places fairs were held once or twice in the year. These fairs gave opportunities for the sale of goods brought from the most distant places, and for the people of different countries to get acquainted with one another, The wars of the crusades brought the people of the east and the west face to face, and stimulated trade, which helped to increase the money supply. At this time the Christians did not look with favour on the business of money-lending, so this business fell into the hands of the Jews.

11. *Sports, Festivals, and Entertainments*. In the early middle ages the Europeans did not know any indoor games, and their out-door games consisted of cock-fighting, or horse, bull, or bear baiting. After the wars of the crusades the eastern games of chess, checkers, and playing cards were introduced into Europe. The Tibetan game of Polo was also introduced about this time. Later on they began to play the games of golf, cricket, hockey, and tennis. Mediaeval festivals could be

divided into two classes, those which were introduced by Christianity, and those which had come down from pre-Christian times. The Christmas day, the Epiphany, the Easter days, and the Pentacost, were Christian festivals. On the other hand, the April Fool's day, the May day, and the Mid-summer Eve were festivals derived from the ceremonies with which the heathen people of Europe had been accustomed to mark the change of seasons. Even the Christmas day though now connected with the birth of Christ, has some heathen associations.

12. *Religion.* The conquests of Alexander the Great and later on the establishment of the Roman empire over the then entire civilised world west of Persia, made it possible for the representatives of the ancient religions of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Palestine, Anatolia. Greece, and Rome, to meet and influence each other. A comparative study of these different religions damaged the very faith the different peoples had in their respective religions. It was under such conditions that Christianity was introduced into Europe. The old religions did not give any satisfactory explanation of life after death, and therefore people attached too great an importance to the life that was lived on this earth. People became more or less epicurean. Christianity, on the other hand, spoke about the life after death with emphasis It considered the life on this earth only as life of trial. It was, therefore, necessary to have a guide in order to live a virtuous life. The Christians taught that it were only the teachings of Christ that could help an individual to lead a virtuous life. The teachings of Christ moreover were simple in nature, and originally free of all rituals. So gradually Christianity began to spread in Europe. But in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire Christian theologians began to indulge in great many speculations, regarding the divinity of Christ, about the relations between Christ and God, and the nature of Trinity. Western Europe was more or less free of these speculations. These speculations led to many controversies, which were settled in church councils specially called for the purpose. After the decisions of these councils, those who held contrary views were punished for heresy.

13. *System of Worship.* When Christianity became triumphant over its rivals in Europe, it adopted many of the methods of worship prevalent among its rivals. Magnificent church buildings were erected, and church interiors were decorated with paintings, pictures, images of saints, and martyrs, and the figure of the cross. Lighted candles on the altars, and the burning of fragrant incense lent an additional impressiveness to the worship. Beautiful hymns and prayers were composed. By the time of Pope Gregory (590-604) music came into use in connection

with church services. Sunday was from the very first observed by the Christians as a day of rest and prayer in memory of the resurrection of Christ.

14. *Monasticism in the East.* Monks in the middle ages were the greatest allies of the church. Monasticism is derived from the Greek word *Mono* which means alone. Spiritual minded men have always preferred to live a life of solitude, prayer, and religious contemplation. The practice of withdrawing completely from the world first grew in Egypt. St. Anthony, born in 250 A. D. established the first Christian monastery in 305 A. D. In the middle of the 4th century, St. Basil a Greek Monk drew up a set of rules and regulations for regulating the lives of monks. Every novitiate was required to pass a period of probation. The time of the monks was divided between prayer, work, and the reading of Holy Scriptures. They were to lead an austere life, and pay strict obedience to the Abbot. These regulations still remain the basis of monasticism in the Greek church.

15. *Monasticism in the West.* In western Europe monasticism was introduced by St. Athanasius. He established a monastery near Rome in 339 A. D. Monastries in western Europe were brought under a common organisation by St. Benedict, who drew up a constitution for the control of monks at Monte Cassino in 529.

16. *Other Monastic Orders.* By the growth of wealth in monasteries, the monks had, during the feudal ages, fallen from their ideals of austere lives. But strict monasticism was revived when in 910 a monastery was established at Cluny in eastern France. In the 11th and 12th centuries there arose other monastic orders. The Cistercians were one of the most important of these orders. St. Bernard was a Cistercian monk.

17. *The Friars.* The earlier hermits lived a life of strict seclusion. Then came the monks who though living in organised bodies lived their lives apart from the rest of the world, and worked mainly for the salvation of their own souls. A new conception of religious life, arose when the friars came to the front in the 13th century with social service as their object. They devoted themselves to the salvation of others. There were two orders of friars founded during this period, one by St. Francis (1181-1236), and the other by St. Dominic (1170—1221) The activities of the friars brought about a good deal of religious revival in Europe in the 13th century. They also helped a good deal in strengthening the authority of the Pope.

18. *The Rise of National Languages.* In the middle ages, Latin was the international language of western and central Europe. Latin

was used in the universities, in the Law Courts, and in commercial correspondence. All learned books were written in Latin. But along with Latin, the literary language of the scholars, there also existed in each country by its side the language of the common people. These vernacular languages can be divided into two groups, the Romanic and the Teutonic. The Romance languages are found in those parts of western Europe which were included in the ancient Roman Empire. The Teutonic languages are found in central and northern Europe. The English language is mid way between the Romance and the Teutonic languages. The old national ballads, and epic poems were written in these vernacular languages. In the 13th century the friars began to preach in these vernaculars. From this time on the vernaculars began to develop into the modern national languages of Europe.

19. *Mediaeval Education.* On the overthrow of the ancient Roman empire, of the west, dark ages came over western Europe, which may be said to have lasted up to 800 A. D. The people during this period relapsed into illiteracy. In the time of Charlemagne who ruled from 771 to 814, schools and colleges began to be restored. But in the middle ages teaching lay entirely in the hands of the clergy. The education imparted in these schools was of a very elementary character. Pupils read Latin grammar sufficient enough to read religious books. They learned music which was just enough to follow the services of the church. They studied arithmetic by means of the old Roman Notations, and geometry in Euclid's propositions without the demonstrations. The different crafts and merchants guilds maintained their own secular schools.

20. *Mediaeval Universities.* The mediaeval universities in Europe developed out of the old cathedral and monastic schools. It seems the intellectual revival in Europe of the 11th and 12th centuries was stimulated by intercourse with cultured Arabs in Spain, Sicily, southern Italy, and Egypt. During the wars of the crusades (1095-1291) Europeans of western Europe came into contact with the Greek scholars of Constantinople. There was now great demand for Greek learning, which could not be met by the Cathedral or Monastic schools. So in the middle of the 12th century universities began to be established in different parts of Europe. The constitution of the universities was modelled after that of the guilds. The mediaeval universities were not equipped with expensive libraries, laboratories and museums. They required only bare rooms with no benches or chairs. The students sat on the floor covered with straw. As there were no printed

books, the professors gave oral lectures. The studies in mediaeval universities were grouped under the four faculties of Arts, Theology, Law, and Medicine. The Arts faculty taught the seven liberal arts of grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Paris University specialised itself in Theology, and Bologna university in Law.

21. *Scholasticism.* As theology was the chief subject of study in the middle ages, the scholars of those times tried to arrange the doctrines of the church in a systematic order. For this purpose it was necessary to take the assistance of philosophy. This union of theology with philosophy is called scholasticism. But the philosophy on which the scholastics depended was mainly of Aristotle. The study of Aristotle was first introduced into mediæval Europe by the Arabs. The European scholars of the middle ages were so pleased with the learning of Aristotle, that they considered him to be an authority on each and every branch of knowledge. From the beginning of the 14th century, people in Western Europe began to be attracted towards the study of Greek. Those who devoted their time to the study of Latin and Greek literatures were called Humanists. This name is derived from the Latin word *humanitas* which means 'culture'. In the middle ages there was no original research, for all knowledge was based on the classical Latin and Greek scholars.

22. *The Sciences.* Among the Greeks philosophy and science were very closely related to one another. But it was believed that the arrangement of the universe and the component parts of all bodies could be determined by speculation rather than by investigation. The Greeks were fond of mathematics, astronomy, physics, and chemistry. When in the 14th century the study of Greek language revived in Western Europe, the scientific achievements of the Greeks began to be appreciated. The study of the physical sciences was first stimulated by the Arabs. The first Scientist in Western Europe was Roger Bacon (1214-1294). He was a great critic of Aristotle. He held that truth could be reached a hundred times better by experiments with real things than by pouring over the writings of classical scholars, Roger Bacon was the first scholar who advocated that one should not rely on the authority of ancient writers unless their statements were corroborated by actual experiments. According to the Greeks all earthly things were made of the four elements earth, water, air, and fire. They knew nothing of the mariner's compass, or gunpowder, or the printing press. The study of chemistry in the middle

ages was mixed up with alchemy, and astronomy was mixed up with astrology. In accordance with the view of the Greek scholars it was believed that the earth was the centre of the universe, and the moon, the sun, and the stars, all rotated round it. From the 13th century new inventions came into use, *e.g.* mariner's compass, and telescopes. In mathematics the Roman numerals gave place to Indian numerals, which were introduced by the Arabs. Again it was about this time that gunpowder was discovered, and the manufacture of paper was learnt. The art of printing was learnt in the 15th century.

23. *Art in the Middle Ages.* In the early middle ages (500—800) there hardly existed any art in Western Europe. In Italy architecture was influenced by the art of Constantinople, and Spain was during this period a centre of Muslim culture. In about 800 A. D. the old Roman architecture began to be revived. This styls is called the Romanesque style. This style of architecture lasted till 1100, when the Gothic style of architecture was introduced in the northern parts of France. The Gothic style was the prevailing style during the rest of the middle ages.

24. *Magic and Popular Supserstition.* In the middle ages Europeans believed in all kinds of magic. The Oneiromancers took omens from dreams, palmists predicted the destinies of individuals from the lines on their hands, and the Necromancers professed to hold communications with the spirits of the dead. Talismans were prescribed by magicians to ward off calamities. The belief in witchcraft was very widely prevalent. Many people were supposed to possess the evil eye, and many stories of fairies, giants, and ogres were prevalent.

25. *Customs and Manners.* In the middle ages the houses were poorly built and ill-ventilated, Fires in winter were burnt in the centre of the Halls for there were no fireplaces built. The windows had no glass panes, and the houses contained very little furniture. The floors were not covered with carpets and rugs, but with straw. There were very few utensils, and in eating knives and forks were not used. People in those days ate with fingers, Tea and coffee had not yet come into use, people drank beer and ale. The people used flowing garments, and tight-fitting garments had not yet become the fashion of the day. But from the 13th century onward the customs and manners of the people began to undergo a change.

CHAPTER III.

THE NATURE OF THE RENAISSANCE ; THE BEGINNING OF MODERN EUROPE.

The word "Renaissance" in French means Rebirth or Revival. It is a term which conveys the idea of all changes in society, Law, and Government, and in Science, Philosophy, Religion, Arts and Literature. It is this change which transformed mediaeval culture and civilization into that of modern times. This period of renaissance is a bridge between Mediaeval and modern times, and since it is a transitional period it cannot be exactly dated. But in general terms it can be stated that this Renaissance period started after the wars of the Crusades began, and closed with the wars of Reformation. Ordinarily it is said that the Middle Ages ended in 1500. A. D., but it would be more correct to say that the Middle Ages began and came to an end at different times in different fields of human activity.

The Home of Renaissance. The word Renaissance was first applied to the revival of interest in the literature and Art of Classical times. Italy was the original home of this renaissance. This country was particularly favourable to the growth of learning and arts, because after the commencement of the wars of the crusades, the great cities of northern Italy such as Milan, Pisa, Genoa, Florence, and Venice, had in 1177 shaken off the imperial sway of the German emperors, and established therein self-governing republics or city states. The wars of the crusades had stimulated commercial activities in Europe, and these city states of northern Italy, took full share in these commercial activities. These cities thus became prosperous and wealthy.

Wealth brought leisure, and bred among the people a taste for luxury and ease. Prosperous merchants and wealthier people now began to have about them beautiful pictures, artistic statues, and magnificent palaces. There was another reason why revival of learning and art first began in Italy. The Italians still admired the ancient Roman Civilization, as expressed in its literature, art, and law. Although Italy had suffered much during the invasions of the Teutonic hordes, yet everywhere the Italians were reminded of the past greatness of their ancestors. Greek culture and civilzation also had during these invasions not entirely disappeared from Italy. Greek traders and Greek colonists in Italy still used their ancient language. Then again we must remember that Italy during the middle ages had come into contact with Arab culture and civilization as well. Sicily had in the ninth century been conquered by the Arabs. The Byzantine emperor at Constantinople had conquered Italy from the Ostrogoths, and occupied it for some time. Even after their political power decayed, Greek merchants and settlers remained in some parts of Italy throughout the middle ages. Then again we know that the Normans remained in possession of Sicily and southern Italy for a sufficiently long time. All these different people, the Greeks, the Arabs, and the Normans, must have contributed a good deal to the cultural development of the Italians. Such a state of affair must have stimulated their intellectuall activities a good deal. That explains why revival of learning first took place in Italy.

Revival in Literature. 1350-1525 In the Middle Ages Latin was the language of the scholars. The monasteries and cathedrals contained valuable collections of ancient books, and generations of monks worked laboriously in copying the works of ancient authors. When in the middle of the 12th century, universities came into existence, a large number of students began to study extensively the ancient Latin literature.

Greek literature, however, was little known in Western Europe. But the first modern scholar of Latin literature, was Petrarch, a native of Florence, who lived from 1304 to 1374. He spent his life in collecting Latin manuscripts. He himself also composed many works in Latin, and he did much to spread the knowledge of Latin among the people. His friend and disciple Boccaccio (1313-1375) first brought to Italy the manuscripts of the Greek works *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. If the revival of the study of the Latin was due to Petrarch, the revival of the study of Greek in Italy was due to Chrysoloras, a scholar belonging to Constantinople, who began to lecture on Greek in Florence in 1396. He did much to promote the study of Greek and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, many learned Greeks came over to Italy, and thus helped in bringing Greek learning to the West. The study of these two classical languages, Latin and Greek, opened up a new world of thought to the European scholars of the 15th century. They now began to read with great interest the works of Homer, Plato, Cicero, Horace, and Tacitus. The cultural value of this literature was appreciated to such a great extent that this new interest began to be called by the name of " Humanism." In the Middle ages the main interest of the scholars was the study of Theology and Philosophy. This was known by the name of " Scholasticism." The study of Greek and Latin literature was given the name of " humanities." This humanism which first started in Florence, soon spread throughout Italy. It was now found that the ancient manuscripts which had lain in the monasteries and cathedrals neglected and blackened with the dust of ages, were not quite safe. So separate libraries began to be established for their safe-keeping, and endowments began to be made for the appointment of professors in these ancient languages. The first Printing Press was established in Europe in 1450 at Mainz, in Germany, and the first printing press in England

was established in 1476. The Bible was the first book to be printed. But by the end of 15th century millions of books were printed. As hundreds and thousands of copies could now be produced by mechanical means, the invention of printing destroyed the monopoly of learning possessed by the universities and the men of wealth. Books were now the possession of the many, not the luxury of the few. Printing made possible popular education, public libraries, and cheap newspapers. In the field of literature the printing press caused a great revolution, and ushered in, in this field human of activity the modern age.

The Rise of modern Languages 1300-1600. It has been stated that in the Renaissance period the study of classical literature took the place of scholasticism. But during this period came over another change. Throughout western Europe Latin was no doubt the language of the scholars. But along with this literary language there also existed in each country the language of the common people. The national Epics of the early Middle Ages, such as King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, and Robin Hood, in English, Song of Roland in French, and Nibelangenlied in German, were in the national vernaculars. In the 13th century when the Friars came into existence, they began to preach to the people not in Latin, but in the mother tongue of the country they visited. Some small amount of literature was thus produced in the vernacular languages. But the greatest writer in the vernacular language was Dante, who was a native of Florence, and lived from 1265 to 1321. He wrote his celebrated Divine Comedy in the Florentine dialect. This has now developed into the modern Italian language. In the 14th century another great writer in the vernacular appeared in England. He was Chaucer who lived from 1340 to 1400. He wrote in English. Shakespeare (1564-1616) the great dramatist also wrote in English. The writings of Froissart (1337-1410) and of Montaigne (1533-1592) in French, of

Cervantes (1547-1616) the author of the celebrated Don Quixote in Spanish may be said to have founded the modern national languages of Europe. After this the scholars began to write in the respective national languages of their own. In the Middle Ages the scholars wrote in Latin. In the Modern Age they write in their national languages. This is another change by which the modern times can be distinguished from the Middle Ages. One more point is characteristic of the modern Age. In the Middle Ages, the authors did not disclose their identity. We do not for example know who was the author of the English Epic "King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table." In the Renaissance period however, poets and prose writers revealed themselves in their books.

Revival of Art 1450-1600. In the Middle Ages the ruins of ancient Rome, though inspiring awe in the hearts of the poople, did not produce among them any desire to preserve the old and ancient buildings. Even as late as the middle of the 15th century. the citizens of Rome used to strip marbles from the ancient monuments, in order to burn them as lime. Many of the ancient monuments of Rome were thus destroyed, and the ruins had been used as quarries. But a change of feeling came with the advent of Renaissance. The first phase of this new feeling was a sense of pathetic contrast between the majesty of the ancient remains, and the squalor of the modern city. Poggio was the first man during this period, who studied the monuments of Rome with the method of a scholar and an archaeologist, comparing them with the testimony of the Latin classics. The interest in Italian Archaeology was roused to such an extent, that in 1462 Pope Pius II issued a Bull in order to protect the remains of ancient Rome from further depredations. From this time on there was noticed in Italy a notable advance in the care and study bestowed on works of ancient art and architecture. Just about this time were founded the Museums of

the Capitol and of the Vatican. The appreciation of classical sculpture was quickened by the recovery of many ancient works of art. These specimens of classical art helped much to educate Italian taste, which was at this time already well disposed towards every form of classical culture. In 1515 Raffael was appointed by Pope Leo X, the master of the Works at St. Peter's, and Inspector General of Antiquities. But he died in 1520. Revival of learning in the classical languages of Latin and Greek, influenced very much the revival of Art in Italy. The architects of the Renaissance period went back to Greek temples and Roman domed buildings for the models, just as the humanists went back to Greek and Latin literature. Long rows of Ionic or Corinthian columns, spanned by round arches, became again the prevailing architectural style. The most important feature of Renaissance architecture was the use of the Dome, instead of the Vault, as the roofs of churches. Architects, however, did not limit themselves to churches. The magnificent palaces of Florence and Venice were also constructed after the same models.

The development of architecture stimulated other arts as well. Italian sculptors began to copy the ancient bas-reliefs and statues preserved in Rome and other ancient cities. The use of glazed terra cotta and casting of bronze doors, with Biblical scenes engraved on the panels, were also introduced at this time. The greatest of the Renaissance sculptors in Italy were Leonardo, (1452-1519), Michel Angelo (1475-1564), Titian, (1477-1576), and Raphael, (1483-1520).

Along with the development of Architecture and Sculpture, came the development of Painting. The early Italian painters only copied the Greek mosaics and enamels of Constantinople. Their works showed very little knowledge of human anatomy. The figures of men and women were depicted in stiff and conventional attitudes, and the persepective was false. In the 14th century, however, Italian painters gave up the Byzantine

style, and developed painting on independent lines. One characteristic of Italian painting was that Italian artists usually chose subjects from the Bible or the lives of the saints.

Another modern Art that arose during the Renaissance period in Italy was that of Music. This art first arose in connection with the service in the Roman Catholic Churches. In the middle ages the Europeans could hardly boast of any Art, but the contact of Italy during the wars of the Crusades with the Greeks living on the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranian and with the Arabs in Sicily and in Southern Italy stimulated among Italians a taste for Art and Literature lost in the middle Ages. From Italy this Art and Literature travelled beyond the Alps to other countries in Western and Central Europe. In Western Europe the foremost humanist of this age was Erasmus, who lived from 1466 to 1536. He translated the Bible into Latin from the original Greek version, and after that, it began to be translated into different languages of Europe.

Revival of Science 1250-1650 It has already been stated that the study of the physical sciences was first stimulated by the Arabs, who had taken possession of Spain in the 8th and of Sicily and Southern Italy in the 9th century. After the wars of the crusades the Europeans began to study Greek literature, and appreciate their achievements in science. The first step taken was to find out what the ancients had known, and then to begin a new progress from the point which they had reached. We may say that the first Scientist in Europe was Roger Bacon (1214-1294) a Franciscan monk. He was a great critic of Aristotle. He was the first individual who preferred personal investigation to acceptance of anything on the authority of others. It was during the 13th century, that new inventions came into use. It was during this period that the mariner's compass which was supposed to be known

to the Chinese, began to be used by the Europeans. Again it was during this period that the properties of the lens were discovered, and before the end of the century spectacles began to be made. It was out of this lens that later on the telescope, the microscope and the spectroscope were developed. In mathematics too this century saw the substitution of Arabic numerals, an adaptation of the Indian numerals, for the awkward Roman numerals. Further more it was during this 13th century that the explosive nature of a compound of sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal, now known as gunpowder, was discovered. The earliest gun was made as early as 1326. By the middle of the 14th century gunpowder was used in warfare. In the 15th century was born Copernicus, a Polish mathematician, who discovered that it was the earth which turns on its axis, and it together with the planets revolves round the sun. He lived from 1473 to 1543. His discovery was published in 1543 just about the time of his death. Astronomers before Copernicus generally accepted the doctrine formulated by the Greek astronomer Ptolemy, who flourished in the second century after Christ, and who held that the earth was the centre of the universe, and that the Sun, the Moon, and the stars all revolved round the earth. The new theory of Copernicus met with fearful opposition, not only in the universities, but among the theologians also. Moreover this theory could not appeal to those who considered man to be the best creation of God, and his little earth to be the centre of the entire Universe. Copernicus was followed by the Italian scientist, Galileo, (1564-1642), who made one of the first telescopes in 1610, and turned it on the heavenly bodies with wonderful results. He found the Sun moving round its own axis, for the spots on the Sun were found to be rotating. He also found that the planet Venus showed phases like the Moon, and the planet Jupiter was found to have several moons moving round it. Galileo thus held that the discoveries of Copernicus were confirmed.

A German scientist Kepler, (1571-1630), who was a contemporary of Galileo, worked out the mathematical laws which govern the movements of heavenly bodies. He proved that the planets revolve round the sun in elliptical rather than circular orbits. It were Kepler's investigations that later on led to the discovery of the principle of gravitation.

It has already been stated that the mediæval science of Medicine was based on the medical works of the Greeks and the Arabs. But it was a Fleming student of medicine, Vesalius (1514-1564), who gave to Europe the first careful descrip- of the human body based on actual dissection. He may therefore be said to be the founder of the present day science of human anatomy. Another medical man, William Harvey, (1578-1657) a native of England, making experiments on living animals discovered that blood circulated. He thus founded the modern science of Physiology.

Europeans began to take interest in the study of Physics when after the wars of the crusades they began to read Greek literature. It seems that the ancient Greek philosophers, like Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle and Epicurus had made speculations regarding the nature of light. Plato had even discovered the principle of the rectilinear propagation of light. We also find that Aristotle had advanced the wave theory of light. Ptolemy had discovered the laws of reflection and refraction of light. When the Greek learning decayed, it seems that the Arabs studied Greek literature, and continued speculations in Science. But the first scientist the Europeans produced was Roger Bacon, who lived from 1214 to 1294. He is supposed to have invented the magic lantern. In the Renaissance period, the great physicists were, the Italian John Baptista Porta (1543-1615), who invented the Camera Obscura, the mathematical professor, Snellius (1591-1626), of Leydan, and the French philosopher Descartes (1596-1650).

This new development of science in Europe differed from the old method. The older scientits relied more on speculation,

but the new scientists depended to a very great extent on personal observation and investigation. Lord Bacon, one of Shakespeare's contemporaries, and a severe critic of old scholasticism, said "All depends on keeping the eye steadily fixed upon the facts of nature, and so receiving their images simply as they are, for God forbid that we should give out a dream of our own imagination for a pattern of the world." Modern science which is the mother of present day civilization is also, like modern literature, and modern Art, a product of Renaissance.

Religious Revival 1100-1600 Whenever people of one culture come into contact with people of another culture, there always begin movements for religious reform. During the wars of the crusades the people of western and central Europe came into contact with Greek and Arab culture and civilization. In the 12th and 13th centuries there arose two religious reform movements, which are known by the names of Albigenses, and the Weldenses. The object of these movements was to purify the existing church. They condemned the luxury of the clergy, and urged that Christian priests should like the early apostles live lives of poverty. For them the Bible was a sufficient guide to religious life, and so the Holy Books were translated, and every one was allowed to preach. One of these reform movements was started in England in the 14th century, by John Wycliffe, who lived from 1320 to 1384. He was the first man to translate the Bible into English. His followers were called the Lollards, who were a band of priests moving about from place to place, and preaching to the common people in English. The teachings of John Wycliffe were adopted by John Huss (1373-1415), a scholar in the university of Prague, Bohemia. He was excommunicated, and was in 1415 burnt as an heretic. This led to Bohemian wars against the German Empire. During the same period a new conception of religious life arose when

in the 13th century the friars came to the front. These people had adopted social service as one of the items in their programme. They worked not only for the salvation of their souls, but devoted themselves also to the salvation of others. The activities of the friars brought a good deal of religious revival in Europe in the 13th century. All this religious upheaval, which may be said to be a result of the clash of cultures, brought about by the contact of the west with the east during the wars of the crusades, undoubtedly prepared the ground for the Protestant Reformation which is connected with the name of Martin Luther.

Geographical discoveries 1100-1500 In the classical times the Greeks and the Romans had become familiar with a large portion of Europe and Asia, but all the geographical knowledge was lost in the middle ages. The Arabs who had conquered a very large portion of the Roman empire, now became supreme in the Maditerranean sea, the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, and the Indian Ocean. It was when the Western Roman Empire had been overthrown by the Teutonic invaders of the north, and the Christian Europe had not yet recovered from the ruin that had overtaken it that Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Tunis, Algeria Morocoo, Spain, and Portugal were all conquered by the Muslims. Charlemagne began the process of restoring the Christian West to power and influence, but his successors were not able to shake the maritime supremacy of the Arabs, who for a long time held in check the rising power of Venice and Genoa. The crusades first extended geographical knowledge of the Europeans by fostering pligrimages and missions to Oriental countries. With the pilgrims and missionaries went a large number of merchants who brought back to Europe articles of luxury from the East. The one most important thing which drew European explorers eastward was the widely held belief that somewhere in the centre of Asia, there existed a

great Christian kingdom which if allied to European Christendom, might attack the Muslims from the rear. It was believed that this Central Asian Christian kingdom consisted of the ten lost tribes of Israil, who had been converted to Christianity by the Nestorian missionaries and that this empire was ruled by a priest-king Presbyter John. During the wars of the crusades the popes made several attempts to communicate with this mythical king. In the 13th century some Franciscan friars were able to penetrate the heart of Asia and brought back to Europe wonderful tales about the wealth and splendour of the east. The most famous of these mediæval travellers was Marco Polo, a Venetian merchant, who made a journey to the heart of Asia, to the court of Kublai Khan, the Mongol emperor of China. He returned to Europe by passing through the sourthern parts of Asia in 1295. The result was that by 1300 many of the eastern countries beyond the Euphrates were opened up. The new knowledge concerning the land routes of Asia was accompanied by a great progress in the art of navigation. It was about this time that the mariner's compass began to be used by Europeans. It appears that it were the Chinese who had discovered that an iron needle when rubbed with a loadstone has the mysterious power of pointing to the north. This compass may have been introduced into Europe by the Arabs, who had in the middle ages come into contact with the Chinese. It began to be used by the Europeans in the 13th century. Many other nautical instruments now came into use, and in the 15th century charting of the coasts was now undertaken. Sailors could now push out into the open sea as well.

The Capitalist Age The modern age is called a capitalist age, and modern society differs from mediæval society, because in the middle ages capitalism was unknown. It is therefore necessary to find out what is meant by capitalism,

The Economists define " Capital " as wealth which is used for the purpose of producing more wealth. It would be interesting to understand how mediæval society was transformed into the present day capitalistic society.

It has been stated that in the middle ages the lending of money at interest was considered immoral, and the church also condemned the receipt of interest as un-Christian. But when in the 13th century the city states of northern Italy became commercially the most important cities in the whole of Europe, the old prejudice against lending money at interest was softened. In northen Italy the practice grew up of lending money without interest, but of exacting damages for all delay in repayment. This appeared reasonable and right even to those who condemned ordinary interest. When as a result of the wars of the crusades, commercial and trade activities among Europeans were stimulated, merchants began to borrow more frequently. The mediæval belief that the taking of interest was immoral was still further weakend by the religious upheavals. So Banking or money lending came to be regarded more and more as a business necessity. After the discovery of America, and of the sea route to the East, there was more money to lend, partly because the rich mines of America poured into Europe a flood of gold and silver, and partly because this money came into the hands of rich men who had no use for it unless they lent it out at interest or invested it for profit. Instead of storing money in treasure chests, as many of their mediæval ancestors used to do, they found it convenient to deposit their money with bankers, who would pay interest on it. The bankers in their turn lent this money at higher rates of interest to merchants or kings or to any one who wished to borrow. That was the origin of Banking. The Banks receive money from the depositors at a low rate of interest, and lend it out at a higher rate. The bankers also served another useful purpose in business. They invented

bank notes, cheques, and bills for exchange. Business men no longer had to pay their debts, in gold, for now under this system, the gold or silver remained in the bank, and a bank-note, cheque, or bill of exchange served the purpose. The rise of banking has been one of the chief factors in the growth of capitalism. It has brought about a financial revolution in the business methods of the world. This financial revolution has revolutionized agriculture, industry, society, law, and politics.

Effects of Capitalism on Agriculture. In olden times a landlord or a nobleman, received his income in the shape of farm produce, which was generally consumed by himself and his dependents. After the discovery of new commercial routes, larger amount of gold and silver came into circulation, and so cash rent was substituted for the former contribution of labour and farm produce. The landlords now began to live in the city and they now started the practice of employing agents to collect the cash rents or sell the farm produce. This new practice created the "absentee land-lord" who was constantly urging his agent to extort more money from the peasants, and being an absentee landlord he escaped all his duties towards the peasants, with regard to their protection. Another result of capitalism in Agriculture was the introduction of the "Enclosure movement." In the middle ages in England the agricultural land was never en-closed by fences, but was treated more or less as common property. The landlord and the peasant both had the right to use a certain number of scattered strips in the grain fields, and to share in the common pasture lands. In the 15th century English landlords began to enclose some of the fields with hedges, and used them as private pastures for sheep, for just about this time there had arisen great demand for wool. This process of enclosing the land continued in the following

centuries. At length the peasants lost all their rights in the common lands. When even grain fields were enclosed, the peasants lost their small plots. They were in some cases given small money compensation for the loss of this land, but it was soon spent, and they had no alternative but to work as hired labourers or become beggars, or move into towns for work. In this way the old Manorial system of the middle ages was broken up. But this break up of the old mediæval system of agriculture had some advantages. Under the old system crop-rotation, and stock breeding could not be developed, neither could there be under such conditions any large scale farming. Under the new capitalistic system of agriculture all this could be possible.

Effects of Capitalism on Industry. The one great thing which helped to destroy the economic structure of the middle ages, and establish in its place the modern capitalistic system was the great calamity that overtook Europe in the middle of the 14th century. A pestilence of Asiatic origin, now called by the name of bubonic plague came into Europe, and after attacking Greece, Italy, Sicily, Spain, France, and Germany, it entered England in 1349. It is estimated that almost half the population was swept away by the plague. This pestilence caused a great scarcity of labour. The free peasants who survived this Black Death, as it was called, now demanded and received higher wages. Even the serfs, who were in the middle ages attached to the soil, found themselves in a better position. The lord of a manor, in order to keep his labourers often allowed them to substitute money payments for personal service. If the serfs secured no concessions they often ran away from their fields and hired themselves to those who paid the highest wages. The parliament at this time consisted mainly of landholders, and so in order to prevent the labourers from selling their labour to the highest bidders the

first Statute of Labourers was passed in 1351, by which maximum wages in different occupations were fixed, and the refusal to accept work on such wages was declared an offence. This Statute caused a good deal of restlessness among the masses, and in 1381 it led to the Peasant's rebellion. Similarly in France the feudal oppression of the peasants led to the Jacquerie rebellion of 1358. But eventually when the capitalists began to employ a large number of workmen in their newly started industries, the serfs in England, France, and Italy became emancipated. The society in these west European countries began slowly to be transformed from an agricultural to industrial one.

The discovery of new commercial routes, and the adoption of new financial methods brought about a change in industrial methods also. New markets were now opened for the manufactured goods of Europe. It was now easier for businessmen to borrow capital, for the purchase of raw materials, and the employment of labour. The enclosure movement in agriculture had driven thousands of peasants away from their farms. This provided to the capitalists a large supply of labourers, who could be employed in the manufacture of goods. What the capitalist usually did was this. He bought the raw wool in large quantities, hired women to spin it into yarn, he then employed weavers to weave the yarn into cloth, and then he finally sold the cloth in the market. This arrangement was called the "putting out" system, because the capitalists "put out" the raw materials to be manufactured by working men in their own homes. This "putting out" system was entirely opposed to the rules of the craft guilds, and it was employed by capitalists who did not belong to the guilds at all. The natural result of this was that the craft guilds now began to lose their monopoly. The guild system in industry like the manorial system in agriculture, now began to fall into pieces.

Effects of Capitalism on Society. One of the most important results of the rise of Capitalism was the growth of the bourgeoisie class. It consisted of businessmen, lawyers, doctors, and professors. The lawyers, the doctors, and the professors were a creation of the revival in learning, and the businessmen were a product of the commercial and financial revolution caused by the discovery of new commercial routes. This bourgeoisie class grew with the growth of commerce and industry. Wealthy merchants and bankers, could now like the mediæval landlords and barons build stately mansions, and their wives and daughters could now bedeck themselves with costly silks, furs, and jewels. They began to inter-marry with the nobility, and many of them began to be raised to the peerage for special services done by them. On the other hand, the members of the old nobility began to invest their money in business. In this way the social barrier between the old aristocracy and the new bourgeoisie class was broken down.

The growth of capitalism brought about many changes in the structure of European society. In the mediæval age society was mostly rural. In the Renaissance period as commerce and industry grew, a large number of towns and cities came into existence, and larger number of people began to concentrate themselves in towns. As the modern age advanced society was being urbanised. Then again in the middle ages, the peasants being attached to the soil, were completely under the control of the landlords. Although they were not slaves, yet they were not free either. They were called serfs, and their emancipation did not come about till the beginning of the 15th century. Absentee Landlordism still further separated the landlords from the peasants. The commercial revolution and change in the methods of business, introduced capitalism, and brought into existence a new class, the bourgeoisie, who now began to control the working class people,

The old aristocracy, the nobility, a creation of the feudal system was based on militarism. The new aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, a creation of capitalism, was based on money. This was a fundamental change in society. One other change in society was also noticeable. In industry the craft guild, and in agriculture, the manorial system, both required co-operative methods. In both the employers and the employed were in intimate association with each other. There was no conflict between them. But capitalism was based entirely on competition. This brought in conflict between the employer and the employed. This was likely to promote individualism. On the other hand, the spirit of enquiry and invention stimulated by the revival in learning also favoured the growth of individualism. So we can see that the co-operative mediæval society was being quietly transformed into the individualistic modern society. Lastly growth of commerce brought Europeans into contact with many other peoples of the world. This compelled the Europeans to compare themselves and their things with what they found elsewhere. It led to the comparison of the various kinds of animal and vegetable life found in different parts of the world. It led to the comparison of the characteristics and customs and manners of the people living in all parts of the earth. Thus came into existence the modern new sciences of Zoology, Botany, and Anthropology. The bounds of knowledge were thus every day growing. It also created new tastes and new customs and manners among the Europeans. Thus by the end of the 15th century Europe had entered upon the modern Age.

Effects of Capitalism on Politics. It has already been stated in Chapter I, that the kings broke the power of the barons with the assistance of the merchant classes. The merchants and the craft guilds could after the wars of the crusades be taxed, and from the money thus obtained, the kings were now able to keep standing armies. In this

way they were able to curb the power of the barons, and consolidate their own kingdoms. When once this practice of obtaining money from the merchants and trading classes was established, it was resorted to whenever the king stood in need of money. In times of need he sent for the representatives of the different trades and industries, and obtained money for his wars. In 1265, in the reign of King Henry III, Simon de-Montford, his minister, invited a certain number of barons, two knights from each shire, and two representatives from each town or borough. This was the origin of the British Parliament. In 1295, King Edward I was compelled to fight simultaneously against several enemies. He was badly in need of money. He adopted the idea of Simon de Montford in sending for the representatives of the different estates, the lords, the clergy, and the representatives of the different towns and shires. This is called the model parliament. From this time onward, whenever the king stood in need of money, he summoned a parliament for the supply of demands. The Commons, or the representatives of the towns and boroughs, who were mostly merchants and traders, thus got a regular representation in the national parliament. As the bourgeoisie class became more and more powerful, and as the parliament began to press for the redress of grievances, before they granted supplies to the king, the merchants and trading classes obtained an effective voice in the administration of the country. The rise of capitalism was thus responsible for the growth of representative form of government. In the middle ages the feudal lords controlled the king, now they began to be controlled by merchants and traders. In France also King Phillip IV summoned an Estates General for the supply of funds, and when in 1296 king Phillip IV and the Pope of Rome fell out, the French king summoned the Estates General in support of his policy.

The beginning of Modern Age. By 1500 the middle ages were disappearing, and the modern age had commenced. In Arts, Literature, Sciences, Philosophy,

Religion, Agriculture, Industry, Commerce and Trade, Structure of Society, Law, and Government, in all these matters, there was a distinct change discernable by the end of the 15th century. This period of change, or transition, which is called by the name of the period of Ranaissance, lasted roughly speaking from 1300 to 1500, although it is true that in some activities of Man, the Renaissance period began as early as 1100, A. D., and in other fields of activity it lasted as late as 1600 A. D.

SUMMARY

1. *Definition of the word "Renaissance."* The word Renaissance in French means rebirth or revival. It is a term which conveys the idea of all changes in society, Law, Government and in Science, Philosophy, Religion, Arts, and Literature.

2. *The Home of Renaissance.* Italy was the original home of Renaissance. This country was particularly favourable to the growth of Arts and Literature, because it was a meeting place of several cultures, Latin, Greek, Arab, and Norman.

3. *Revival in Literature.* In the middle ages Latin was the Language of the Scholars. When Universities came into existence in the middle of the 12th century, it was still the Latin Literature that was studied. The greatest Latin scholar in the Renaissance period was Petrarch (1304-1374). His friend and disciple Boccaccio (1313 1375) first brought to Italy the Greek works *Iliad* and *Odessey*. The revival of the study of Greek literature in Italy was due to Chrysoloras, who began to teach in Florence in 1396. The study of Theology in combination with Greek philosophy was called Scholasticism. The study of the classical languages, Latin and Greek was called Humanism. During this period began a search for the old manuscripts, and libraries now began to be established. The Printing Press was introduced into Europe in 1450.

4. *Rise of National Languages.* In the early middle ages the national Epics were written in the vernacular languages. In the 13th century, the friars began to preach in the mother tongue of the people whose country they visited. The first great writer in the vernacular language was Dante, who wrote in Italian. Chaucer wrote in English. In modern times all scholars write in their respective national languages.

5. *Revival of Art.* In the middle ages all works of Art were

neglected. They did not even exhibit any desire to preserve the ruins of old buildings. But the revival of learning created among the people some interest in the ancient works of Art. In 1462 Pope Pius II issued orders for the protection of ancient monuments. After this there grew in Italy celebrated architects, sculptors, painters, and musicians.

6. *Revival of Science.* In the middle ages the scientific knowledge of the Europeans was confined to what the Greek works translated by the Arabs contained. People considered the earth to be the centre of the Universe, round which the Sun, the Moon, the planets, and the stars, all revolved. The first European astronomer who set aside this theory, and proved that the earth, the Moon, and other planets moved round the Sun was Copernicus (1473-1543). His theory was supported by Galileo (1564-1642), and Kepler, (1571-1630). Vesalius (1514-1564) was the founder of the modern science of Anatomy, and Harvey (1578-1657) was the founder of the modern science of Physiology. In the field of Physics the first great European Scientist was Roger Bacon (1214-1294). The chief characteristic of the new European Scientific methods was that more emphasis was now laid on personal investigation, than on pure speculation.

7. *Religious Revival.* In the middle ages, the Bible, the Pope, and Aristotle, were the only authorities in religious matters. When the Europeans came into contact with other peoples in the wars of the crusades, religious thought on independent lines was stimulated. In the 12th century there arose two heretical movements, of the Albigenses and the Weldenses. These movements were followed in the 14th century by that of the Lollards started by John Wycliffe. The teachings of the latter influenced John Huss, the Bohemian scholar. Later on the revival of learning, and the translation of the Bible into the vernacular languages, brought about in the 16th century the great Protestant movement.

8. *Geographical Discoveries.* In the middle ages Europeans possessed hardly any knowledge of the countries beyond those which bordered on the Mediterranean, Baltic, and North seas. But the wars of the crusades brought them into contact with other peoples. Pilgrims, missionaries, and merchants now began to visit distant places. The earliest European traveller was Marco Polo who penetrated the heart of Central Asia, and travelled in the East from 1270 to 1295. In the 14th century, the Portuguese began to take interest in navigation, and in the 15th century, the new world America, and the sea route to Asia were discovered.

9. *The Capitalist Age and the definition of Capitalism.* The Economists define " Capital as wealth which is used for the purpose of

producing more wealth. In the middle ages the lending of money at interest was considered immoral. But when in the 13th century commercial activities were stimulated in Italy,. the prejudice against lending money at interest was softened. Banking began to be considered a business necessity. When after the discovery of America, abundant quantities of gold and silver began to be shipped to Europe, rich men began to invest their money in banks. This financial revolution brought about the capitalistic age.

10. Effects of Capitalism on Agriculture. In the middle of the 15th century English landlords began to enclose the village common lands and began to use them as private pasture lands for the sheep, since about this time there was great demand for wool. In this way many of the poorer peasants lost their lands, and were reduced to the position of common beggars. But this enclosing movement enabled the landlords to undertake on large scale crop-rotation, and stock breeding. Further more about this time rents in the shape of farm produce and personal labour began to be changed into cash rents. That encouraged absentee landlordism on the one hand and emancipation of the serfs on the other hand.

11. Effects of Capitalism on Industry. In the middle of the 14th century Europe was visited by the bubonic plague, and almost half the population of the continent was swept away by this Black Death. This caused a great scarcity of labour, with the result that wages rose high, This brought about an improvement in the condition of the serfs, and they were now allowed to substitute money payments for personal service. When after the discovery of new commercial routes and the adoption of new business methods new Industries began to be established by the capitalists, the serfs and labourers driven away from agriculture by the enclosing policy of the landlords, were employed in the industries. The capitalists purchased large quantities of raw wool, employed women to convert it into yarn, and then engaged weavers to turn it into cloth. This system called by the name of the "putting out" system brought about the decay of the old Guild system of industry.

12. Effects of Capitalism on Society The growth of capitalism brought into existence the bourgeoisie class consisting of the businessmen, the lawyers, the doctors, and the professors. The distinction between the old baronial nobility and the capitalists was gragually broken down. In middle ages society was rural, now society began to be urbanized. In middle ages the peasants were attached to the soil, now they began to be emancipated. Absentee landlordism and the enclosing movement created a conflict between the landlords and the peasants.

In middle ages the landlords controlled the labouring classes, now they began to be controlled by the businessmen. In middle ages society was co-operative, now it began to be organized on individualistic bases. Lastly the growth of commerce brought Europeans into contact with many peoples of the world, and this made them compare their own things with those of other peoples. This brought into being the new sciences of Zoology, Botany, and Anthropology. The Europeans now began to develop new tastes and new customs and manners. Thus mediæval society was being transformed into the modern society.

13. *Effects of Capitalism on Politics.* As in the Renaissance period the place of the feudal nobility was being taken by the capitalistic aristocracy, the latter class began to obtain a share in the government of the country. As the kings in the latter part of the middle ages were trying to consolidate their kingdoms by curbing the barons, they had to seek the financial support of the capitalists. This support they were able to get only by giving a representation to the businessmen in their parliaments. So capitalism was responsible for the growth of representative bodies.

14. *The beginning of modern Age.* It may generally be stated that the Modern Age began in 1500. But it is also true that in some activities of Man the modern age began as early as 1300, and in some cases the middle ages ended in 1600.

CHAPTER IV

GROWTH OF SCIENTIFIC CURIOSITY, EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY

The Europeans and their Geographical explorations. In the early middle ages (500—800), the Europeans had practically no maritime activities. In the second period of the middle ages (800—1100), the Italian and Greek merchants, who were held in check by the Arabs, began to rise into importance. But their activities were still confined to the Mediterranean Sea. During the wars of the Crusades (1100—1300) the merchants of Italy became more active in taking part in the eastern trade. Goods from the East were brought by Arab merchants to the Mediterranean ports of Alexandria, Port Said, Jaffa, Beyrut, Acre, Damascus, and Aleppo. From here Italian merchants took the goods to Venice, Naples, Florence, and Genoa, wherefrom German merchants took these goods and distributed them into the interior, into Germany, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Great Britain, and France. But on the introduction of the Mariner's compass, when sailors could push out into the open sea, Venetian and Genoese merchants proposed to open up direct communications by sea with the countries on the coasts of the English channel, and the North sea. About the year 1318, the merchant ships of these north Italian towns, on their way to the Netherlands touched at the port of Lisbon. This aroused the commercial enterpise of the Portuguese, who soon began to undertake extended maritime expeditions. By the middle of the 14th century were discovered the Canary islands, Madeira, and the Azores. Before this time no one had ventured along the coast of Africa, beyond

the dry regions of the Sahara. But from the writings of Arab Geographers, it was known that in Western Africa, south of Morocco and Algeria, across the Great Sahara, there existed a fertile country, inhabited by the Negroes, who had not yet been converted to the faith of Islam, The Arab geographers called this country by the name of " Bilad Ghana," or the land of wealth. It was believed that the Senegal river, which fertilizes Bilad Ghana, flowed from a lake near those in which the river Nile took its rise. The Senegal river was at that time called the western Nile, and the eastern branch of the true river Nile flowed through the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia. The Europeans began to entertain the idea that if Bilad Ghana, the region of the western Nile, could also be Christianized, from its mouth to its supposed source, Christians in Europe would be able to join hands with the Christians of Abyssinia. In this way the Mohammadans could be outflanked, and the Europeans could then have unmolested access to the Red Sea, the Arbian Sea, and the Indian Ocean. It was perhaps this geographical illusion which served as a background for the activities in geographical explorations of the Portuguese on the western ccast of Africa.

The Motives for Geographical Explorations. In the Renaissance period there were several motives which prompted explorations. Revival of learning created amongst the people a scientific curiosity, a spirit of free enquiry, and led men to set forth on voyages of discovery. The crusading spirit, kindled by the wars of crusades thrilled at the very idea of spreading Christianity among the heathens. These explorations gave to the men of adventurous spirits opportunities for acquiring wealth, fame, and power. Moreover it was imagined these explorations gave opportunities to the Christians to envelop north African Mohammadans between Christians of Europe in the north and Christians of Abyssinia and Bilad Ghana in the south. That was of very

great political importance to the Europeans. It was with these motives that the period of geographical explorations began. Much depended on the exploration of the western coasts of Africa. It has already been stated that the maritime activities of the Portuguese were aroused by the appearance of Italian sailors in Lisbon in 1318. From this time begin the geographical explorations of the Portuguese. Prince Henry of Portugal (1394—1460), commonly called Prince Henry the Navigator, devoted almost his entire life to the exploration of the west African coast. He was guided by four ideas, first the political idea of seeking an alliance of Christian Abyssinia against the Muslims, secondly the missionary idea of converting the heathens of Bilad Ghana to the Christian faith, thirdly the commercial idea of supplanting the Arabs and the Italians in capturing the trade of the East, and fourthly the economic idea of finding slaves from among the Negroes of Africa, who were considered suitable for supplying labour for the cultivation of agricultural land in Spain, and Portugal.

Geographical Explorations of Portugal. It was in 1415 that Ceuta the northernmost portion of Africa was conquered by the Portuguese from the Moors. Prince Henry was appointed governor of this place. It was from here that in 1426 Prince Henry began to send out expeditions for geographical explorations. Cape Bajador on the western coast of Northern Africa was reached in 1434, Negro slaves were first captured in 1441, and Cape Verde near the mouth of the Senegal river was reached in 1445. In 1460 Prince Henry died, but his work of exploration was continued. The trade of Bilad Ghana which now consisted of gold, ivory, and negro slaves was now farmed out on the condition that the lessee during the term of his lease explored a certain length of the African coast line. In this way proceeding along the coast of western Africa, the coasts of Guinea were

explored in 1481, the river Congo was reached in 1484, and Bortholomew Diaz rounded the southern extremity of Africa in 1487. He named it the Cape of Storms, but the king of Portugal recognizing its importance as a stage on the route to India, renamed it the Cape of Good Hope. A few years after this Vasco da Gama opened the sea route to India. He sailed from Lisbon in July 1497 with only four small ships, and after leaving the Cape Verde islands pushed out into the open sea in a southernly direction. In a few weeks time he reached the island of St Helena. After a stay of eight days in this island, he then proceeded southwards, and reached the Cape of Good Hope in the last week of November. He spent the Christmas at what is now called Port Natal. His course was now clearly northwards. In March 1498 he reached Mozambique. Here he again came into touch with civilization. He had now succeeded in discovering a sea-route from Europe to India. In Mozambique he met a Muhammadan population speaking Arabic language. He could, therefore, through his own interpreters communicate with them. From this point the task of Vasco da Gama was easy, for now he had entered a field of navigation known in all its parts from the earliest times. From Mazambique he proceeded to Mombasa, where he met Hindu Banias from India. He found a still larger Hindu population in the port of Malindi. From here Vasco da Gama obtained a Hindu pilot who conducted his party safely across the Indian Ocean to Calicut, which he reached on the 20th of May 1498, about ten months and a half after he had left Lisbon. In these days Calicut was a great centre of Arab trade. It was mostly from this place that Europe imported pepper and ginger. Here Arab merchants purchased cinnamon brought from Ceylon, and spices from the Molucca islands. All this was carried from Calicut to the port of Jeddah in Arabia, and then to port of Tor on the western coast of Senai peninsula,

wherefrom these goods were carried overland to Cairo. Here they were shipped down the Nile to Rosetta. and then carried to Alexandria, where they were purchased by Italian merchants. At all these different places customs duties had to be paid, in consequence of which the cost of merchandise was quadrupled. So it was clear that very large profits could be reaped by merchants who carried these goods directly from the East to western Europe. Vasco da Gama after taking in a heavy cargo of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, and mace, in addition to rubies and other precious stones sailed back on his return voyage on 29th August 1498, and made a triumphal entry into Lisbon in September 1499. After this the entire oriental trade of the Arabs fell into the hands of the Portuguese. The supremacy of the Arabs in the eastern seas ended after it had lasted for about a thousand years.

Geographical Explorations of Spain. The Greek and the Roman scholars were familiar with the idea that the earth is round. This idea may have been lost sight of in the dark ages, but it appears that in the 13th century it was known to Roger Bacon and Dante. In the Renaissance period, when the interest of Europeans in Greek Science was aroused, attention was drawn to the statements made by ancient geographers. In the writings of the Greek philosopher Plato (427-347), there is mentioned the name of Atlantis supposed to be an island continental in size, which had 9,000 years before his time been sunk beneath the sea. Scholars in the middle ages accepted this account as true. Then again Eratosthenes, who lived in Greece from 276 to 195 B. C. clearly recognized the possibility of reaching India by sailing westwards on the same parallel of latitude. Ptolemy another Greek scholar who lived in the second century after Christ also believed in the theory that the earth is round. He even tried to calculate the circumference of the earth. It was believed that somewhere

in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean there existed an island, called by the name of St. Brandan's island, which was a paradise on earth and inhabited by saints. It was supposed that beyond St Brandan's island lay Cippango (Japan), the East Indies, and Cathay (China). So it was believed that a journey of about 4,000 miles from Europe would take one to Japan. In the 15th century many efforts were made to discover St Brandan's island which was supposed to be midway between Europe and Japan, but without any success. It was Christopher Columbus who first succeeded in crossing the Atalantic Ocean. He was a native of Genoa, where his father followed the humble profession of a weaver. He lived from 1451 to 1506. He seems to have obtained some knowledge of Astronomy and Geography as a student in the university of Pavia in northern Italy. He was attracted to the profession of a sailor from a very early age. He was quite familiar with the Mediterranean Sea, and he had visited the coast of western Africa also. It is said he had paid a visit to Iceland too, where he might have heard stories about the existence of new lands in the west. It is a fact that in the 10th century, Norsemen from Iceland had reached Newfoundland, to which they had given the name of Vineland. Christopher Columbus had from his very youth entered the maritime service of Portugal. He had also married a Portuguese wife. He therefore made his first proposal for making a westward passage to the East to the king of Portugal. But at this time the circumnavigation of Africa had been practically completed by Portugal. The Portuguese knew that they could almost hold a monopoly of this route, for it could be easily defended. It was, on the other hand, very doubtful whether there was any land in the west. So far all efforts to discover land in that quarter had failed. So it was quite natural for the king of Portugal to reject the offer of Columbus. Having failed in the land of his adoption, Columbus now took his proposal

to Genoa, his place of birth. But the Italians who at this time benefited immensely from the overland route to the East, refused to help in the discovery of a westward route, which would have resulted in putting the entire oriental trade in the hands of the western nations of Europe, and destroyed the prosperity of Italy altogether. Hence in Genoa too, the proposals of Columbus met with no better reception. Venice also rejected the offer for similar reasons. After this Columbus turned to Spain and England. He was clever enough to think of applying simultaneously to the king of Spain as well as England, and playing them off against each other. He took his offer personally to the king of Spain, and sent his brother Bortholomew Columbus to the court of Henry VII of England. At length in 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, accepted the offer. Columbus was appointed Admiral and Viceroy of the islands and continents that may be discovered and acquired on behalf of the sovereigns of Spain. He sailed with three ships from the port of Palos, a little to the north west of Cadiz, in the province of Seville on the 3rd of August 1492. He first proceeded towards the Canary islands, and from there struck straight towards the west across the Atlantic. On the 12th of October 1492, he landed on the island of San Salvador, one of the Bahama islands in the West Indies, and wearing the costume of Admiral of Castile, he planted the Castilian banner on the soil of America. In a course of three month's cruise he visited Cuba and Hayti, and thus obtained a general idea of the West Indies archipelago. The news of the successful voyage of Columbus were joyfully received both in Spain and at Rome. A petition was submitted to Pope Alexander VI for confirmation to the Spanish Crown of the territories comprising the newly discovered islands. In answer to this a special Papal Bull was issued to the effect that the Spanish influence was to extend westwards from the meridian line drawn one hundred leagues

west of the Azores. All the territories east of this line were confirmed to Portugal. But this was never acted upon in practice, and in 1493 Spain and Portugal fixed a meridian of their own selection, 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands, as the boundary of their respective enterprises. Columbus visited America three times more, in 1493, in 1498, and in 1502. During these voyages he explored the Caribbean Sea, the mouth of the Orinoco river, which passes through Venezuela, in South America, and the eastern coast of Central America. He died in 1506, in the belief that he had actually reached the mainland of Asia and the realms of the Great Khan of Cathay (China). In a few years' time the name of Columbus was forgotten, and by a strange freak of fortune, one Americo Vespucci (1451-1512),, an Italian navigator, who happened to visit the New World several times, and wrote accounts of his adventures, was credited by an ignorant public with the discovery of this new continent. This new world was therefore called after his name, America.

Circumnavigation of the Globe (1519-1522) The demarcation line which divided the spheres of influence of Spain and Portugal, was responsible for bringing about the first voyage round the globe. Columbus had made the voyage to America with the object of finding the western route to the Spice islands, but this object had not been realized. Ferdinand Magellan, formerly in the employment of Albuquerque, and who had later on entered the service of Spain, believed that the Spice islands lay within the Spanish sphere of influence, and that an all-Spanish route to them could be found through some strait at the southern end of South America. Emperor Charles V provided Magellan with a fleet of five ships for the purpose of exploring this route. He started in 1519, and after exploring the eastern coast of South America, at length came to the strait which is now known

after his name. He sailed through this strait into an Ocean which he called by the name of Pacific. Inspite of the mutinous attitude of his sailors, he continued the voyage and at length reached the Ladrone islands, east of the Philippines, and now held by Japan. During all this voyage across the Pacific, Magellan visited only two islands, and they too were uninhabited. He then proceeded to the Philippines, where he was killed in a fight with the natives. His men, however, managed to reach the Spice islands, the goal of their journey. These sailors returned back to Europe in 1522, after exciting adventures of three years. Magellan's voyage is a land-mark in the history of Geography. It clearly demonstrated that the earth is round. It also proved that America, at least on the south, had no connection with Asia. It also showed the enormous extent of the Pacific Ocean, and this voyage also led to the discovery of many islands in the East Indies. After this voyage people could make a rough estimate of the size of the earth. The circumnavigation of the globe is really as important as the discovery of America. Magellan, therefore, holds among explorers and discoverers a rank equal to Vasco da Gama and Columbus.

Geographical Explorations of France. The discovery by Magellan of a strait leading into the Pacific Ocean aroused expectation that a similar passage, beyond the sphere of influence of Spain, might exist in the north of North America. In 1534 the French king Francis I, employed Jacques Cartier to look for it. Cartier proceeded north westwards and reached Newfoundland, and from there explored the Gulf of St Lawrence. In 1540, he sailed up the great river of Canada. An attempt was made in 1542 to establish a colony, but it failed. The North-west passage to the East could not be discovered, since the northern regions of North America are covered with perpetual snow, and it was

not possible for ships to pass that way. The whole of the coast line of north America from Florida in the South to Labrador in the north was explored, but the French could not like the Spaniards obtain gold from the aborigines living in these parts. The entire coast line of North America on the East was proclaimed by Francis I as the French sphere of influence. The French did not undertake the colonization of North America till the beginning of the 17th century.

Geographical Explorations of England. In the 15th century Bristol, on the western coast of England, was one of the most important ports in Europe. Its merchants and sailors were well known in Venice and Genoa. The news of the success of Columbus in discovering America roused the merchants of Bristol into activity. There was at that time living in England John Cabot, a citizen of Venice. With the resources supplied by the merchants of Bristol, John Cabot found himself in a position to make a petition to king Henry VII for the grant of permission to explore unknown countries believed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean in the northern parts At that time there already existed a large amount of trade between Bristol and Iceland. It was proposed to re-discover "Vineland" which according to the tradition held in the island had been discovered by Norsemen in the 10th century. A charter to this effect was granted by Henry VII on the 5th of March 1496. The grantees of this Charter were authorized to enter Northern, Western, and Eastern seas, but not the Southern, and were required to return to the port of Bristol after each voyage, and pay to the Crown one fifth of the profits in cash or in merchandise. They were allowed to import their goods into the country free of custom duties. Without the special license of the Crown no other English subject was allowed to visit the continents, islands, villages, towns, castles, and places generally visited by the grantees of the Charter. The

discoveries of Columbus were as yet limited to the chain of islands separating the Caribbean sea from the Atlantic Ocean. The Portuguese had not as yet set foot on the American soil. John Cabot and his party made the first Voyage in 1496—97. In this voyage he reached and explored the shores of Labrador and Newfoundland. He made another voyage in 1498, but did not accomplish much. After this the interest of Englishmen in the continent of America relaxed. Shortly before the death of Edward VI in 1553, an effort was made to discover a north eastern passage, to the far East. Sir Huge Willoughby sailed with this object with three ships. But winter came on suddenly, and Willoughby was compelled to take refuge in a harbour of Russian Lapland, where he and his companions were frozen to death. The captain of the third ship was with great difficulty able to reach the White Sea. He landed at Archangel, and then returned by way of Moscow. This disaster stopped further search for the North-east passage, and after this English sailors turned their attention to the opposite direction, and tried to discover a North-west passage to the far East. In 1576 Frobisher, a native of Yorkshire took upon himself the task of discovering the North-western passage. But this too was a fruitless search. The seas in the northern parts of North America are during half the year frozen, and during the other half they are filled with huge icebergs. It was impossible to have a passage through these regions. These explorations, however, added much to the geographical knowledge of this part of the world. The names Frobisher Bay, Davis Strait, and Baffin Land still keep the memory of the sailors who first explored the Arctic regions in the north.

The English " Sea dogs " It was not till sixty years after the discovery of America that Englishmen began again to pay attention to America. It was not till the marriage of Queen Mary with Philip

of Spain that Englishmen began to entertain the idea of sharing with Spain the wealth of the new continent. About this time huge amounts of gold and silver were being poured into Spain from Mexico and Peru. And yet Peru and Mexico did not cover one tenth of the area of the new world. After the death of Queen Mary in 1558, when Elizabeth ascended the English throne, the relations of England with Spain became strained. The events of the Franco-Spanish wars had shown that the Spaniards were incapable of excluding from their sphere of influence in America other nations whose seamen were better than their own. The English sailors now made up their minds to attack Spanish merchant ships returning from America. The English "sea dogs" as they called themselves had no scruples to ravage the Spanish colonies and to capture the big Spanish treasure ships carrying gold and silver to Spain. The most famous of these "sea dogs" was Sir Francis Drake, who was the first Englishman to sail round the earth during the years 1577 and 1580. In 1584, another English seaman, Sir Walter Raleigh, took an expedition to discover a good site for the establishment of an English colony on the eastern coast of North America. The colony of Virginia named in honour of the Virgin Queen was founded but it proved a failure. It was not till the time of James I that further attempts were made by Englishmen to establish colonies on the American soil.

The Results of Geographical Discoveries. The new world contained two new continents, very rich in natural resources and capable of extensive colonization. The aborigines very few in numbers and very primitive in culture, could not offer any resistance to the Europeans. So these two continents offered to the Europeans extensive fields for colonization. Eurcpe could now expand into a Greater Europe beyond the seas. That was one effect of the discovery of America. Then again the discovery of

America, immediately followed by the discovery of the sea route to India, round the Cape of Good Hope, shifted the commercial activities from the inland Mediterranean and Baltic seas to the open Atlantic Ocean. Cities like Venice, Genoa, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bruges, now began gradually to decay, and towns on the Atlantic sea board, like Cadiz, Lisbon, Bordeaux, Cherburg, Antwerp, Amsterdom, London, and Liverpool, began to grow into big commercial centres. That was the second great result of the discovery of America, and the sea route to India. In the middle ages people suffered from a great lack of money. But the gold and silver mines of America poured huge quantities of these precious metals into Europe. Money now became plentiful. Prices began to rise, and the standard of living became higher. People could get more money for their commercial and industrial activities. This brought in the age of Capitalism. That was the third great result of the geographical discoveries. But the most important results were political, social, and religious. The complete revolution in geography which suddenly revealed to man his gross ignorance even as regards the earth on which he moved about, had a tremendous effect on his mind. It shook to the very foundations their existing knowledge of science. People now began to suspect as to whether the doctrines and practices of even the Catholic Christian Church were based on the true construction of God's will. Since these geographical discoveries demolished the old theory, that the earth was flat, and the astronomical discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo, and Kepler, completely disproved the old idea that the earth was the centre of the Universe, there was produced among the people a sense of general intellectual insecurity. It was under such an atmosphere that three great writers and thinkers came into prominence, Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), Michael de Montaigne (1533-1592), and Francis Bacon (1561-1626). All

these three are pioneers of new thought, and all of them derive much of their inspiration from these new discoveries. All of these three were lay men not connected with the Church. In the middle ages the church men were the leaders of thought. But now it seemed the control of thought was passing out of the hands of the Church.

Sir Thomas More and his Utopia 1478-1535

Sir Thomas More was born in 1478, and he published his celebrated book *Utopia*, in 1516, just about the time when the Spaniards were preparing themselves for the conquest of Mexico, and Peru. In this book Sir Thomas More described the imaginery journey of a traveller, who was supposed to have accompanied Americo Vespucci in his last voyage to America. This traveller was supposed to have remained behind in South America, and returned home by travelling westward, by land as well as sea. He thus anticipated the circumnavigation of the globe, which feat was performed byMagellan and his party in 1519-1522. This imaginary traveller's name is Hythlodius (Expert in Nonsense), and his attention is particularly drawn to the island of Utopia (No Where). Here in this island all the traditional customs and manners of the old world are unknown, and society here is constructed on humane and rational bases. Utopia is an aristocratic republic, where the officers of government are annually elected. The chief authority in the state is exercised by a person who holds office for life. Everyone in this country is engaged in agriculture, and drones or idlers are banished. In this country it is a recognized principle that every one should have some bit of land, enough to provide him with means of livelihood. A man who leaves his land untilled, can by the law of this island be deprived of it. Private property is here unknown. The family is patriarchal. There is no coinage, and gold, silver, and precious stones are not considered valuable things. All the energies of the Utopians are concentrated on the cultivation of learning and

sciences. So far as religion is concerned, these people worship the Heavenly bodies, and some of the most prominent of their ancestors. Their priests are chosen by popular election. They do not worship idols, and they do not offer living beings in sacrifice. In religious matters they have complete toleration. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and in the theory of punishments and rewards in the life to come. They have few very good laws but no professional lawyers. They hate war, but keep themselves well armed. The ideas of Sir Thomas More expressed in his *Utopia* have influenced Europeans to a very great extent in re-constructing their society.

Michael de Montaigne (1533-1592.) Michael de Montaigne was a country gentleman, of France, and an advocate by profession. He was bornin 1533, when the Spanish general Pizarro was overrunning Peru. He was deeply impressed by the stories which he heard about the history and ethnology of the American aborigines. Before the American voyage of Columbus, the savage or brute was very little known in Europe. In the time of Montaigne, the Red Indians of America were as well known to the Europeans as were the Moors, the Berbers, and the Negroes of Africa. The structure of society of the Europeans was very much different from what was found in the primitive societies of Africa and America. This contrast suggested many new ideas. Had the existing European civilization developed on right and natural lines? Could it be possible that the simple structure of society found in America was the one really designed by God? Was it proper for an individual to be bound by the existing inflexible customs, manners, and laws, made perhaps by unjust rulers? Would it not after all be much better to be guided by nature? These were questions that were very seriously asked by Michael de Montaigne. He was in fact fascinated by the simple life of the American aborigines. In his opinion these people were

enjoying the much talked of golden age of ancient poetry, for they were strangers to the hardships, diseases, and social vices, inequalities, and trickeries, of the existing civilized society. It was no doubt true that many of the Red Indian tribes were cannibals, but Montaigne considered that it was much better than what the so-called civilized man did. Was it not true that the civilized man had imposed servitude on practically nine tenths of the human race? Did he not consume the flesh and blood of his fellow men alive? It was better to eat a man dead, than to persecute him all his life. So in this matter Montaigne argued civilized Europeans were not better than the uncivilized Red Indians. These views of Montaigne impressed the people very much. These views encouraged the people to revolt against the hollow pageantry, the rigid social structure, and the inelastic political forms of government. The mediæval life in Europe was found to be full of empty show and dignity. These views had a tremendous reaction on religious thought as well, and they had a great deal to do with the rise of Protestant and Puritan way of thinking. People now began to think more independently and with less restraint.

Francis Bacon 1561-1626. Francis Bacon was born in 1561, when the earth had been circumnavigated, and a complete revolution in geographical knowledge had revealed to the Europeans new worlds, new oceans and seas, and new peoples. Bacon was not attracted so much by the differences in the structure of society. This had only a secondary importance for him. He really wanted to comprehend nature in its entirety, penetrate her secret, and interpret her message. The discovery of the New World helped him to do so. The new world for example revealed the configuration of sea and land surfaces, the mountain systems, the river systems, the tides and winds, the animal and plant life of the different parts of the world. All this opened up for the first time an enormous field

for scientific enquiry. Why for example the continents of the new world like those of the old, broadened out towards the north, and tapered towards the south? What were the causes of the conflicting or according phenomena of tides in different places? How were water spouts caused, and refrigeration of air brought about by icebergs on the shores of Canada? What was the meaning of trade winds? Why was the climate of Canada and Labrador, lying in the same latitude as the British islands, very much colder than that of Great Britain? All these were questions that Bacon asked. He may well be said to be the founder of the modern science of physical geography. The attention of Bacon was also drawn to the physical condition of the Red Indian Americans. Why for example were the Brazilian people more long lived? In what way were the American aborigines affected by the kind of food they took? Why had the Americans made less progress in civilization? Why were they so very different from the Europeans? All these questions led to the foundation of the modern science of Anthropology. They also led to the study of Zoology and Botany. The discovery of the new world, led Bacon to reconstruct knowledge on a newer and broader basis. According to his idea knowledge should be based on the facts discovered and not on the scholastic traditions of the past. Truth, he wrote, was not the daughter of Authority, but of Time. The discovery of America was according to him the greatest birth of Time, for it destroyed the old blind reverence for Antiquity. He engendered among Europeans a spirit of Enquiry. He may be said to be responsible for the growth of Scientific curiosity.

Summary

1. *The Europeans and Geographical Explorations.* The commercial enterprise of the Portuguese was aroused in 1318. They discovered the island groups of the Azores, the Canaries, and the Madeira in the middle of the 14th century. After this they turned their attention to the discovery of Bilad Ghana (modern Guinea) which was

supposed to be fertilized by the Western Nile (Modern Senegal) having its sources in Abyssinia, a Christian land. The idea was that if the Christians in Europe could join hands with Christians in Abyssinia, the Muslims would be enveloped, and then the supremacy of the Arabs in the Red Sea, in the Arabian Sea, and in the Indian Ocean would be overthrown.

2. *The Motives for Geographical Explorations*. There were four motives for these explorations.

(*i*) Political object of seeking an alliance of Christian Abyssinia.

(*ii*) The missionary object of converting the heathens of Bilad Ghana.

(*iii*) The commercial idea of supplanting the Arabs in Oriental trade.

(*iv*) The economic object of finding slaves from among the Negroes for the cultivation of agricultural land.

3. *Geographical Explorations of Portugal.* The geographical explorations of Portugal began in 1415, when Ceuta on the northern shores of Morocco was conquered by the Portuguese. Cape Bajador was discovered in 1434, Cape Verde islands in 1445, the coasts of Guinea in 1481, the mouth of the river Congo in 1484, and the Cape of Good Hope in 1487, Vasco da Gama reached Mozambique in March 1498, and taking a Hindu Pilot from the Port of Malindi, a little to the north of Mombasa, he reached Calicut in May 1498. That completed the discovery of the sea route to India, After this the entire oriental trade fell into the hands of the Portuguese.

4. *Geographical Explorations of Spain.* The idea that the earth is round was familiar to the Greeks and the Romans. According to them in very ancient times there existed in the Atlantic Ocean a big continent which had been submerged. They also believed that by sailing westward across the western ocean one could reach India. Columbus who discovered America by sailing across the Atlantic, lived from 1451 to 1506. He was helped in this task by the king and queen of Spain. This discovery was made in 1492, when on 12th October Columbus landed in San Salvador, an island in the Bahama in the West Indies. The new continent was named after the name of an Italian sailor, Americo Vespucci, who had made several voyages to the new continent, and first written their account. He lived from 1451 to 1512.

5. *Circumnavigation of the Globe 1519-1522.* The first voyage round the earth was made by Ferdinand Magellan (1480-1521) who

believed that the Spice islands were within the sphere of influence of Spain and could be reached by sailing westward round the south of South America. He was killed in the Philippine islands. His voyage round the earth proved that the earth was round.

6. *Geographical Explorations of France.* The discovery of a passage round South America to the Pacific Ocean, induced the French to discover a passage to the same Ocean round the northern side of north America. Jacques Cartier a sailor employed by the French King Francis I discovered the gulf of St. Lawrence, and he explored the entire coast line of North America north of Florida. Francis I proclaimed the whole of North America within his sphere of influence.

7. *Geographical Explorations of England.* The discovery made in 1492 by Columbus roused the English people also into naval activities. One of the Venetian sailors, and residing in Bristol, John Cabot, obtained in 1496 a charter from king Henry VII, for discovering lands in northern Atlantic Ocean. He discovered Newfoundland and Labrador. In the time of king Edward VI Sir Hugh Willoughby tried to discover the north eastern passage to the east, but he perished in the attempt. In 1576 Frobisher tried to discover the north-western passage, but he also failed. After this the English sailors like Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who called themselves "sea dogs" started plundering the Spanish treasure ships coming from America to Spain.

8. *The Results of Geographical Discoveries.* The geographical discoveries of the 15th century caused many changes in European society.

(*i*) The two new continents offered to the Europeans extensive fields for colonization. Europe could now expand into greater Europe.

(*ii*) In the middle ages the inland seas of the Mediterranean and the Baltic were the centres of commercial activities. Now these activities were shifted to the open Atlantic Ocean.

(*iii*) The huge quantities of gold and silver poured from the mines of America made money plentiful in Europe, and ushered in the age of Capitalism..

(*iv*) The new discoveries produced a great revolution in the existing knowledge of sciences, and great intellectual insecurity. There was produced a great change in the ideas about religion, society, and politics.

9. *Sir Thomas More, and his Utopia, 1478-1535.* He was born in England and he wrote his Utopia in 1516. It is a book describing the imaginary travels of an imaginary person Hythlodius to an

imaginary island Utopia. In this book he describes the state of an ideal society. This book has very much influenced the ideas of men regarding the construction of society.

10. *Michael de Montaigne, 1533-1592.* He was born in France, and was by profession a lawyer. The contrast in the state of society found in America and Africa, with that found in Europe made him ask many questions. He began to question whether the existing society in Europe was after all really based on right and rational lines. He was fascinated by the simple, innocent, life, free of inequalities, vices, and trickeries as it was found in America.

11. *Francis Bacon, 1561-1626.* Francis Bacon was born in England. He was attracted not so much by the State of Society in America as by the vast fields cf knowledge opend up by the discoveries. He may be said to have founded the science of Physical Geography. His speculations also led to the foundation of the sciences of Anthropology, Zoology, and Botany. The discovery of the new world led Bacon to re-construct knowledge on a new basis. According to him knowledge should be based on facts discovered and not on scholastic traditions of the past. He said Truth was the daughter not of Authority but of Time.

CHAPTER V

EUROPE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

South Eastern Europe. It has been stated in the first chapter that on the rise of the Arabs in the 7th century, the Eastern Roman Empire lost Cilicia, Syria, and Palestine, in 638, and Egypt in 640. During the same 7th century the empire saw within its European borders from the north the settlement of new tribes and peoples, the Serbians and the Bulgarians. As the throne of Constantinople began to be occupied by weak rulers, these new peoples carved out independent principalities in the Balkan peninsula. In the 9th century the Bulgarians established a powerful kingdom in the eastern part, and so also in the western parts of the peninsula the Serbians founded a strong and extensive empire. In 1071 the Seljuk Turks who had a few years back become dominant in the Caliphate of Baghdad, invaded the Roman provinces of Pontus and Asia. The Sultanate of Roum was established by Suleman I in 1078, and his descendents ruled in Asia Minor from 1078 to 1300. On the decay of this Sultanate, rose into prominence the Ottoman Turks. Ertughral a Turkoman chief in Central Asia was in 1227 driven from his native home by the Mongols, and he sought refuge in the court of Alauddin, the Seljuk chief at Konia. He proved of considerable assistance to the kingdom of Konia, and when he died in 1288, his son Osman entered upon a campaign of conquests. In 1299 he became independent of the kings of Konia, and established a kingdom in the ancient territory of Niæca. He fixed his capital at Brusa, and then began to conquer the rest of Asia Minor from the Muslim rulers and at the same time to drive the Greeks

entirely out of Asia. Osman ruled from 1299 to 1326. He was succeeded by his son Orchan, who ruled from 1326 to 1359. In the mean time the Eastern Roman Empire had dissolved into a large number ol independent principalities, some ruled by Venetian and other Latin powers, and others by their own native rulers. The empire was reduced to a small portion of Thrace in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. In 1358 Gallipoli was occupied by Prince Suleman the eldest son of Orchan. The Turks thus obtained a foothold on the soil of Europe. But shortly after this, Prince Suleman was killed by a fall from his horse. His father Orchan soon followed him to the grave in 1359. He was succeeded by his second son Murad I, who ruled from 1359 to 1389. He defeated the Bulgarians in 1362, and took possession of Eastern Rumelia. In 1366 he compelled the Bulgarian Czar Shishman to become his feudatory, and thus the eastern Roman empire of Constantinople was completely cut off from European and Christian powers in the west. After this Adrianople became the second capital of the Turks. The Bulgarians, the Serbians, and the Montenegrans, made a supreme effort in stemming the tide of Turkish invasion, but they were crushed in the celebrated battle of Kossovo fought in 1389. Sultan Murad I was shortly after this assasinated by a Serbian soldier who was wounded in this battle. He was succeeded by his son Bayazid, who ruled from 1389 to 1403. He brought under his rule Pontus the eastern portion of Asia Minor, and thus all the territory from Angora to Amasia, and Erzerum eastward became part of the Turkish Empire. But this process of expansion was interrupted by the rise into prominence of the great conqueror Taimur, who defeated Bayazid in the great battle of Angora fought in 1402. Bayazid died in 1403, and during the next ten years there were civil wars between his sons. At length Muhammad I ascended the throne. He ruled from 1413 to 1421. He was succeeded

by his son Murad II, who ruled from 1421 to 1451. He conquered Salonica, Thessaly, and Athens, and annexed all these territories to his empire. During the reign of his son Muhammad II, (1451-1481), the Eastern Roman Empire finally disappeared. Constantinople was conquered in 1453. Serbia was annexed in 1457, Trebizond in Asia Minor on the Black Sea coast, in 1461, Konia, and Bosnia in 1463, and Albania in 1467. His successor Bayazid II, (1481-1512) took possession of Herzegovina, and Moldavia in 1483, and Corinthia in 1492. But the most illustrious rulers of the Turks have been Selim I (1512-1520), and Suleman I- (1520-1566). Selim added to his empire the territories of Mosul in upper Mesopotamia, Syria on the Mediterranean Sea board, and Egypt. On the conquest of Egypt in 1517, the Sultan of Turkey assumed the position of the Caliph. His son Suleman added Georgia, Armenia, and Erzerum, in Asia and Rhodes Island. Slavonia and greater portion of Hungary in Europe. Hungary was annexed in 1526. Suleman's son Selim II, (1566-1574) added Tunis in northern Africa to his dominions. By the end of the 16th century, all the territories in northern Africa, on the Mediterranean Sea board had hecome parts of the extensive Turkish Empire,

Causes for the conquest of the Eastern Roman Empire by the Turk.

When in the 11th century the Seljuk Turks took possession of Palestine, all Christians in western Europe were agitated, and for the next two hundred years they fought the wars of the crusades against the Muslims. In the 14th, 15th, and 16th century the Ottoman Turks took possession of Asia Minor, Greece, Thrace, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, Albania, and a greater portion of Hungary, but the Christians of western Europe did not even raise their little finger. What can be the explanation of all this indifference on their part ? The fact is that in the first place there were fundamental differences between the Christians

of Eastern and Western Europe To the Roman Catholics the Greek Church Christians were even worse than the alien Muslims. In the second place we must remember that during the 14th and 15th centuries, a number of national states were being consolidated in western and northern Europe, such as Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain, Scandinavia, and Russia. These people were too busy in affairs nearer home to pay any attention to what was happening in the eastern part of Europe. Thirdly, by this time the knights and barons, who constituted the chivalry of Europe had lost their power and influence. Lastly, we must also remember that the more adventurous and enterprising spirits who, as in the case of the crusades were likely to challenge the supremacy of the Turks in eastern Europe, were at this time engaged in the more soul-stirring adventures of geographical discovery. The Bulgarians, the Serbians, the Poles and the Hungarians, on the other hand, were too hopelessly divided among themselves to offer any serious resistance to the Turks. The result was that the Turks obtained, an easy victory over the Christians of eastern Europe. So much so that in 1529 Suleman camped below the walls of Vienna, in Austria. But here he received a check.

Spain in the Sixteenth century.

It has been stated in the first chapter that the Ummayedia Caliphate of Cordova ended in 1034. After this the Arab kingdom in Spain was split up into a number of small principalities, which it was easier for the Christian princes in the north to overthrow. In 1212 Pope Innocent III had proclaimed a crusade against the Arabs in Spain, and so from this time the kings of Castile and Aragon began the task of reconquering the country from the Moors. This work of reconquest was entrusted mostly to the feudal lords and knights of the Crusading Order. These conquered lands were retained either by the Crown, or granted to the lords temporal or spiritual, or to corporations of merchants and traders. Even in the case of lands granted to feudatories, there were many cases

where entire authority over the people and lands was alienated by the Crown. It is obvious that under such circumstances the different feudal lords and princes had become almost independent sovereigns in the territories under their charge. So in the 15th century the entire country remained divided ethnologically and geographically into well marked districts, never thoroughly welded together. In the kingdom of Castile, the rural areas were ruled by the lords, and the municipal areas by traditional municipal usages, and local charters. No national laws having universal application throughout the kingdom. were made and enforced. In the municipal areas magistrates were locally elected.

Constitution of Spanish kingdoms. According to tha constitution of Castile, the King was assisted by a Cortes (parliament), which developed out of a council of Prelates and Nobles. This Council advised the king in all matters, civil and religious. In the 13th century the commons, or the communities living in the municipal areas also won the right of sending representatives to the Council. Originally the Commons had no vote in this Council. They met only to receive the Royal Decrees, or at the beginning of each reign to swear allegiance, and receive confirmation of their charters from the new king. Later on they obtained some control over the direct taxation for the payment of which they alone were responsible. After 1538, during the autocratic rule of the Emperor Charles V the nobles and the clergy ceased to attend the Cortes. The king according to this constitution was the sole law-giver, and supreme fountain head of civil and criminal justice. The Constitution of Aragon was a little less despotic, and more oligarchical.

The two kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. In the middle of the 15th century both the kingdoms were ruled by kings who belonged to the same dynasty but to two different branches of it. In 1469,

Isabella the daughter of King John II of Castile was married to Ferdinand, son of king John II of Aragon. At this time the kingdom of Castile included the territories of Galicia, Atsuria, Leon, Castile, Toledo, Murcia, Cordova, Badajoz, and Seville. The kingdom of Aragon consisted of the territories of Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic islands. Sicily, and Naples in southern Italy. When in 1574, king Henry IV of Castile died he was succeeded by his sister Isabella to the throne of Castile. In 1779 Isabella's husband, Ferdinand succeeded to the throne of Aragon. Although from this year the whole of Spain, so far freed from the Moors, was ruled jointly by Isabella and Ferdinand, the laws and constitutions of the two kingdoms remained separate.

The Growth of Autocracy in Spain. Immediately after her accession to the throne of Castile, Isabella had to face, for two years, a war of succession, in which she eventually came out successful. It appears that during the reigns of her two predecessors, John II and Henry IV, the kingdom was in a state of anarchy. Every local lord, baron, or prince was practically speaking an independent sovereign. Most of the revenues of the country were perpetually assigned to the lords, temporal and spiritual. These different princes carried on private wars among themselves. The result was that there was no security of life or property in the country. Under such circumstances the different municipalities had for their mutual protection organized leagues or brotherhoods. On the conclusion of the war of Succession in 1476, Isabella organized an Holy Brotherhood, consisting of one horseman for every hundred houses in the municipal areas. This force was put under the supervision of a central assembly elected by the municipalities. In 1495, the maintenance of this force was taken over by the Crown, and henceforth it formed the general constabulary of the country. It helped a good deal in establishing peace and order in the

land. When Ferdinand ascended the throne of Aragon in 1479 he also established a similar constabulary for his kingdom. But still the Nobles were too strong for the Crown. Isabella and Ferdinand now turned their attention towards them. In 1480 all but the very ancient assignments of revenue made in favour of the nobles were revoked. Then again there was another class of nobles, the knights of the Crusading Order. They had helped in the re-conquest of the country from the Moors. A practice had grown up for the Popes to confer Grand Mastership on the leading knights of this order, by virtue of which they possessed independent commands of the army. Isabella did not suppress these Grand Masters, but whenever any vacancy arose among them she caused it to be conferred on her husband Ferdinand. On each occasion the Pope granted the investiture. Eventually in 1530 all these Grand Masterships became perpetually attached to the Crown. The great military power of all these Knights of the Crusading Order, which was a great source of weakness to the Crown, was thus destroyed. The feudal lords were also divested of all their insignia of royalty. The education of the children of the nobility was now put entirely under the supervision of the Crown, and the innumerable castles and forts of the barons were razed to the ground, and the Crown also revived the practice of administering justice in person. At the same time a considerable lawyer element well equipped with the knowledge of Roman Law was added to the Cortes. That helped to unify law and centralize its administration. In the middle ages the bishops and archbishops had gathered round their persons a considerable amount of jurisdiction in the administration of civil justice. They were also at the same time deprived of their powers. Even the right of appointment of bishops was now taken over by the Crown. In this way the entire administration was centralized in the hands of the Crown.

The Inquisition in Spain. In 1492, Granada the last foothold of the Moors in Spain was also conquered, and now the whole of Spain was unified. After this the Spanish Government turned its attention to another problem. During the long centuries of Muslim rule in the country, a very large portion of the population professed the faith of Islam. At this time there were people of three religions in the country, the Christians, the Jews, and the Muslims. It was considered desirable to make Spain an entirely Christian country. We have seen in the second chapter that in the 12th and 13th centuries some heretical movements had risen in the south of France, and that Pope Innocent III had in 1209 proclaimed a crusade against them. Church Courts were established for the discovery and punishment of Albigensian heresy. This system of suppression of heresy is known by the name of Inquisition. In 1478 at the request of Ferdinand, and Isabella, a papal Bull was granted for the re-establishment of Inquisition, a tribunal for the punishment of those Jews who having once been baptized as Christians had reverted back to the faith of Judaism. After this the Jews were given the option either to become Christians, or to leave the country. A large number of Jews left the country. The consequence was disastrous. The Jews were mostly a business class. By their emigration from the country, it suffered very much from the commercial and business point of view. After the conquest of Granada, and the final overthrew of the Moors in the country, the Muslims also were given the option of either becoming Christians or of leaving the country. A very large number of the Moors left the country. The Moors in Spain after the loss of their political power had turned to the profession of cultivation of the soil. So on their emigration the country suffered very heavily in agriculture. The Jews and the Muslims were by means of this Inquisition persecuted so much that by the time of Isabella's death which took place

in 1504, it could be said that the whole of Spain had practically become Christian. The country became entirely free of the Moors about a hundred years later.

King Charles I of Spain. After the death of Isabella in 1504, her husband Ferdinand lived for twelve years more, but the whole of this time was a period of lawlessness and revolution. It has been stated that although Isabella and Ferdinand were married in 1469, Isabella did not ascend the throne of Castile till 1474, and Ferdinand that of Aragon till 1479. But even after this the two kingdoms had not been united. So after the death of Isabella, her daughter Joanna, who had been married to Philip, son of Emperor Maxmillian, was the rightful successor to the throne of Castile. But she was insane, so her husband Philip and her father Ferdinand of Aragon were appointed Regents. Philip died in 1506, leaving two sons, Charles and Ferdinand. So after 1506, Charles although only six years old was associated with Ferdinand of Aragon on the throne of Castile. Under such a state of affairs it is not surprising that there should have been lawlessness and anarchy in the country. When in 1516 Ferdinand of Aragon died, Charles I became the king both of Castile and Aragon. But he was still young and the government was for some years carried on by ministers who were sometimes foreigners. While Charles was still consolidating his position in Spain news reached him in 1520 that on the death of his grand-father Emperor Maxmillian, he had been elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The Spanish people did not like this, for now Spain formed merely a province of the Holy Roman Empire. They did not like the idea of Charles leaving the shores of Spain. But in spite of the protests of his Spanish subjects he left Spain, and did not return till 1522. In his absence the *Comuneros* the representatives of the different townships revolted. This rebellion was, however, put down. This meant

a crushing blow to the Cortes, tbe Spanish Parliament. From this time on Charles carried on the government as an absolutely despotic monarch. But most of his reign he spent in Central Europe deeply involved in wars against France.

Emperor Charles V was a powerful ruler holding extensive territories. He possessed the Hapsberg lands inherited from his grandfather Maxmillian, he inherited Netherlands and French Comte from his grand-mother Mary of Burgundy. He inherited the Spanish kingdom of Castile and its overseas possessions in America from his mother Joanna, and he got from his father Ferdinand the Spanish kingdom of Aragon, with its overseas possessions in the Balearic islands, Sicily, Sardinia and Naples in southern Italy. When Charles abdicated in 1556, his younger brother Ferdinand succeeded to the Hapsberg possessions in Central Europe, and to the position of the Holy Roman Emperor. But his son Philip II obtained the kingdom Castile, Aragon, Naples and Netherlands

The Spanish Empire. It has been seen that America was discovered in 1492, when the two kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were ruled by Isabella and Ferdinand. When the Spaniards learned that America was rich in gold and silver, these precious metals were the principle articles explored. The original settlements of the Spaniards were confined to the four west Indies islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, and Porto Rico. But when the gold mines of these islands were exhausted, they turned their attention to the main land of America. They took possession of Florida in 1513, and reached in the same year the Isthmus of Panama. In the beginning of the reign of Charles I, during the years 1519-21, Mexico was conquered by the Spanish general Hernando Cortez and the power of the Aztecs who had attained some degree of civilization before the arrival of the Europeans on the scene, was overthrown,

From this time Mexico, or New Spain became the most important possession of the Spaniards on the continet of America. Next was undertaken the conquest of the aborginal kingdom of Peru, in South America. It was conquered by the Spanish general Francisco Pizarro during the years 1531-1537. This conquest destroyed the power of the Incas another people in America who were civilized before its discovery by the Europeans. Thus the Spanish colonial empire in America included Florida, New Mexico, California, Mexico, Central America, the West Indies islands, and the whole of South America except Brazil, which belonged to Portugal.

The Nature of Spanish rule in America. When the Spaniards first came into the West Indies, they treated the aborigines very harshly, and forced them to work on gold mines and on sugar plantations. The hard labour, to which they were not accustomed, broke down their health, and so within a few years after the invasion of the Europeans almost the entire native population disappeared. After this bitter and tragic experience the enslavement of the natives was prohibited. The aborigines of Mexico and Peru were allowed to engage in agriculture, trade, and industry. As the Spanish conquerors had brought very few women with them to America, they began after some time to marry the native girls. Intermarriage between the Spaniards and the American aborigines thus became very common. The greater part of the present day Southern America is to-day peopled by a mixed race, among whom the aboriginal blood predominates. Very soon after the establishment of Spanish rule in America almost the whole of the native population in the new continents was converted to the faith of Christianity and devoted monks, belonging to Franciscan, Benedictine, and Jesuit orders penetrated deep into the wilderness, and not only converted the aboriginese to the Christian faith, but also trained them in European culture and civilization. They were

taught most of the European Arts and Crafts. It is mostly from these Christian missionaries that we know anything about the ethnology, civilization, and history of these native races.

The Spanish rulers carried on their government in America in the spirit of a mercantile monopoly. The French, the English, and other foreign nations, were not permitted to trade with their possessions in America. They discouraged ship-building and manufactures, and cultivation of vine and olive, in the new world. The American possessions were regarded by the Spaniards only as a workshop for the production of gold and silver, and other raw materials. That is the reason why Mexico, Central America, and South America have to this day remained industrially backward. Huge quantities of gold, silver, and other raw materials were imported into Spain. It made the kings of Spain extremely powerful. That is the reason why Spain was in the sixteenth century a source of terror to the other nations in Europe. That explains why the kings of Spain could so easily carry on prolonged wars with other people in Europe. Most of the wars of king Charles I of Spain who was also Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, were with king Francis I and Henry II of France.

King Philip II. 1556-1598. Philip II ruled from 1556 to 1598. He had been married in 1554 to Queen Mary of England, and the next five years of his life were spent partly in England and partly in the Netherlands. He came to Spain in 1559, and the rest of his life was spent in that country. The chief aim in life of both Emperor Charles V and his son Philip II was to bring about a religiously unified Christian Europe under the supreme political control of a Spanish Cæsar. Philip had from his very birth been schooled in the belief of his divine selection to accomplish this which had been assigned by God to him and

to his father. The first 12 years after his arrival in Spain, 1259 to 1271, were spent in clearing the Mediterranean Sea of Moorish pirates, and Turkish Sea power. Eventually in 1571 he defeated and destroyed the Turkish fleet in the Gulf of Lepanto. After this naval victory of the Spaniards, the sea power of the Turks was completely overthrown and from this time the Europeans became unchallenged masters of the Mediterranean Sea. Next Philip turned his attention to the suppression of heresy in his empire. The Protestant ideas spread by Luther had caught the minds of the Dutch. They had remained loyal to Emperor Charles V who had been born in Netherlands, but they did not like his son Philip II, who was born in Spain, and was Spanish in sympathies. Philip made no efforts to conciliate the Dutch, rather he governed them despotically through Spanish officials, supported by Spanish troops. Arbitrary taxes were levied, city corporations and feudal barons were deprived of their privileges, and now on the top of it all the hated Inquisition redoubled its activities to suppress Lutheran heresy. This religious persecution everywhere aroused intense indignation in the Netherlands. The result was rioting by Protestant mobs, who destroyed churches and monasteries. At length in 1567 Philip sent the Duke of Alva as governor of the Netherlands. Duke of Alva established a tribunal, popularly known by the name of the "Council of Blood" to punish rebellion and heresy. Hundreds and thousands were put to death by this tribunal, and a much larger number of men fled from the country and took refuge in Germany in the east and in England in the west. This policy of extreme repression led both the Roman Catholics as well as the Protestants to rise in 1568 against the Spaniards. The Dutch found a leader in William the Silent (1533—1584), Prince of Orange. The southern ten provinces of the Netherlands, now known by the name of Belgium, were soon reduced to submission by Spain, but the seven northern

provinces, now known by the name of Holland, formed in 1579 a league for protection against Spain. In 1581, they declared their independence, and formed one federal state, called by the name of the Dutch Republic. In 1584, William the Silent was assassinated, but the struggle for independence still went on. When in 1588 the Spanish Armada was dispersed by storm in the North Sea, the Spanish effort to reduce Holland to submission slackened. At length in 1609, a truce was signed, and since then Holland has been an independent country.

The Spanish Armada. In 1580 king Henry of Portugal died leaving very distant relations as heirs to the throne. Philip II was himself one of such heirs, though not the nearest. He was able to coerce the Portuguese Cortes to nominate him. So in 1581 Philip II became the king of Portugal and all its overseas possessions. The crowns of Spain and Portugal remained united for sixty years. The union of these two crowns increased immensely the power of the king of Spain. He could now command the resources of two empires to put down the rebellion in the Netherlands, and suppress the Protestant heresy throughout Christendom. But in order to put down rebellion Philip needed a strong naval power. In this matter he was decidedly weak. It has already been stated in Chapter IV that the discoveries of Columbus had roused the English people into naval activities. They had made efforts to discover the North-eastern and North-western passages to India. After that English adventurers had begun roaming all over the Atlantic Ocean. They had seen that the Spaniards were not able to protect their treasure ships on their way from America to Spain. When the Dutch War of Independence began, the English people who were Protestants, sympathized with the Dutch. They harrassed and plundered the Spanish ships on the high seas. This went on for a long time. At length Philip II was exasperated, and in 1588 he sent what he called an

Invincible Armada against the English. This Armada passed through the English Channel, but was dispersed and destroyed by a storm in the North Sea. After this great naval disaster, the power of Spain began to decline.

Causes for the Decline of the Spanish Empire. It has been stated that in the reigns of Isabella and Ferdinand the Spanish Crown after the suppression of the nobility became more and more autocratic. When the rebellion of the *Cumeneros* who represented the Spanish townships in the Spanish Cortes or Parliament, was crushed by Charles, the autocratic and despotic powers of the Crown in Spain became more absolute. From this time onward the Spanish Government lost that willing support of the people which make governments always strong and powerful. Then again the prolonged and extensive wars of Charles I and Philip II exhausted the country. The immense amount of gold and silver the king obtained from America was spent in these wars. Furthermore it must be remembered that the sustained persecution of the Jews and the Moors, and their consequent emigration in large numbers from the country, deprived it of commecial and industrial talents. Large areas of agricultural land went out of cultivation. *Alcabala*, the ten per cent import on all sales, and numerous tolls stifled industry and extinguished trade and commerce. Whatever capital came into the country could not be utilized for the promotion of home industries. It was, in spite of all the prohibitions against its export, smuggled out of the country. The country, therefore, derived no benefit from the immense amount of treasure imported into it year after year. The people remained poor, and it was with great difficulty that the Cortes could grant the usual supplies to the Crown. Lastly the hateful institution of the Inquisition demoralized the entire people and the independent sections of the population were

compelled in large numbers to leave the country. The rest of the population consisting of an idle nobility, and impoverished people could hardly be expected to carry on the burdens of a great Empire. After the failure of the war in the Netherlands, and the total destruction of the Grand Armada, Philip II realized that his dreams of imposing religious unity on the whole of Europe had failed. He died in 1598, and was succeeded by his son Philip III, who ruled from 1598 to 1621. But now Spain began to decay, and it no longer remained a big power.

The Rise and Growth of Portugal as a Despotic kingdom. It was in 997 that Bermudo II king of Galicia, a district in the north west of Spain conquered from the Moors the territories of Oporto which constitute the northern portions of the present day Portugal. In 1055, by which time the crowns of Galicia, Leon, and Castile had been united, Ferdinand the Great of Castile commenced his campaigns south of Oporto. When Ferdinand died in 1065, he divided his kingdom among his three sons, but in 1073 his son Alfonso VI of Leon reunited under his rule all the territories ruled by his father. Later on Oporto and the northern portions of the present day Portugal came under the rule of Theresa, the daughter of Alfonso VI, who was married to Count Henry of Burgundy. Their son Alfonso Henrique was the first independent ruler of Portugal, and he ruled from 1114 to 1181. He may be said to be the real founder of the kingdom of Portugal. He first took the title of king in 1140. It was during his reign that as a result of wars against the Moors the present boundaries of Portugal were attained. These wars also created among the people of Portugal a feeling of Patriotism for their country. We are not concerned with the conduct of these wars of Liberation of their country from foreign domination, nor with the history of Portugal during

the middle ages, but we may say this much that in 1385, Don John an illegitimate son of king Pedro I (1357-1367), and a Master of the Knights of Aviz, became king of Portugal and founded a new dynasty. John the Great ruled from 1385 to 1438. The middle ages may be said to have ended in Portugal in his reign. Prince Henry the Navigator who did so much for the exploration of the western coast of North Africa, was the third son of this John the Great. His grandson Alfonso V ruled from 1438 to 1481. He was succeeded by his son John II called also " John the Perfect." He ruled from 1481 to 1495. In politics John II was a disciple of Machiavelli. He believed in absolute despotism. So he first turned his attention to the task of crushing the powerful nobility. His greatest opponent was Ferdinand Duke of Braganza the wealthiest and most powerful nobleman in the whole kingdom. He was a grandson of Alfonso, the illegitimate son of John the Great. He was put to death in 1483. After this it was easy for John II to crush the rest of the nobles. After the destruction of the nobility, the wholesale confiscation of their property made the crown in Portugal very wealthy. John I no longer needed the financial support of the people as represented in the Cortes. So he now became a despot, though a benevolent one. After the nobility lost its political power, it was encouraged to take to the careers of maritime explorations. At home King John II became popular because he proved a very good administrator.

The Rise and Growth of the Portuguese Empire. It was during the reign of John II that Brotholomew Diaz in 1478 rounded the Cape of Good Hope. John II died without any issue, and he was succeeded by his cousin Emmanuel, son of Ferdinand, who was a younger brother of King Alfonso V. He ruled from 1495 to 1521. It was during his reign that Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to India. Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1500 discovered

Brazil in South America. Alfonso de Albuquerque was appointed Viceroy of Portuguese possessions in India. He fixed his capital at Goa which was in 1510 conquered from the king of Bijapur. The Spice islands of Moluccas were occupied in 1512, and Aden in 1513. In 1516 trading stations were established in Siam and in Cochin China. They established trade connections with Canton in 1517, and with Pekin in 1521. The Memluk king of Egypt and later on the Turkish Sultan tried to check the rising power of the Portuguese in the eastern seas, but in vain. The Arabs and the Muslims were swept away from these seas, and the entire eastern trade now fell into the hands of the Portuguese. At home king Emmanuel in order to please Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain, commenced the policy of persecuting the Jews and the Moors. Many of these people were compelled to leave the country. In order to succeed to the throne of Spain he first, married in 1497 Infanta Isabella the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. But she died in 1498. He then married in 1500 Donna Maria of Castile the third daughter of Isabella and Ferdinand. He married his own daughter Donna Isabel to King Charles I of Spain, better known as Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire. When he died in 1521, he was succeeded by his son John III, who ruled from 1521 to 1557. In his reign the Portuguese established trade relations with Japan, and in 1548 they established a trading centre at Yokohama. In 1557 the Portuguese obtained the island of Macao from the Chinese government. In India on the other hand the Portuguese defeated in 1535, the king of Gujrat in a naval battle, and obtained from him the station of Diu. The port of Daman was obtained in 1548. In fact the whole of the western coast of India was dotted over by Portuguese stations. They had during this period obtained in India the reputation of being invincible at sea. It was during this period that the celebrated Jesuit missionary St Francis Xavier visited India. He first came to India in

1542, and died in Goa in 1552. But the reign of John III was marred by the establishment in 1536 of the hated Inquisition in Portugal. As a result of the persecutions of the Inquisition, a very large number of people in Portagal were compelled to leave their mother country and settle in Brazil. In India the heavy hand of the Inquisition fell on the Nestorian Christians. But it was fortunate that the Inquisition was not set up in Brazil. When John died in 1557, he was succeeded by his grandson Sebastian who ruled from 1557 to 1578. At the time of his accession to the throne he was just three years old, so his mother Joanna, who was a sister of King Philip II of Spain became the Regent. But she was soon compelled to retire in 1562, and then Henry a younger brother of John III became Regent. Sebastian assumed full powers as king in 1568. He was a rash and impetuous youth, but he was intensely religious. He wanted to play the role of a crusader, and proposed to conquer Morocco. He personally led an expedition to Morocco, but was in 1578 killed in action. He was then succeeded by Henry the younger brother of his grandfather John III. He was already a very old man. He ruled only for two years and died in 1580, without leaving any issue. There were now several claimants to the throne of Portugal, but Philip II who was an uncle of king Sebastian succeeded in annexing the Portuguese throne to his own. For the next 60 years up till 1640, Portugal was ruled by the kings of Spain.

Causes for the Decay of the Portuguese Empire The most glorious period of Portuguese history lasts from the middle of the 15th century to the end of the 16th century. During this period she had an extensive empire in the east, and a growing and prosperous colony in Brazil in the west. The Portuguese from the very beginning followed a threefold policy. They not only wanted to capture into their own hands the entire trade of the East,

but they also desired to build up an empire beyond the seas, and to convert the people in these countries to the faith of Christ. Portugal, however, was a small country, too small to shoulder all these responsibilities simultaneously. Then again the policy of religious persecution which the kings of Portugal carried on at home caused not only the most intelligent and enterprising sections of the population to leave the country, but demoralized the rest of the population that stayed behind. The commercial and industrial class people went away and settled in Brazil, and the fighting class people went to India and the East to defend the empire built up by them. Within the country itself there was no one to turn to any practical use the immense amount of wealth that came into the country from the east. The Portuguese merchants simply brought the oriental merchantise into Lisbon, and the merchants of other countries likeFrance, Holland, and England took the goods from here and distributed them in the rest of Europe. This gave ample opportunities to the French, the Dutch, and the English to dovelop into good maritime nations. By the middle of the 16th century the constant drain of pcpulation from the mother country had completely exhausted the country, and the defeat of king Sebastian in 1578 was a proof positive of this exhaustion. After this Portugal sank into the position of a third rate power.

Unification of France. It has been stated in Chapter I that when in 1453 during the reign of king Charles VII (1422-1461) the English were finally driven out of France, the country emerged as one united country. The long struggle of the Hundred Years' War had created among the French people a strong patriotic feeling. This war taught the people the important lesson of supporting their own national king. From this time onward the power of the king

in France began to grow. When Charles VII died in 1461, he was succeeded by his son Louis XI, who ruled from 1461 to 1483. He may be called the first French king in the modern period. He was an apt disciple of Machiavelli. He believed in diplomacy rather than war. The first task towards which he turned his attention was to crush the power of the feudal nobility, and to consolidate his territories. After driving out the English from France the next task for French nationalism was to bring all Frenchmen under one flag. At the time when Louis XI ascended the throne, there were still several independent principalities in France. The most important of these was that of Burgundy. It covered the entire north-eastern portions of present day France, and Belgium and Holland. This state had been created in 1363 by king John of France (1350-1364) when he gave a considerable portion of his territory in the east to his second son Philip, and made him Duke of Burgundy. This Philip of Burgundy married Margaret of Flanders, and became master of this territory. The line established by him had four rulers. Philip (1363-1404), John the Fearless (1404-1419), Philip the Good (1419-1467), and Charles the Bold (1467-1477). So long as Charles the Bold lived, the territories of the Burgundian Duke could not be touched. But when he died in 1477, leaving his daughter Mary as his sole heiress, Louis XI attacked these territories. On the other hand, Emperor Maximilian of Austria, who also coveted the territories of Burgundy, married Mary the heiress of Burgundy. But, in the meantime, the original dutchy of Burgundy had been conquered by Louis, and that was annexed to France, in 1479. Before that Guyenne had been annexed in 1473, and Anjou in 1474. In 1481 he took possession of the territories of Maine and Provence. By the time Louis XI died in 1483, France was united, and its borders were well defined and protected.

Centralisation of Administration in France. But apart from consolidation of his territories, Louis XI did much also to centralize the administration, and to increase the powers of the Crown in France. In olden times troops were in times of war supplied by the feudal lords. But feudal system had decayed in the 13th century, when as a result of the war of the Crusades, members of the nobility were killed or ruined. In the time of king Philip the Fair, (1285-1314), mercenary troops had begun to be employed. As their payment was irregular, these soldiers practically lived on the country, and plundered not only the enemy people, but even their own countrymen. This inflicted untold miseries on the people. That explains why during the Hundred Years' War France was practically ruined. In 1439, however, King Charles VII created a standing army consisting of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, commanded by captains appointed by the king, and the rank and file paid in the shape of monthly salaries by the king. In order to provide for the payment of this army, a land tax called *Taille* was with the consent of the Estates General imposed on the people. The royal standing army thus created became a model to be copied by other nations in Europe. This standing army, under the exclusive control of the king, made the crown very powerful, and it reduced the powers of the nobility. In the time of Louis XI the nobility lost all privileges and were reduced to the position of courtiers at the capital. Most of them now gave up residence in the country and began to live at the court.

Charles VIII of France 1483-1498. When King Louis XI died in 1483, he was succeeded by his son Charles, who was only 13 years old. He ruled from 1483 to 1498. In 1491 Louis married Anne, the heiress of Brittany, and this territory also became part of the kingdom of France. This young king was full of romantic ideas, and loved

wars and victories. In 1495 he invaded Italy. He met with no resistance, and without drawing a sword, he passed through Italy to Naples. Here Charles was crowned king of Naples, and he also assumed the empty title of Emperor of the East and king of Jerusalem. But while Charles was in Naples, Ferdinand king of Spain, Emperor Maximilian of Germany, and some of the Italian princes joined in a league against him. He was compelled to beat a retreat, and on his way back he met the confederate army at Fornova, and was just able to defeat them. This victory enabled him to return to France safely. Charles VIII after this had no more ambitions of obtaining victories in foreign countries. He died in 1498, and was succeeded by Louis XII, who was married to his sister Jeanne.

Louis XII of France 1498-1515. Louis XII was also a grandson of Louis of Orleans, younger brother of King Charles VI (1380-1422). He ruled from 1498 to 1515. His entire reign was spent in campaigns in Italy. He laid claim not only to the throne of Naples but also to the Dutchy of Milan. But eventually he was in 1513 driven out of France, and he found his own territories in France being invaded. But in all these wars France made great progress, because in all these foreign wars of Louis XII there was perfect peace and tranquillity within the country. The feudal lords could not now engage in private wars, and the king encouraged agriculture and commerce. The people, therefore, became wealthy. When Louis XII died in 1515, he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Francis I who was also a son of his first cousin Charles.

Francis I of France 1515-1547. Francis I ruled from 1515 to 1547. The new king Francis I was also bitten with the desire of conquest in Italy, and immediately after his accession to the throne started preparations for the invasion of Italy. But by the time Francis invaded-

Italy Charles I king of Spain had become Emperor Charles V of Germany. The resources of two mighty empires, Spain and Germany, were now united against him. Although he had in 1515 obtained possession of Milan, yet he was so utterly defeated in the battle of Pavia fought in 1525, that not only he lost everything he claimed in Italy, but he was also taken prisoner. The home territories of France were at this time surrounded by the territories of Emperor Charles V. There was Spain in the south, Netherlands in the north, and the ancestral possessions of Charles in the east, France was at this time in great danger of being crushed entirely out of existence. France was saved because very soon Emperor Charles V was compelled to defend his own empire in the east, against the Turks, and to suppress Lutheran heresy in his home territories. In France too Protestantism began in the reign of Francis I. The Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, accepted the doctrines of Calvin, who was himself a Frenchman, and whose books were written in the French language. Many nobles became Protestants, and this new faith spread widely among the middle classes. The result was that in the latter half of the sixteenth century France was filled with a fierce civil war. The country suffered terribly in the struggle. The wealth and prosperity of the country declined. In the meantime Francis I died in 1547, and he was succeeded by his son Henry II, who ruled from 1547 to 1559.

Henry II of France 1547-1559. Henry II also took up the Italian War, although it was necessary for France to protect her eastern frontiers against Germany. For some years the war in Italy continued, but at length in 1551, a council, conveyed by Henry II decided to turn his attention to the east. It was believed that Emperor Charles V intended to occupy the three episcopal cities of

Toul, Metz, and Verdun, all in the duchy of Lorrain. King Henry II was advised to forestall Charles V, and by taking possession of these cities to strengthen the eastern frontiers of France by extending them to the banks of the river Rhine and the mountain walls of the Vosages. After this Council, Henry turned his back on Italy, and directed his efforts to the task of possessing these cities. This new policy aimed at gaining the banks of the river Rhine, the natural frontiers of France. From this time onward right upto the present times, it has always been the policy of France to follow this policy. ·Henry II invaded Lorrain in 1552, and very soon took possession of Toul, Metz. and Verdun. Charles V hastened back from Italy, and besieged Metz, but failed to recover it. That was the greatest failure Charles experienced in his reign. At length peace was signed between Emperor Ferdinand of Germany and King Henry II in 1559. By this treaty Henry II abandoned all his claims in Italy, and the question of the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun although they were left in possession of France, was left over for future decision. They were finally annexed to France in 1648 by the treaty of Westphalia.

Last kings of the House of Valoise in France 1559-1589.

Henry II was succeeded by his eldest son Francis II, who was married to Mary Queen of the Scots, but he died within a year in 1560. He was succeeded by his younger brother Charles IX, He ruled from 1560 to 1574. He was succeeded by a third son of Henry II, known as Henry III, who ruled from 1574 to 1589. During the reigns of all these three kings, Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III. the power of the state was entirely in the hands of their mother, Catherine de Medici, who belonged to the celebrated house of Medici of Florence. During the 30 years of her ascendancy, France

was torn with civil wars, caused on account of the efforts to suppress the Huguenots. In order to destroy the influence of Coligny, a Huguenot, who had begun to obtain an ascendancy over the mind of the young king Henry III, his mother Catherine de Medici induced her weak-minded son Charles IX to authorize a wholsale slaughter of all the Huguenots in the country. It began in Paris on the morning of St. Bartholomew's day 24th August 1572, and soon extended to the provinces, where it continued for several weeks. It is estimated that at least ten thousand Huguenots were slain, Coligny was included among the slain. This episode is known by the name of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. The deed was a huge blunder and a great crime. The Huguenots took up arms against the government. For seventeen years after this (1572-1589), civil war waged throughout the country. After the death of Coligny, Henry Bourbon, king of Navarre, became the leader of the Huguenots.

Henry IV the first Bourbon King of France 1589-1600. When Henry III died in 1589, without leaving any issue, the French Crown was inherited by Henry Bourbon, king of Navarre. Margaret a sister of king Francis I had married Henry II of Navarre. Her daughter Jeanne had married Antony of Bourbon and their son now became Henry IV of France. He was the founder of the well-known Bourbon dynasty. Henry IV ruled from 1589 to 1610. But as the Roman Catholics of France did not accept the rule of a Huguenot king, the civil war continued. Henry IV soon realized that only his conversion to the faith of the majority of his subjects could bring peace to the country. So he found no great difficulty in becoming a Roman Catholic. Soon after this, opposition against him collapsed, and thus the Huguenot wars came to an end. But although Henry IV became a Roman Catholic, he did not become unfriendly to the Huguenots. In

1598 he issued an Edict from Nantes, whereby the Huguenots were given freedom of worship. Although this Edict did not grant complete religious liberty, it was a great step in that direction. Having dealt with the religious question, Henry now turned his attention to the task of restoring prosperity to the people. With the help of his chief minister Sully, he re-organized the finances, and extinguished the public debt. He then took up the work of constructing roads, bridges, and canals. He also encouraged ship building. All these measures promoted trade and commerce. On account of the great interest Henry IV took in the welfare of his subjects, he gained the name of "Henry the Good." He died at the hands of an assassin in 1610. He was succeeded by his son Louis XIII.

England in the 16th Century. It has been stated that in the 14th and 15th centuries England was engaged in the Hundred Years' War against the French, and in the Wars of the Roses after that in their own country. So when in 1485, Henry Tudor ascended the throne of England as Henry VII, most of the feudal lords in England had disappeared and the country was now in need of rest and strong administration. It made it easier for Henry VII to adopt a stern policy towards any noble who dared to disturb the peace, or attempted to disobey his authority. He established a Court of Star Chamber to give swift and sure punishment to all those nobles who dared to refuse compliance with his orders. But Henry was shrewd enough to see that he could strengthen the authority of the Crown by encouraging trade and commerce and thereby winning the friendship of the merchant classes. It was in his reign that expeditions were sent out to discover the north eastern passage to the East. He entered into trade relations with the Netherlands for the sale of British goods in that country. He carried on the administration of the country so economically, that he rarely needed to ask Parliament for money.

So he could very rarely be questioned in the Parliament as to how he was carrying on the government. That made him more and more despotic. Henry VII ruled from 1485 to 1509. He was succeeded by his son Henry VIII, who ruled from 1509 to 1547. He went a step further in autocracy. Refusing to recognize the Pope as the Head of the Christian Church, he made himself the supreme head of the Church in England. From this time the Crown in England became the Head of both the Church as well as the State. The ceremonies and doctrines of the Church were fixed by his orders and bishops and archbishops were appointed by him. By confiscating the properties of monasteries, Henry VIII obtained large sums of money, which made him more or less independent of the Parliament. As large areas of land confiscated from the monasteries were sold by him to nobles or to state officials, they all became his grateful supporters. All these things made Henry VIII very powerful. When he died he was succeeded by his son Edward VI, who ruled for only six years from 1547 to 1553. During his short reign the Protestant Prayer Book was made, and the Roman Catholics were persecuted. He was succeeded by his sister, Mary I, who was a daughter of Queen Catherine. She ruled from 1553 to 1558. She was in 1554 married to king Philip II of Spain. She was a staunch Roman Catholic, and in her reign it was the turn of the Protestants to be persecuted. It was in her reign that England lost Calais, her last stronghold on the soil of France. She died in 1558, and was succeeded by her half-sister Queen Elizabeth. She ruled from 1558 to 1603. She reversed the religious policy of Mary, and from this time the State religion of England has always been a form of Protestantism which is known by the name of Anglican Church. It is practically a compromise between Roman Catholicism and the extreme Calvinism. The fact that the religious worship of the people could be changed with each change of the

sovereign, shows to what extent the Crown in England had become autocratic. In the field of Economics also the Crown in England established a kind of autocracy. By means of one royal charter Queen Elizabeth gave to one company exclusive rights to trade with India, and by means of another charter exclusive rights of trading to another company in Russia. In the home lands too she granted "monopolies" conferring on certain individuals the exclusive right to sell this or that commodity. Elizabeth was usually successful in bending the Parliament to her will. It was during her reign that the English "sea dogs" plundered the treasure ships of Spain, and it was during her reign that the Invincible Spanish Armada was destroyed. It was really during this period that the foundations of the British naval power were laid. Since the Crown was the Head of both the Church as well as the State, the person of the Crown became to some extent holy. The Crown now began to assume the Divine Right of kings which made the Stuart successors of Elizabeth defiant in their attitude to the British Parliament.

Scandinavian Countries. It has been stated that in 1319 King Haakon V of Norway died without leaving any male heir. But his daughter Ingleborg had in 1312 been married to Duke Eric, brother of king Berger of Sweden. Duke Eric had been put to death by his brother King Berger, who himself died in 1319 without leaving any issue. So Magnus II the son of Duke Eric and Ingelborg, who was born in 1316 became king both of Sweden as well as of Norway. He ruled from 1319 to 1355 in Norway, and from 1319 to 1363 in Sweden. In 1355 Haakon VI son of Magnus II was elected king of Norway. He ruled from 1355 to 1380. He was married to Margaret the eldest daughter of King Valdamer IV of Denmark. When in 1375 King Valdamer died, his grandson Olaf, son of Haakon VI and Margaret, was elected king of Denmark, with his mother as Regent. In 1380 king

Haakon VI also died, and Olaf became king of Norway too, with his mother as Regent in this country as well. In 1387 the young king Olaf died, and now Margaret became the Queen of both Denmark as well as Norway. But in the mean time the nobles in Sweden had risen against king Magnus II, father of Haakon VI and grandfather of Olaf, kings of Norway, and he was driven out of his kingdom in 1363. His brother-in-law Albert of Mecklinburg was elected king of Sweden. He ruled from 1363 to 1389. But Albert filled the land with German favourites, who oppressed the people. So there was a rebellion against him also. The rebels sought the assistance of Queen Margaret of Norway and Denmark. She readily came to their assistance, Albert was defeated and taken prisoner, and in 1389 she became Queen of Sweden also. In this way all the three Scandinavian countries were united under the rule of one sovereign.

The Union of Calmar. In 1397 margaret summoned representatives of the three kingdoms to a meeting at Calmar, where a draft was made of a constitution whereby the three kingdoms were to be eternally united under one king though each kingdom was to be governed in accordance with its own laws and customs and they were to come to the help of each other in case of foreign aggression. In the case of Norway this union lasted till 1814, and in case of Sweden till 1523. The document signed at Calmar is known by the name of the Union of Calmar. Under the terms of this Union Eric of Pomerania, a grand-nephew of Queen Margaret, was nominated king of the united kingdoms of Scandinavia. Queen Margaret died in 1412, and after that King Eric ruled till 1438. But he was a thoroughly incapable ruler and he eventually withdrew to a small island in the Baltic Sea and turned a pirate. So in his absence his nephew Christopher of Bavaria was elected king of Denmark and Sweden in 1438, and of Norway in 1442. He too was a worthless king and reigned

till 1448. After his death Count Christian of Oldenburg was elected king of Denmark and Sweden in 1448, and of Norway in 1450. The dynasty founded by Count Christian still rules in Denmark. The kings of this dynasty treated Norway and Sweden as conquered countries. The Nobles and officials who were all Danes oppressed the people. There were frequent rebellions. In 1520 some fifty of the most eminent men in Sweden, among whom were two bishops, 13 members of the Council of Regency, and many other citizens were murdered in cold blood. This carnage is known by the name of "Stockholm Blood Bath." This massacre enraged the Swedes so much that the entire people rose against king Christian II. They found a leader in one Gustavus Vasa whose father Eric had been killed in this massacre. He was elected king of Sweden in 1523, and the country now became independent of Denmark. Since then Sweden has led an independent existence. In Denmark and in Norway also the rule of Christian II was so oppressive, that he was very soon driven out by his uncle Frederick of Holstein. It was during the reign of Christian III, son of Frederick I that the Lutheran form of the Protestant faith was introduced in Denmark and Norway. The king in these days, in Denmark as well as Norway lacked money, but since the Roman Catholic monasteries were very rich, he was induced to confiscate their property, and satisfy his needs. In order to do this he adopted the cause of Protestantism and thus this new faith was introduced in the Scandinavian countries. Gustavas Vasa in Sweden and Christian III in Denmark and Norway were contemporaries. After them in the 16th century there were three kings in Denmark and Norway, and three in Sweden. The history of Scandinavia during this period does not possess much significance for the rest of Europe.

Rise of Russia. It has been stated in Chapter I that in 1445, the Russian princes began under the leadership

of the Prince of Moscow to free their country from the rule of the Mongols. Having achieved this object the Princes of Moscow began to unite the territories of the different Russian princes under one common rule. This task was begun by Ivan III, also called Ivan the Great, who ascended the throne of Moscow in 1462. With a view to strengthen his claim to be the political heir of the Eastern Roman Emperors he married Princess Sophia Paleologa, a niece of the last emperor Constantine Paleologus of Constantinople. From this time he claimed to be the Czar. At the time of his accession to the throne, the principality of Moscow was a small inland duchy in the centre of present day Russia, consisting of the seven counties of Tambof, Nijni-Novgorod, Kostroma, Yaroslavl, Vladimir, Moscow, and Koluga. In the west there were the territories of, at this time, the big kingdoms of Poland, and Lithuania. In the south, in between the Duchy and the Black Sea was the territory of the Tartars. In the east were living still the Mongols and Tartars of Astrakhan. In the north the whole of the territory in between Lapland, the Arctic Ocean, and the Ural mountains, the almost vacant land had not yet been conquered. Such was the small inland territory that Ivan III inherited. He ruled from 1462 to 1505. His contemporary on the throne of Poland was Casimir IV who ruled from 1444 to 1492, and his sons John Albert (1492-1501), and Alexander (1501-1507). They were very weak and indolent kings. So Ivan III was able to absorb within his dominions all the small principalities right up to Smolensk, the frontier station of the Poles. In the north too he brought under his rule the entire vast area of level land in between the Urals and Finland.

Expansion of Russia.

This work of conquest was continued by his son Basil IV, who ruled from 1505 to 1533. When he died he was succeeded

by a son only three years old, who became famous later on as Czar Ivan IV, or Czar Ivan the Terrible. He was crowned as Czar in 1547, when he was only 17 years old. The first thing towards which Ivan IV turned his attention was to obtain an opening for his country to the sea. The Baltic Sea-board was at this time in the hands of the powerful countries such as Sweden and Poland. So he turned to the south, fought against the Mongols, and conquered Astrakhan. Thus by way of the Volga and the Caspian, he opened up a trade route to Persia and the East. In the north too, the English sailors in trying to discover a north-east passage to the East, had discovered the White Sea. From here they could reach Moscow without passing through the Baltic Sea, at this time the special preserve of the Hanseatic League. By way of this northern icy route a brisk trade soon grew up between Russia and England. Ivan IV died in 1584, but at the time of his death his empire was stronger and more advanced than it was at the commencement of his reign—Thus in the 16th century a new power, Russia, had come into prominence ready to take part in European affairs of the future. He was followed by weak rulers—Theodore (1584-1598), and Boris Gudunov (1598-1605). After this the dynasty became extinct. But the three reigns of autocratic and despotic rulers, Ivan III, Basil III, and Ivan IV had brought into existence a strong and extensive empire.

Poland It was mentioned in Chapter I that in the Middle Ages Slavonian principalities were established in Bohemia, Poland, and Lithuania. The first great king of Poland, who united all Polish territories under his rule was Casimir III, also called Casimir the Great. He ruled from 1333 to 1370. Galicia with its capital Lemberg was added to his dominions in 1340. Casimir was during his reign engaged in constant wars with the Russians, the Lithuanians,

and the Mongols, but he ceded Silesia to the king of Bohemia. He was succeeded by his nephew Louis of Hungary who was a son of his sister Elizabeth. It was in connection with the succession of Louis to the Polish throne that the Nobles first obtained the right of electing their sovereign. In return for assenting to the nomination of Louis of Hungary to the throne at Poland, the nobles exacted some very important terms from him. They were the foundation of the *Pacta Conventa* which every sovereign of Poland had to sign before he was elected king. Louis of Hungary ruled from 1370 to 1382. As before becoming king of Poland, he was already king of Hungary and Bohemia, the three countries Poland, Hungary and Bohemia had one common ruler. But king Louis died without leaving a male heir. He had only one daughter, Jadwiga. But here again before he could obtain the ascent of the nobles for the nomination of his daughter as Queen, he had to give some concessions to them. They were on this occasion freed entirely from payment of taxation. But when the actual time of the election of Jadwiga, after the death of her father arrived, she was compelled by the Diet of the nobles to marry Jagiello, the prince of Lithuania. There was of course one very great advantage in this marriage, for after this the crowns of Poland and Lithuania were united.

Jagiello Dynasty in Poland. Jagiello assumed the title of Ladislaus V, and now the kingdom of Poland contained the extensive territories of Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Silesia, and Bohemia. Ladislaus V founded a new dynasty, called the dynasty of Jagiello, which lasted from 1386 to 1672. One result of the union of the crowns of Lithuania and Poland was, that now their combined forces could act vigorously against their common enemies the Teutonic Knights who had in the 13th century established themselves on the shores of the Baltic Sea. These Knights were defeated at

the great battle of Grunwald, near Tannenberg in Prussia in 1410. In this battle the Grandmaster of the Teutonic Knights was killed, and after this the political power of the Teutonic Knights was broken. Ladislaus V was in 1434 succeeded by his son Ladislaus VI. He also was elected king of Bohemia, and Hungary. He was killed in 1444 in the battle of Varna, while fighting against the Turks, who were by this time fast advancing in the direction of Hungary. After the death of Ladislaus VI, his younger brother Casimir IV was elected king, in 1447. He ruled from 1447 to 1492. During his reign the Poles still carried on their war against the Teutonic Knights. Finally by the treaty of peace signed at Thorn in 1466, Casimir obtained Western Prussia, Pomerania, and the cities of Thorn and Danzig. But the knights were allowed to keep Eastern Prussia as feudataries of the Polish king. Although Casimir IV had added these territories to his dominions he had on his accession to the throne of Poland, lost Hungary and Bohemia, for on the death of Ladislaus VI in 1444, the people of these countries had elected separate kings. During the reign of Casimir IV the Diet of the nobles became a regularly elected body, and they had by this time gained so many powers and privileges that the king of Poland was now reduced merely to the position of a president of the Diet. Again it was in the reign of Casimir IV that Ivan III of Moscow began to consolidate his territories on the eastern borders of Poland. Casimir IV left three sons who succeeded one after another. In 1496 the nobility was granted the privilege of exercising judicial powers over the peasants under their charge, and also of imposing taxes on them. The peasant was put completely under the control of his lord. At the same time the king was forbidden to enact any laws without the consent of the Diet, which of course consisted exclusively of the lords. It is thus clear that the crown in Poland lost all powers. On the other hand, in the south the kingdom was constantly invaded by the Turks and the Tartars.

The Liberum Veto and the fall of Poland There was during this period one other foolish principle introduced into the Constitutional machinery of Poland. It was in the reign of Alexander (1501-1507) the second son of Casimir IV, that the Diet settled that the decision of the Deputies was not to depend upon the majority but must imply unanimity. This is what is known as *Liberum veto.* Under such a rule even one individual could block all legislation, and prevent any decision being arrived at. The king under the constitution possessed no powers, and now the Parliament was rendered incapable of doing anything on account of this principle of *liberum veto.* Strong and powerful kingdoms and empires were now rising which surrounded Poland; Russia was fast rising in the East; Sweden was rising into a big power in the north; the matrimonial alliances of the Hapsburgs of Austria were building up an extensive empire in the West; and the mighty Turkish Empire had risen in the south. It was just about this time that when other kings and emperors were establishing autocratic rule, Poland was rendering herself helpless by decentralizing all political power, and by making the crown and the Parliament incapable of doing any work. In 1572, the male line of the House of Jagiello became extinct. On this Henry Valois, the younger brother of King Charles IX of France was elected king of Poland. But on the death of his brother without any issue, he left Poland to become the king of France. Then after this Stephen Batory, Prince of Transylvania, who was married to Anne daughter of King Sigismund I of Poland (1507-1548) was elected king. He ruled till 1586. When he died, Sigismund III, son of John III of Sweden, who had been married to Catherine second daughter of Sigismund I of Poland was elected king. He ruled from 1586 to 1632. But the earlier years of his reign were spent in fighting for the

throne of Sweden. The Jagiello dynasty even through the female lines became extinct in 1672. After this the throne of Poland became a plaything for the Polish nobility. It is no wonder then that the country became unfit to defend itself against foreign enemies. It will be seen later on that in the 18th century the once magnificient kingdom of Poland disappears from the map of Europe.

The Growth of Prussia. In the 9th century Germany was divided into the five territorial states of Lotharingia (Lorrain), Swabia, Bavaria, Franconia, and Saxony. Germany at that time extended only as far east as the river Elbe beyond which lay the territories of the half civilized Slavonian tribes. The rulers of all these states were practically independent, and one of them was elected king of Germany. In the beginning of the 10th century, Henry duke of Saxony was chosen king. He is known in history as Henry the Fowler. He spent the greater part of his reign (919-936) in wars against the Slavs and Magyars, who in these days used to raid Germany from the east. He began the task of conquering from the Slavs the territory in between the Elbe and the Oder, and in between these two rivers he established the Mark of Brandenburg, an outpost against the Slavs. This Margrave of Brandenburg later on grew into the kingdom of Prussia. Subsequently, after the reign of Henry the Fowler, much of the territory in between the Oder and the Vistula including Promerania on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea was occupied by the Germans. Beyond the Vistula on the Baltic Seaboard, lived another non-Teutonic people the Borussi, or the Prussian. These Prussians were converted to the faith of Christianity by the well known Order of Teutonic Knights, who after the Wars of the Crusades established themselves in these parts. These Knights held the entire Baltic Seaboard from the mouth of the river Vistula to the Gulf of Finland. We have already seen that the power of Teutonic Knights was overthrown

by the Polish King Ladislaus in the battle of Tannenberg fought in 1410, and much of their territory was annexed to the dominions of Poland in 1466. Brandenburg begins to come into public view from the beginning of the 15th century, when in 1415, Frederick of Hohenzollern, who was Burgrave of Nurnberg in Franconia took possession of this Mark for advancing some money to the German Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg. The name Hohenzollern is derived from a castle on the heights of Zollern in Mediæval Swabia. It has been the policy of every Hohenzollern prince to enlarge his ancestral possessions by purchase, inheritance, diplomacy, and even by hard fighting. But throughout the sixteenth century Brandenburg continued to be a small state. During this period of her history Germany was hopelessly divided. As the principle of primogeniture was not recognized in succession, the state after the death of each ruler was divided among his sons. In this way the original five states of Germany had become split up into a very large number of small principalities. To make matters worse confounded, there grew up in the middle ages within several states, ecclesiastical states as independent as the secular states. None of these states was a compact mass of territory. Each ruler possessed patches of territory scattered all over central Europe. Out of this territorial confusion, two states rose into prominence. Albert Achilles the second Hohenzollern ruler of Brandenburg issued in 1473, an order known by the name of *Dispositio Achillea* which secured the future indivisibility of the Mark of Brandenburg, and its transmision to the eldest male heir by right of primogeniture. There was now no danger of this state being split up.

The Rise of Austria On the other hand, the Hapsburg rulers of Austria by following extensively the policy of making matrimonial alliances became the heads of an empire. We have seen that in 1278 Rudolf of

Hapsburg was elected emperor of Germany. In Chapter I it has been stated that in 1439 the office of the Holy Roman Empire which was formerly elective became hereditary in the Hapsburg family. Hapsburg was really the name of a castle in northern Switzerland. On the other hand the name Austria—in German Oesterreich—means the eastern part of a kingdom. King Otto the Great (936-973), of Germany had after defeating the Magyars in 955 in Bavaria, established the East Mark as a protection against future Magyar inroads. This region afterwards assumed importance under the more familiar name of Austria. In 1273 the electors of Germany at the instance of the Pope selected Rudolf of Hapsburg as the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Rudolf gained Papal support by resigning all claims on Italy, but he soon recompensed himself through the conquest in 1282 of Austria and Styria, which at that time belonged to the kingdom of Bohemia. It was in this way that the Hapsburgs became an Austrian dynasty. By the end of the 14th century the Hapsburgs had becomes masters of upper and lower Austria, Styria, Corinthia, Carniola, and Tyrol, reaching from the Danube southwards to the Adriatic Sea. After this the Hapsburgs turned their attention to the Czech-kingdom of Bohemia, and the Magyar kingdom of Hungary.

The Growth of Austria into an Imperial power. When Albert died in, 1440, he was succeeded as Emperor by his son Frederick III who ruled from 1440 to 1493. It was during his reign that the Swiss after defeating Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1476, became practically independent. Again it was during his reign that Mathias Corvinus king of Hungary conqured in 1485 the Eastern county of Austria and became master of Vienna. In the west Charles the Bold (1467-1477) was fast building up a separate independent kingdom of Burgundy. Each prince, and duke was trying to carve out an absolutely independent

principality. During the reign of Frederick, the Empire sank to its lowest depth. But it was just about this time that by following the policy of making judicious matrimonial alliances, Frederick made it possible for his dynasty to build up an extensive empire. When Charles the Bold of Burgundy died in 1477, his son Maximilian married Mary the heiress of Burgundy. In this way the house of Hapsburg became master of north-eastern France, Belgium, and Holland. Then again in 1496 Philip I. son of Maximilian and Mary, married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. So in this way Charles the son of Philip and Joanna became master of Spain and her entire overseas empire. Lastly Ferdinand the younger brother of Charles married in 1521 Anna the heiress of Bohemia and Hungary and thereby became master of Bohemia, Silesia and Hungary. By these three marriages the little duchy of Austria rose to the position of one of the greatest empires the world has ever seen. When Ferdinand III died in 1493, he was succeeded by his son Maximilian I, who ruled from 1493 to 1519. During most of his reign he carried on wars in Italy. Maximilian I was succeeded by his son Charles V, who ruled from 1519 to 1556. His reign also was spent in wars in Italy. During his reign the greater part of Hungary was conquered by the Turks, and in 1529, even Vienna was besieged by them. The fact is Emperor Charles *V* was too busy in fighting against the French and in suppressing Protestantism, and was, therefore, unable to help the Hungarians in checking the advance of the Turks. At length he abdicated in 1556, and was succeeded as Emperor by his younger brother Ferdinand, who ruled from 1556 to 1564. Throughout his reign he was occupied either in fighting the Turks or in trying to suppress the Protestants. He was succeeded by his son Maximilan II, who ruled

from 1564 to 1576, and on the death of the later by Rudolf II, (1576-1612),

Bohemia and Hungary before union with Austria. We have seen that from 1370 to 1444, the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary were united with the kingdom of Poland but in 1444 on the death of the Polish King Ladislaus VI, the Bohemians and the Hungarians elected separate kings, Bohemians elected George Podebrad, and the Hungarians Mathias Corvinus, the great opponent of the Turkish Sultan Muhommed II, as their kings. Mathias Corvinus ruled uptill 1490, but to the Bohemian throne a Polish prince Ladislaus, son of Casimir IV (1444-1492), of Poland succeeded as king. This Ladislaus ruled from 1471 to 1516. He was succeeded by his young son Louis II, who was killed soon after the battle of Mohacs fought in 1526, where the Hungarians suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Turks. When Mathias Corvinus died in 1490, the Hungarian nobles elected Ladislaus as the king of Hungary. So from this time the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary were united. But as has been seen in the case of Poland the nobles in Bohemia as well as in Hungary were very powerful, and the king possessed very little power. The country was, therefore, incapable of offering any resistance to the Turks who had by this time taken possession of the Balkan Peninsula, and had in 1492, even taken possession of Carinthia, which belonged to the Hapsburg rulers of Austria. In 1526, when the Hungarians were defeated at the battle of Mohacs, a greater portion of Hungary fell under the control of the Turkish Sultans and its young king Louis was drowned while crossing a river. But Anna the sister of Louis had been married to Ferdinand the younger brother of Emperor Charles V of Germany. On the death of Louis of Bohemia and Hungary, Ferdinand of Austria claimed these two thrones. He was elected king of these two countries in 1527.

Summary.

1. *South Eastern Europe.* The Eastern Roman Empire lost to the Arabs, Cilicia and Syria in 638, and Egypt in 640. In the 7th century the Serbians and Bulgarians occupied the northern parts of the Balkan Peninsula. In 1078 the Seljuk Turks established the Sultanate of Roum in the Roman provinces of Pontus and Asia. The Ottoman Turks succeeded the Seljuks in Roum in about 1300, From this time the Ottoman empire began to grow with extraordinary rapidity. They took possession of Gallipoli in 1358, finally crushed the Serbians and the Bulgarians in the battle of Kossovo in 1389, and Constantinople itself was taken in 1453. Herzegovina and Bosnia were conquered in 1483, the Austrian county of Carinthia in 1492, Egypt in 1517 and a greater portion of Hungary in 1526, By the and of the 16th century, Turks became masters of the whole of Balkan Peninsula, the region of the middle Danube and all the maritime provinces of northern Africa.

2. *Causes for the Conquest of the Eastern Roman Empire by the Turks.* There are four main reasons why the Eastern Roman Empire was conquered by the Turks :—

(*i*) The Christians of western Europe considered the Greek Church Christians to be worse than alien Muslims.

(*ii*) Western European nations who were at this time themselves engaged in consolidating their own countries into strong national states had no time to take interest in the affairs of Eastern Europe.

(*iii*) There were at this time no ideas of Mediæval chivalry prevalent in Europe.

(*iv*) The more adventurous spirits were at this time engaged in geographical discoveries,

3. *Spain in the 16th century.* The Ummayedia Caliphate ended in 1034, giving rise to a large number of small principalities, which the Christian princes in the north could conquer easily. Castile and Aragon conquered a very large portion of the country from the Moors and distributed the lands among lords spirtual and temporal who in course of time became almost independent princes, enforcing separate laws in their respective territories.

4. *Constitution of Spanish Kingdoms.* At first the king was guided by a Cortes consisting of lords temporal and spiritual and later on of representatives of the towns also, but by the end of the 15th century, the kings became autocratic.

5. *The Two Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.* Isabella ascended the Castilean throne in 1474. and Ferdinand ascended the throne

of Aragon in 1479. They were both married in 1469. The two kingdoms were thus united, but they continued to have separate laws.

6. *The Growth of Autocracy in Spain.* In 1476 Isabella organized a military force called the "Holy Brotherhood" to put down the power of the feudal nobility. In 1495 a standing army maintained by the crown was brought into existence. The same thing was after 1479 done in Aragon. In 1480 most of the recent assignments of revenues made to the feudal nobility were revoked, then again the Grand Mastership of the knights of the Crusading Order was assumed by the king. Castles and forts of the barons were razed to the ground, a larger lawyer element was introduced into the Cortes, who helped in centralizing the administration of justice. In this way all power was concentrated in the hands of the Crown, who now became autocratic.

7. *The Inquisition in Spain.* After the final expulsion of Moorish rulers from Spain in 1492, the Spanish Crown took up the work of making Spain an entirely Christian land. An old institution called the Inquisition which had in the 13th century been employed to put down heresy was employed to convert the Jews and the Muslims to the faith of Christ. Many were converted, but many left the country.

8. *King Charles I of Spain.* After the death of Isabella in 1504 her daughter Joanna, who was married to Philip of Austria became, queen of Castile. Philip died in 1506, and so their son Charles became associated with his mother on the throne. On the death of Ferdinand in 1516, Charles became king both of Castile as well as of Aragon. On the death of Maximilian, his grandfather, Charles became the Emperor of Germany, In his reign the *Communeros*, representative of the towns in the Cortes, revolted, but they were put down, and after this Charles became an absolutely despotic king. Charles possessed an extensive empire, consisting of Spanish empire, Germany, Netherlands, north eastern France and southern Italy

9. *The Spanish Empire*, The original settlements of the Spaniards were in the West Indies islands. They occupied Florida in 1513, Mexico was conquered in 1521, and Peru in 1537. They held in America, Florida, Mexico, Central America, the West Indies islands and the whole of South America excepting Brazil.

10. *The Nature of Spanish Rule in America*, At first the hard labour to which the aborigines in the West Indies were put killed them. Later on a more humane policy was followed. The Spaniards began to intermarry with the natives. So the population in Mexico, Central America, and South America is at the present time a mixed one. All the natives were converted to Christianity. The Spanish rule in

America was carried on in the spirit of a mercantile monopoly, Foreign nations were not permitted to trade with her colonies, and the colonies were not allowed to engage in manufacture. The Spaniards took away from America large quantities of gold, which made their kings very powerful.

11. *King Philip II 1556-1598.* He was married to Queen Mary of England in 1554. Philip considered his chief aim in life to make Europe religiously united. He first spent 12 years in clearing the Mediterranean Sea of the Moors and the Turks. The fleet of the latter was destroyed in 1571 in the battle of Lepanto. After that he became engaged in fighting against the Protestant Dutch who had revolted against him. The Dutch became independent in 1581.

12. *The Spanish Armada.* Since the English people sympathized with the Dutch in their war against the Spaniards, and plundered Spanish treasure ships on the high seas, Philip proposed to punish them. He sent an Invincible Armada against them, but it was in 1588 dispersed by the Storm in the North Sea.

13. *Causes for the Decline of ths Spanish Empire.* When after the suppression of the *Communeros* the crown in Spain became despotic, it lost the willing support of the people. Secondly the prolonged and extensive wars of Charles and Philip exhausted Spain. Thirdly the sustained persecution of the Jews and the Muslims drove a very large number of industrious people out of the country, and large areas of agricultural land went out of cultivation. Fourthly *Alcabala* the ten per cent impost killed industry and drove capital out of the country. Lastly, the hateful institution of the Inquisition demoralized the entire population. After the destruction of the Armada Spain began to decay.

14. *The Rise and Growth of Portugal as a Despotic Kingdom.* The nucleus of Portugal was formed in 997, when Oporto was conquered by king Bermudo II of Galicia. The first independent king of Portugal, possessing its present territorial limits was Alfonso Henrique, who ruled from 1114 to 1181. He took the title of king in 1140. It was the wars against the Moors that created patriotic feelings among the Portuguese. In 1385 Don John founded a new dynasty, which ruled in Portugal from 1385 to 1580. John II (1481-1495) by suppressing the feudal lords became a despotic king, He encouraged very much the naval activities of his people. Prince Henry the Navigator was the 3rd son of Don John, the founder of the dynasty.

15. *The Rise and Growth of the Portuguese Empire.* It was in the reign of John I that the Cape of Good Hope was rounded in 1487.

In the time of Alfonso V, Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to India, and Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1500 discovered Brazil. In India Goa was conquered in 1510, Diu in Gujrat in 1535, and Daman in 1548. In the Far East, they established themselves in the Spice islands of the Moluccas in 1512, in Siam and in Cochin China in 1516, in Canton in 1517, in Pekin in 1521 and in Yokohama in Japan in 1548. They obtained from China, Macao in 1557. They had during this period become invincible in the eastern seas. St. Francis Xavier visited India in 1542, and died in Goa in 1552. In 1536, the hated Inquisition was introduced in Portugal. By its persecutions large numbers of people left Portugal and settled in Brazil, where Inquisition was not introduced. In 1580 the direct royal line in Portugal became extinct, and the country was annexed by Philip II of Spain to his own dominions.

16. *Causes for the Decay of the Portuguese Empire.* The Portuguese followed a three-fold policy. They wanted to capture the Eastern trade, they wanted to build up an empire in the East and they wished to convert the heathens to Christianity. The country was too small to shoulder all these responsibilities simultaneously. The religious persecution at home drove the industrious people out of the country. The result was that the country became exhausted and impoverished.

17. *Unification of France.* The English were finally driven out of France in 1453. After this the Crown became engaged in consolidating his territory by absorbing within his own dominions the lands of his feudal lords. Guyenne was taken in 1473, Anjou in 1474, the Duchy of Burgundy in 1479, and Brittany in 1491.

18. *Centralization of Administration in France.* After the destruction of the nobility in the Wars of Crusades, mercenary troops had begun to be employed in the local wars. In 1439 the crown created a standing army, maintained by a land tax called the *Taille*. This force was controlled by the king, and the nobles lost all share in the administration putting the entire control of the Government in the hands of the Crown.

19. *Charles VIII of France, 1483-1498.* He invaded Italy in 1495, but was compelled to retreat,

20. *Louis XII of France, 1498-1515.* His entire reign was spent in campaigns in Italy but during his reign internally there was much progress in France.

21. *Francis I of France, 1515 1547.* He also spent all his reign in fighting in Italy. Protestantism in France first began in his reign. They were called the Huguenots.

22. *Henry II of France, 1547-1559.* He also first began his wars in Italy, but in 1552 he turned his back on Italy, and diverted his

attention to push his frontiers to the natural frontiers of the Rhine and the Vosages. He took possession of the fort of Toul, Metz, and Verdun. Emperor Charles V tried to recover these forts, but failed to do so.

23. *Last kings of the House of Valois in France, 1559-1589.* During this period the political power was entirely in the hands of Catherine de Medici the Queen mother. On 24th August 1572 she ordered a general massacre of the Huguenots in France. This is known by the name of the massacre of St. Bortholomew Day. It caused a civil war in the country. In 1589 the House of Valois became extinct.

24. *Henry IV, the first Bourbon king of France, 1589-1610* Henry IV although himself a Huguenot on his accession to the throne became a Roman Catholic, but he followed a liberal policy in religion. By the Edict of Nantes issued in 1598, he gave some freedom of worship to the Huguenots. He in the internal administration re-organized the finances, extinguished public debt, constructed roads, bridges, and canals, and built ships, all which helped to promote trade and commerce.

25- *England in the 16 Century*, On the accession to the throne of Henry VII in 1485 the nobility on account of the Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses had all been killed, and the country required rest and strong administration. Henry followed a stern policy towards the nobles, and established the Court of Star Chamber to give swift punishment to the nobles. He sent naval expeditions to discover North-west and North-east passages to the East. He established trade relation with Netherlands. He seldom stood in need of money so he rarely summoned parliament. and carried on the government as best as he liked. During the reign of his son Henry VIII, by the suppression of the monasteries, and by himself becoming the supreme head of the Church the king became more powerful and autocratic. It was during his reign that Protestant Reformation began in England. In the reign of his son Edward VI the Roman Catholics were persecuted, and in the reign of his eldest daughter Mary the Protestants were persecuted. But Elizabeth who succeeded her sister Mary followed a moderate policy in religion, In the field of economics Queen Elizabeth followed a monopolist policy. She granted trade monopolies to the different companies. The East India Company was established by her.

26. *Scandinavian Countries*. In 1319 the royal family in its direct line in Norway became extinct, and Magnus II. who was a son of the daughter of Haakon V the last king of Norway, became king both of Sweden as well as Norway. He ruled in Sweden from 1319 to 1363,

and his son Haakon VI ruled in Norway from 1355 to 1380. Haakon VI was married to Margaret, daughter of king Vladimir IV of Denmark. Vladimir died in 1375, without leaving any male issue, so Olaf, son of Margaret and Haakon VI, was elected king of Denmark. He died in 1387, on which Margaret became Queen of Norway as well as of Denmark. In 1363, Magnus II was driven away from the throne of Sweden, and succeeded by his brother-in-law Albert of Macklinburg, who ruled till 1389, when the people revolted against him. He was succeeded by Margaret of Norway.

27. *The Union of Calmer.* In 1389 Queen Margaret united all the Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden under her crown. In 1397 representatives of all these countries agreed in future to have a common king, and gave their consent to have Erick of Pomerania, grand-nephew of Margaret, as their king. Margaret ruled till 1412 and Erick till 1438. In 1448 a new dynasty of the house of Oldenburg was established. King Christian II of this dynasty massacred a large number of Swedish notables at Stockholm in 1520. On this the Swedes revolted against him and under the leadership of Gustavus Vasa became in 1523 independent. Protestant faith was introduced into the Scandinavian countries in the reign of Gustavus in Sweden and in the reign of Christian III in Denmark and Norway.

28. *The Rise of Russia.* The principality of Moscow rose into prominence in the time of Ivan III who ruled from 1462 to 1505. In order to strengthen his claims to be the political heir of the Eastern Roman Emperors of Constantinople, he married Princess Sophia Paleologa, a niece of the last emperor Constantine Paleologus. Ivan III absorbed within his dominions the lands of petty princes in between Moscow and Lithuania, he then conquered the northern plains in between Finland and the Urals, This war of conquest was continued by his son Basil IV who ruled from 1505 to 1533.

29. *Expansion of Russia.* Ivan IV was coronated as Czar in 1547. He conquered the Tartar territories of Astrakhan, and thus reached the shores of the Caspian. Sea. He opened a trade route to Persia and India by way of the Caspian Sea, and the English merchants built up a brisk trade through the White Sea. When Ivan IV died in 1584, Russia had become powerful enough to take part in European politics.

30. *Poland.* The first great Polish king who united his country under one crown was Casimir III, who ruled from 1333 to 1370. Galicia was added in 1340. He ceded Silesia to Bohemia. He was succeeded by his sister's son Louis, and it was on this occasion that

the nobles obtained the right of being consulted in the selection of king. The nobles at the same time obtained some privileges for consenting to the selection of the new king. This was the foundation of the *Pacta Conventa* which every king before being raised to the throne was expected to sign. In 1382 Louis died leaving Jadwiga as his heir.

31. *The House of Jagiello in Poland.* Jadwiga was required by the nobles to marry Jagiello the king of Lithuania. This united Poland and Lithuania under one crown. Jagiello assumed the name of Ladislaus V, and his dynasty lasted till 1672. The Teutonic knights of Prussia were defeated in 1410, and western Prussia and Thorn were obtained from these knights in 1466. In 1444 Bohemia and Hungary became separate. During the reign of Casimir IV (1447-1492) the nobles became a regularly elected body, and they obtained a large number of privileges. They obtained exemption from taxation, and they received judicial powers over their retainers. The nobles became so powerful that the king now became merely a president of the Diet.

32. *The Liberum Veto.* During the reign of Alexander (1501-1507) the Diet settled that the decision of the Deputies was not to depend on the vote of the majority, but must imply unanimity. This is known as *Liberum Veto.* Even one individual could under this rule block all legislation or decision. So now not only the king was helpless, but the diet also became powerless. While in western countries power was being centralized in the hands of the king, here in Poland power was being decentralized The result was that it became unfit to defend itself against foreign aggression.

33. *The Growth of Prussia.* The Mark of Brandenburg was constituted by king Henry the Fowler (919-936) in between the Elbe and the Oder as an outpost against the Slavs. This Margrave was purchased by Frederick Hohenzollern in 1415. After this the Margravate began to grow in power and in territory.

34. *The Growth of Austria,* The Eastern Mark (Austria) was constituted by King Otto the Great (936-973) after the defeat of the Magyars in 955, in the east of Bavaria, as a protection against future Magyar inroads. It later on became part of the kingdom of Bohemia. It was conquered by Rudolf Hapsburg in 1282. By following a judicious policy of matrimonial alliances, the House of Hapsburg became master of the Netherlands and north eastern France in 1477, of Spanish Empire in 1496, and of Hungary, Bohemia, and Silesia in 1526 During the 16th century the Hapsburg kings as emperors of Germany remained busy in fighting against the French in Italy and in suppressing the Protestant Reformation. But in the east they could not check the advance of the Turks who conquered a very large part of Hungary.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONTEST OF FRANCE AND THE EMPIRE IN ITALY

The States of Northern Italy It has been stated in Chapter I that in 1176 the Lombard cities in Northern Italy revolted against Emperor Frederick. He was defeated at the battle of Legnano, and so in 1177 he granted autonomy to these cities, retaining in his hands only a shadowy suzerainty. After this, during the rest of the Middle Ages, there existed, in northern Italy, a number of self-governing city states, the most important of which were Venice, Milan, Genoa, and Florence. In addition to these city states there was also one little feudal territory, the county of Savoy, which also came into prominence during this period.

Venice The origin of Venice has to be traced back to the period when the Teutonic hordes invaded Italy, and the inhabitants of this part of the country took refuge on an Isalnd at the head of the Adriatic Sea, a few miles from the mainland. In these marshy islands there was hardly any land fit for cultivation, and the only drinking water they could have was by collecting rain water. The early inhabitants of Venice gained their livelihood by sale of sea salt and fish. The Venetians exchanged these goods for the provisions imported from the mainland. Thus the citizens of Venice built up a busy trade. Gradually they extended their trade activities to the countries beyond the Adriatic, on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. During the Wars of the Crusades the Venetians became very wealthy, for it were their ships which carried troops and supplies to Palestine. During the Wars of the Crusades, Venice not only developed her trade and

commerce, but she used them for political advantage as well. When during the 4th Crusade Constantinople was captured by the Latins, Venice extended her control over Morea (a peninsula in the south of Greece), and the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete. They also took possession of many other smaller islands in the eastern Mediterranean. The commerce and oversea possessions of Venice made it necessary for her to maintain a powerful fleet. She is said to have at one time over three thousand merchantships, and more than forty war galleys. Her ships visited the Black Sea, the ports of Syria, Egypt and western Europe. Although Venice was called a republic, it was ruled by a small aristocratic oligarchy. In 1311, a council of ten had been created as a kind of a committee of public safety. The entire government was placed in its hands. The nominal head of the republic was the *Doge* (the Duke) who had a senate to guide him. The greatest rival of Venice in the Mediterranean was Genoa, but after her overthrow in 1380, she became supreme in that sea. But soon after the Venetians came into conflict with the Osmanli Turks who had by this time risen into prominence in the eastern Mediterranean. Not only the prosperity but even the existence of Venice was now threatened. She was confronted with the prospect of losing all such overseas possessions from where she derived her food supplies. She was consequently forced from about the year 1330 onwards to a policy of landward expansion, which brought her into conflict with some of the other city states in northern Italy. She had another object in extending her territory on the mainland of Italy. She thought it was dangerous for her rivals to control the Alpine passes in the north which contained the trade routes to Germany. All the cities on the mainland, and the overseas possessions which were ruled by Venice, were required to work for the economic advantage of Venice. The subject cities were forced to use Venice as their sole market, but otherwise her rule was not

oppressive. The decay of Venetian prosperity began with the rise of the Turks, but was hastened by the discovery of America, and the cape route to India, which shifted the centre of world trade from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. In the 16th century Venetia, although it was able to put up a fight against her neighbours and to keep her independence, it was in a decaying condition.

Lombardy Milan the capital of Lombardy was originally a Roman city. Since it lies in the fertile valley of the Po, at a point where the different trade routes from the several Alpine passes converge, it rose into importance at a very early time. When the authority of emperor Frederick I was overthrown, the city people were not able to remain free for long. Their government fell into the hands of the local nobles, who ruled as despots. From the beginning of the 14th to the middle of the 15th century, a long series of Visconti despots, helped by different *Condottieris* (leaders of bands of hired soldiers), ruled in Milan, and extended the territories under them. The last of the Viscontis was Filippo Maria, who married his daughter Bianca Maria to the famous Condottieri Francesco Sforza. After Filippo Maria died in 1447, without leaving any male heir, the Milanese accepted Francesco Sforza as their Duke. He ruled Lombardy from 1450 to 1466. He was succeeded by his son, Galeazzo Maria, who was assassinated. The next duke, son of Galeazzo, was a boy of only ten years. But he was displaced by his uncle Ludovico, a younger brother of Galeazzo. The duchy, however, did not lose by his usurpation, because he was a capable and determined ruler. But as the boy duke, his nephew, had been married to Isabella a grand daughter of Ferrante I, king of Naples, he was under a constant fear of intervention of Naples in his favour. That induced Ludovico to invite king Charles VIII of France to invade Italy, and attack Naples. King Charles VIII of France invaded Italy in

1494, just after Ferrante I had died, and he entered Milan peacefully. When he entered the territory of Florence, its ruler made an abject surrender. He then passed on to Naples. This city was occupied without striking a blow, and Ferrante II fled away. Charles VIII now occupied the vacant throne. After two months he returned to France. Ferrente recovered his kingdom, and the French were expelled. In 1498 Charles VIII was succeeded on the French throne by Louis XII, who before his accession to the throne was Duke of Orleans. His grandfather Louis of Orleans, who was younger brother of king Charles V of France was married to Valentina, daughter of Gian Galeazzo the most famous Visconti of Milan (1378-1402) who himself was a son of Isabella, sister of king Charles V of France. In this way Gian Galeazzo of Milan was the first cousin of Louis of Orleans grandfather of king Louis XII of France. As the dynasty of the Visconti had become extinct, and Ludovico, was also a mere usurper, Louis XII considered himself to be the rightful heir to the throne of Lombardy. He invaded Italy in 1499, and took possession of Milan. Having become master of the Duchy, the next aim of Louis was Naples. But since Ferrante II belonged to the family of king Ferdinand of Spain, he had to reckon with him. A compromise was soon arrived at. In 1503 Naples passed to king Ferdinand, and Louis XII took possession of the Duchy of Milan. We will find later on that in 1515 Lombardy was again restored to the Sforza family, but in 1535 it was annexed to the dominions of Emperor Charles V of Germany and Spain.

The rise of Savoy. The county of Savoy in the middle ages lay in the south and west of Switzerland. In the beginning of the 13th century, Otto the count of Savoy married the heiress of Susa, and thus obtained in dowry the western portions of Piedmont. The county of

Susa has always possessed importance, because it commands the north-western gateway of Italy. During the invasions of Italy by the French kings, Savoy was overrun by the French and Imperial armies and for 20 years it neither knew independence nor prosperity. When in 1559 there was signed peace between France and Germany, Emanuele Filiberto was in return for his services to Charles V, reinstated in his ancestral possessions of Savoy and Piedmont. The peculiar strategic position of the territories of Savoy and Piedmont, which contain all the passes from France into Italy, helped this principality to build up a position for itself. Neither France, nor Spain could consent to see this territory in the hands of its rival, while both were deeply interested in securing its friendship. The dukes of Savoy, therefore, were able to play off one against the other, and they succeeded in forming and preserving a compact and independent principality. Emanuele Filiberto ruled from 1559 to 1580. During his reign he succeeded in recovering by diplomacy the fortresses which had been detained by France and Spain. When he died he left to his son and successor a Government well organized on autocratic lines, an efficient army, and a position of independence. He was succeeded by his son Carlo Emanuele I, who ruled from 1580 to 1630. He made his territory more compact by exchanging some lands with France. His son Vittorio Amadeo (1630-1637) was married to the sister of King Louis XIII of France. Consequently during the minority of his son, Carlo Emanuele II (1637-1675), Savoy fell under the influence of France, who used it as a base for operations against Spain.

Genoa. During the Wars of the Crusades Genoa carried on a flourishing trade both in the Mediterranean as well as in the Atlantic. After the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople in 1261 the Genoese practically monopolized oriental trade by way of the Black Sea ports. But when

in 1358 the Turks took possession of Galipoli, they were in a position to control the Dardanelles, and close this trade route. That was a heavy blow to the prosperity of Genoa. At the same time she suffered from the active competition of Venice. Genoa suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Venetians in 1353, as a result of which she surrendered herself to Milan. But the state was soon lost by Milan. After a peace of about 20 years, war again broke out between Venice and Genoa, and in 1380 the Genoese fleet was completely destroyed. By this disaster the sea-power of Genoa was finally broken and Venetian supremacy established.

Florence. Florentine prosperity was really founded on the wool trade and silk industry, which flourished at Lucca as early as the 9th century, and was very early established in Florence. Both these industries were by about 1100 organized in Guilds or *Arti* which like the early republican government of the city, had their consuls, and their councils, under whom the members of the Guild took their place in the civic militia. Other trades and professions adopted the same organization, and by the 13th century the more lucrative and important trades and professions were represented by the seven *Arti Maggiori* while the retail dealers and lesser trades had their *Arti Minori* But the business connections of the Florentine capitalists with the kingdom of Sicily had a great influence on the foreign policy and internal history of Florence in the 14th century. It was with the assistance of Florentine bankers that Charles of Anjou conquered the kingdom of Sicily in 1266. The Florentines took full advantage of the connection thus established. A number of the great Florentine trading firms opened branches in Sicily and Naples. We have already seen in Chapter I that under the Hohenstaufen emperors of Germany, there was a bitter struggle between the Popes and the Emperors, with the consequence that both

Germany and Italy became divided into two great parties. In Germany the factions were known as Welfs and Waiblings, in Italy as Guelfs, and Ghibellines. The Welfs or the Guelfs were the followers of the Pope, and the Waiblings or Ghibellines were followers of the Emperor. Since Charles of Anjou had been invited to conquer the kingdom of Cicily by Pope Urban IV, he naturally belonged to the Guelf party. The trading and banking firms in Florence which had intimate business connections with the Anjevin kingdom of Sicily and Naples also belonged to the Guelf party. So in the Florentine republic the *Parte Guelfa* was after 1256 politically predominant Some of these banking and trading houses, who had acquired great amount of wealth and prestige in the service of the Anjevin kings, came to form a class apart, an aristocracy of trade. They were known as the *Grandi or Popolo Grasso* in contrast to the simple *bourgeoisie, the popolo minuto or magro.* They had either ousted or absorbed the older territorial and Ghibelline nobility, who had previously kept them in check. After 1282 no citizen not enrolled in one of the greater guilds was eligible for office in the republic. Mean while a wealthy middle class was growing up, which acquiesced in the predominance of the *Grandi* so long as the latter were able to secure the prosperity of the city. But when both they and their ally the king of Naples fell on evil days, it made itself master of the Government. The *Grandi* controlled the *Parte Guelfa* till 1343. On the death of king Robert of Naples in 1343, the newly risen middle class came into power. But the working classes also became restless, and consequently no stable government could be established in the republic. At length Florence was compelled to acquiesce in the monopoly of power by a single family. The Albizzi family supported by the Guelf aristocracy, exercised supreme control in the republic for more than fifty years from 1382 to 1434. The Albizzi family was succeeded by the great family of the dei

Medici who, while retaining the forms of republican government and of popular election, practically established an hereditary despotism. The capitalist class, unable to retain its political supremacy purchased their economic well being at the cost of political liberty. The Medici dynasty ruled in Florence for sixty years from 1434 to 1494. This dynasty was established in 1434 by Cosimo de Medici, who ruled from 1434. to 1464. During his time Florence enjoyed peace and prosperity. He was succeeded by Piero de Medici, who ruled from 1464 to 1469. Then we had the famous administration of Lorenzo de Medici, also called Lorenzo the magnificent, who ruled from 1469 to 1492. Under his rule Florence reached the height of its glory in art and literature. Lorenzo was a great patron of art. But after the death of Lorenzo in 1492, Florence fell on evil days. He was succeeded by Piero II, but he was thoroughly incompetent. When Charles VIII of France invaded Italy in 1494, Piero made an abject surrender. This brought on him the wrath of the citizens whom he had betrayed. He was driven from his throne under the denunciations of Savonarola, a Franciscan friar, who had already raised his voice against the evil life of the Pope Alexander VI. After the departure of Charles VIII, and the expulsion of Piero de Medici, Savonarola took an active part in reframing the constitution of Florentine republic. For some time the Florentines followed Savonarola blindly, but when many of the northern states of Italy joined with the king of Spain and the emperor, in the league of Venice against France, Florence under the guidance of Savonarola refused to join. This refusal roused the wrath of Pope Alexander VI, for he more than any other prince wanted to get rid of Charles. Savonarola was now excommunicated. He then gradually lost influence, and the Florentines now fell away from him. At length he was seized and condemned to death for schism and heresy. He was in 1498 strangled and his body was afterwards

burned. Savonarola was a great and pure-minded man, hating sin, and loving with a great tenderness the sinful and the weak. He may have been quite patriotic, but for the salvation of Italy he trusted on outside assistance, rather than on making his own people strong and powerful. He believed that Charles VIII had been sent by heaven to assist Italy. The modified constitution of the republic which Savonarola helped in framing lasted till 1512. In that year the Medicis were again restored to Florence by the influence of the Pope. The city remained under the papal tutelage till 1529, when the Medicis were again expelled, and republic was restored. In 1531, Florence again came under the Medicis. But Alessandro Medici who was now appointed ruler was a great tyrant. He was assassinated in 1537. But his successor Cosimo I (1537-1574) was a less intolerable master. He was given the title of Grand Duke by Pope Pius V. In 1737 when the Grand Duke Gian Gastone died the Grand duchy was received by Francis of Lorraine, who became emperor Francis I of Germany.

The Papal States. It was stated in Chapter I that the Popes were compelled to live in Avignon in France from 1306 to 1376. This is called as the period of Babylonian Captivity of the Popes, because here the Popes were more or less under the influence of the French kings. After the Popes returned from Avignon, they found the city of Rome in a very dilapidated condition. For some years the Popes were helpless, but when the "Great Schism" was over and all the European nations in 1417 acknowledged once more the Pope of Rome, it became possible to improve the city and revive some of its ancient glory. Architects, painters, and men of letters were invited and paid handsomely by the Popes to erect and adorn magnificent buildings and to collect a great library in the Vatican palace. The ancient basilica of St. Peter's was re-built and the old palace of the Lateran gave place to a

new palace. In the political field the Popes now no longer attempted to be leaders in European politics, and began to give their attention to the states of the Church in Italy. A number of the Popes now took much interest in the Renaissance movement, and became its enthusiastic patrons. They kept up splendid courts, collected manuscripts, paintings, and statues, and erected magnificent palaces and churches in Rome. But all this meant heavy taxation by the Church, which the people, specially in Germany, became more and more unwilling to pay. This feeling certainly helped to provoke the Reformation. The worldliness of some of the Popes was reflected in the lives of the lesser clergy. So throughout the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries there was a good deal of criticism against the Church,

The Popes Reconstruct Rome. The first Pope after the conclusion of the Great Schism was Martin *V*. He ruled from 1417 to 1431. During the sojourn of the Popes in Avignon, and the consequent reduction of the population and wealth of Rome, there was brought about a deserted condition of the city. When the Pope left Rome the greater part of the higher clergy and of the ecclesiastical officials, who were the principle source of wealth to the city, also left Rome, with the consequence that the number of the inhabitants sank, and the concourse of outsiders who visited Rome diminished. After the return of the Pope in 1376, Rome began gradually to recover. The impulse of "Humanism" passing from the field of letters into that of the arts gave a notable character to the new buildings, and furthered the ever-growing development of the eternal city. This movement began with Martin *V*, who ascended the pontifical throne in 1417. He also reduced to submission the rebellious nobles of the Papal States. When he died in 1431, he was succeeded by Pope Eugenius IV. His reign was occupied

by the great struggle he had with his council at Basle. He died in 1447 and was succeeded by Pope Nicholas V. He may well be called the founder of the Vetican Library in Rome. There had always existed a library at the Vatican, but in modern times the work of buiding up a good library was started by Pope Eugenius IV. Nicholas V during his period of pontificate, enlarged with great energy and judgment the collection at the Vatican, and added to it several thousands of manuscripts. He was a great patron of the Humanist movement. He began the reconstruction of the Vatican.

The Popes and the Turks. Nicholas was succeeded by Pope Calixtus III (1455-1458). He brought a very large number of manuscripts from Constantinople, after it was taken by the Turks, and added them to his library at the Vatican. He also had to struggle against his bishops in order to get his tithes from Germany. When Pope Calixtus III ascended the pontifical throne in 1455; the Turks were over-running the entire Balkans. He made a solemn vow to dedicate all his strength to the recovery of Constantinople, and to the extermination of the Turks. For three and a half years he wrought and hoped, but with all his efforts he could do no more than send a small amount of money to Scanderbeg who was carrying on the national fight against the Turks in Albania, or to send a few war galleys to harass the shores of the eastern Mediterranean. Calixtus was succeeded in 1458 by Pope Pius II. He convened a great council at Mantua in 1459, and tried to induce the western nations to check the advance of the Turks. But the insincere attitude of the Venetians frustrated any results that might have been brought about by the conference at Mantua. These Councils and Diets may be called the earliest of the conferences in the modern period which have been convened to discuss the Eastern Question, which has not been solved even to this day. One of the most obvious policies for the western nations was to enter into communications with the enemies of Mohommed II

in the orient. and to attempt to concert some common action. Such negotiations had been set on foot by his predecessors, Nicholas V and Calixtus III. The last two sovereigns of the dynasty of the Grand Comneni of Trebizond, who were now the representatives of the Roman Empire, John IV and David, had endeavoured to organize an alliance of the principalities of Asia Minor and Armenia, and to gain the support of Persia. It was upon Uzun Hasan, prince of the Turcomans of the White Sheep, that they relied most. In 1459, David wrote to the Duke of Burgundy announcing the conclusion of such a league, and expressing the conviction that if east and west were to strike together now, the Ottomans would be abolished from the earth. But the league proved to be of no assistance to David, for Mohommad II destroyed the kingdom of Trebizond in 1461, and Uzun Hasan left him in the lurch. In 1460 Pope Pius II drafted a most curious letter to Mohammad II, proposing that the Sultan should embrace Christianity, and become under the patronage of the Roman See, Emperor of the Greeks and the East. He wrote, a little thing, only a drop of water, will make you the greatest of mortals ; be baptized, and without money, arms or fleet, you will win the greatest lordship in Christendom. But perhaps this letter of Pope Pius II was only a rhetorical exercise, and was never intended to be sent. In 1463, the prospect looked brighter, for there was now a breach between Venice and the Sultan. An offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the Pope, Venice, the king of Hungary, and the Duke of Burgundy. Pope Pius II resolved to lead the Crusade himself. The allies were to meet at Ancona, but when in 1464, the Pope arrived there, he found neither the Venetian vessels, which were to transport the troops to Greece, nor the princes. The Pope died a broken hearted man in June 1464. Pope Pius II is to be remembered for another reason also. In the middle ages although the ruins

of ancient Rome were viewed with a superstitious awe yet it was not accompanied by any feeling for their artistic worth, or by the slightest desire to preserve them. Pope Pius II was the first Pope who endeavoured to arrest the decay of these old ruins. In 1462 a papal Bull was issued with the object of protecting the remains of ancient Rome from further depredations. From this time onward greater care and study was bestowed on works of ancient art and architecture. There was one very serious defect from which Pope Pius II suffered. He began once more the bad old custom of nepotism. He advanced his kinsfolk to positions in the church without regard to their age or attainments. He could not, therefore, inspire confidence. When he levied a tithe for carrying on war against the Turks, people thought it would set up an inconvenient precedent. When he issued indulgences he was accused of greed. Whatever was done was attributed to the desire to raise money, and no one trusted the papal word. In this some injustice was certainly done to Pope Pius II, for he was an earnest crusader. He died in 1464, and was succeeded by Paul II, who occupied the Pontifical throne from 1464 to 1471. During the latter half of the 15th century a number of "Humanists" had founded an Academy at Rome for the purpose of research and learned discourse. But this academy was suspected of heresy, and its members were severely dealt with by Pope Paul II. In 1471 the Venetians had suffered a crushing naval defeat at the hands of the Turks, and so they lost Negroponte. It created a consternation in the west, and Pope Sixtus in conjunction with Ferdinand of Naples sent a number of war galleys for the assistance of the Venetians. But after a struggle of several years Venice was compelled in 1479 to make a humiliating peace. She ceded to Turkey, Scodra, Kroja, Negroponte, Lemnos, and Laconia. Sixtus IV also filled many of the high appointments in the Church with his

relations. He lowered the moral authority of the Papacy without any compensating gain in the secular sphere.

The Popes and the Foreign Invaders of Italy. Sixtus IV died in 1484, and was succeeded by Pope Innocent VIII. He came to realize that unless he suppressed the petty princes within the papal states, and received aids from other kings and princes, he could not keep the dignity of the church. He first fought against the king of Naples in 1485, but soon after he came under the influence of Lorenzo de Medici of Florence, with the result that there was reconciliation between the Pope and the king of Naples. About this time Jem the rival claimant to the throne of the Turks fell into the hands of the Pope, with the result that for a number of years Europe was now safe from the Turks. Innocent VIII died in 1492, and was succeeded by Pope Alexander VI. All historians are agreed that Pope Alexander VI was one of the worst popes who ever sat on the papal throne. Courteous, and a great lover of art, he was yet wicked and cruel, and so greedy of wealth and power, both for himself and his family that he cared not if he plunged the whole of Italy into war simply in order to gain his own ends. He cared nothing for his sacred office, and never did the church sink so low as it did under his rule. Savonarola the Franciscan friar raised his voice against him. When Charles VIII of France invaded Italy, Pope Alexander VI oganized a league of powers against him. He invited Florence also to join against the invader, but she under the influence of Savonarola refused to join. This refusal roused the wrath of the Pope, for he more than all the other princes wanted to get rid of Charles. In 1499 King Louis XII of France invaded Italy. When after the conquest of Naples he quarelled with Ferdinand of Spain, Alexander VI used both of them in turns for his own ends. He did not at all care for Italy, but

desired to increase the papal states in the hope of bequeathing them to his cruel and unscrupulous son Cæsar Borgia. So while the north and the south of Italy were given over to the foreign invaders, he tried to make a solid kingdom in the centre. Alexander seemed to be succeeding admirably well when he suddenly died in 1503, He was succeeded on the pontifical throne by Pius III, but he died within a month and was succeeded by Julius II, who ruled from 1503 to 1513. He at once set himself to the task of strengthening the papal states. But unlike Alexander VI, he did this not to increase the power of his own family but of the Church. He was more a statesman and a soldier than a pastor, and he was anxious to drive the French, the Spaniards and the Germans out of Italy. But he wanted to be sure, that before they were gone the papal states had gained more than any other state in Italy. To secure this he first desired to crush Venice, for it had usurped some of the papal territory. In 1503 he persuaded the emperor Maximilian of Germany, Louis XII of France, and Ferdinand of Spain to join him in the league of Cambray against Venice. In this war Louis was a mere cat's paw of the Pope, and when with his help Venice was sufficiently crushed, the Pope made peace with the Venetians. He then formed a new league, called the Holy League. This was much the same as the League of Cambray, only with this difference that the place of Venice was now taken by France. This league declared war against Louis XII and in 1512 the French were driven out of Italy. He would have now tried to turn the Spaniards out of the country but he died in 1513, and was succeeded by Leo who ruled from 1513 to 1521. Louis XII was again defeated in 1513, and now he was sick of war. He longed for peace. Fortunately for him Leo X had none of the warlike ambitions of Julius II, or Alexander VI, and he became reconciled. By degrees the Holy League was dissolved, and now peace reigned between different parties. It was during the reign of Pope Leo X that the

Protestant revolution first began. When Leo X became Pope he found his treasury almost empty. The extravagance of the Popes, and expenditure on wars, were to a very great extent responsible for the financial difficulties of the Pope. Leo X needed money very badly for his many projects, among them the rebuilding of the St. Peter's Church at Rome. To get the money he fell back on the fruitful device of selling Indulgences. The man who had charge of their sale in Germany was a Dominican monk named John Tetzel. He was vulgar and blasphemous, His manner of selling Indulgences shocked many people, who before this had found no harm in the custom. It was this which first gave an opportunity to Martin Luther to raise his voice in 1517 against Papacy. The preachings of Martin Luther raised a storm of opposition against Papacy, specially in Germany, and in nothern Europe. The rest of the sixteenth century was spent in the wars of the Reformation. The whole of Europe was divided into two camps, It was during these wars that there arose a knight, Ignatius Loyola, who may be said to have helped a counter Reformation. The object of this movement was to purify the Roman Catholic Church, although it was intended that the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church should be stuck to with greater strictness. It was in the reign of Pope Clement VII (1523-1534), that Henry VIII who had so far defended the Roman Catholic Church now quarrelled with the Pope, and then took up the side of the Protestants. It has already been stated that king Francis I of France was defeated and taken prisoner by Emperor Charles V in 1525, and was released on the promise that he would hand over to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy. But being absolved from his oath by the Pope, Francis broke his promise. After this Clement VII formed another Holy League, consisting of France, Venice, Florence, and the Papacy, with the object of checking the growing power of emperor Charles V. But in 1527 the imperial army drew near the Holy city, with the object of

putting pressure on the Pope, but the troops lacking their pay, and eager for plunder, pressed onwards, broke into Rome, and plundered it for eight days. The horrible deeds then done and the wanton destruction made among the works of art of that beautiful city are considered to mark the end of the Renaissance period in Italy. Clement VII was succeeded by Paul III, (1534-1549). It was in his reign that in 1540 the Society of Jesus formed by Ignatius Loyola was recognized by a special Bull of the Pope. During the reigns of his successors, the work of the counter Reformation went on with great energy. Politically Italy remained split up into a large number of principalities.

The Kingdom of Naples. It has been stated in Chapter I that when the German Emperor Conrad IV died in 1254, the office of the Holy Roman Emperor remained unfilled for 19 years. This caused widespread anarchy and disturbances in Sicily and southern Italy which was ruled by the Hohenstaufen Emperor. On the invitation of Urban IV and Clement VI, Charles Duke of Anjou, the younger brother of King Louis IX of France (1226-1270) took possession of the kingdom of Naples, which included the island of Sicily. But the French domination was very irksome to the Sicilians, and in 1282 the rebellion known as the Sicilian Vespers broke out. There was a wholesale massacre of the French, who were driven out of the island. Then the Sicilians called Pedro of Aragon, who had married Constance, the daughter of Manfred, the younger brother of Hohenstaufen Emperor Conrad IV. The Anjevin line continued to hold Naples. But in 1435 this Anjevin line also became extinct. The last Anjevin Queen Joanna II (1414-1435) at first appointed Alfonso of Aragon as her heir but later on appointed as her heir Rene, a brother of Louis III of Anjou. But on the death of Queen Joanna II the kingdom of Naples was seized

by Alfonso of Aragon. King Charles VIII of France had inherited the claims of the house of Anjou, and so he considered himself entitled to the throne of Naples. Ludovico who had usurped the throne of Lombardy, feared the intervention of Naples on behalf of his nephew, who was married to the daughter of the king of Naples. So Ludovico invited king Charles VII to invade Italy. This he did in 1494. After passing through Lombardy and Florence, he entered Naples. On his approach Ferrante the king of Naples fled away, and so without drawing the sword king Charles VIII was crowned king of Naples and of Jerusalem. But within less than two months Charles was compelled to withdraw from Italy. In 1499, Italy was again invaded this time by king Louis XII of France. After taking possession of Lombardy he advanced towards Naples. Here eventually he came to a compromise with king Ferdinand of Aragon. In 1503 Fredinand became master of Naples, and Louis took possession of Lombardy. After this Naples was brought more completely under the rule of the Spaniards. Lombardy, Sicily, and Naples were ruled by Spanish Viceroys nominally controlled by the "Council of Italy" at Madrid. The governors looked upon their office as a quick road to wealth, and their subordinates followed suit. This policy resulted in impoverishing, corrupting, and dividing the population. Consequently there was brigandage on land, piracy at sea, and the frequent recurrence of famine and epidemics within the country.

Summary

1. *States in northern Italy.* The most important states in northern Italy were Venice, Milan, Savoy, Genoa, and Florence.

2. *Venice.* The islands of Venice were settled upon during the Teutonic invasions of Italy. The city soon built up a commercial position for itself, and during the war of the Crusades, it obtained territorial possessions in southern Greece, and the islands of the eastern Mediterranean. After the rise of the Turks, it began to obtain territorial possessions on the mainland of Italy. In Genoa it had a

great rival, but it was finally overthrown in 1380. In the sixteenth century Venice had to fight against the Pope, France and the German emperor, on account of her possessions in Italy.

3. *Lombardy*. Milan was originally a Roman city, and was a trading centre. It was ruled by the Visconti despots for about 150 years, then for about 50 years it was ruled by the Sforza house. The duchy was then siezed by Ludovico who invited Charles VIII of France to invade Italy. In 1503 it was conquered by Louis XII of France. In 1515 Lombardy was restored to the Sforzas, but it came into the hands of Austria in 1535.

4. *The rise of Savoy*. The original county of Savoy was in the south and west of Switzerland. Then Piedmont was added to it through a matrimonial alliance. As all the passes from France to Italy lie through this territory, its ruler was able to build up a position for himself by playing one against the other.

5. *Genoa*. Genoa like Venice built up a strong commercial position during the wars of the Crusades. She was finally overthrown in 1380, by Venice,

6. *Florence*. The republic of Florence originally owed its position to her wool and silk trade. The commercial and banking houses of Florence then combined the Anjevin house in the conquest of Naples. As the Anjevin rulers of Naples belonged to the Guelf party, Florence was also ruled by the Guelf aristocracy. On the decay of the Anjevin dynasty in Naples, the Guelf aristocracy gave place to the rule of a Guelf family of the Albizis, who ruled from 1382 to 1434. This family was succeeded by the Medici family. In the middle of the 16th century the republic was changed into a Grand Duchy.

7. *The Popes Reconstruct Rome*. When the Popes returned from Avignon after the long "Babylonian captivity" in 1376, Rome was found in a very dilapidated condition. But since immediately after the return from Avignon the whole of Christendom was divided by the Great Schism, nothing could be done for the improvement of Rome. The Great Schism ended with the election of Pope Martin V in 1417. After this, steps were taken to improve Rome, by constructing new buildings, by collecting large number of manuscripts in libraries, and by protecting ancient works of art.

8. *The Popes and the Turks*. Pope Calixtus III and his successors turned their attention to the Turks who had by this time captured Constantinople, and advanced into the Balkan Peninsula. The Popes tried to form alliances to check the advance of the Turks, but they failed, mainly on account of the selfish policy that was at this time followed by the

Venetians, and also because Germany was hopelessly divided. For the construction of buildings, protection of works of art, and carrying on wars against the Turks, large, amount of money was required. This meant heavier taxation of the people by the Church. The people specially in Germany were unwilling to shoulder this burden. On the other hand, the Popes and the general mass of the clergy too had become too worldly and selfish. They had surrounded themselves with too much luxury, and had begun to indulge in the greatest immoralities, and were guilty of resorting to corrupt practices. From the time of Pope Innocent VIII, (1484-1492) the Popes turned their attention to the building up of territorial possessions in Italy. This brought them into conflict with the temporal powers in the country and outside it. During these struggles the Popes were able to build a temporal state in the centre of Italy.

8. *Naples.* Anjevin rule was established in Sicily and Naples in 1266. They were driven out of Sicily in 1282, on account of the revolt of the Sicilian Vespers and Peter of Aragon became master of Sicily. In Naples the Anjevin house ruled till 1435, when there too the house of Aragon became master. It became a part of Spanish Empire in 1503.

CHAPTER VII

REFORMATION, COUNTER-REFORMATION, AND RELIGIOUS WARS.

Causes of Reformation. It has been mentioned in Chapter II, that there had arisen in western Europe, in the 12th century some heretical movements like three of the Albigenses and the Waldenses. In the 14th century, John Wycliffe (1320-1384) had preached in England against some of the doctrines of the Church. He was persecuted but not silenced, and after his death his followers, the Lollards, continued to teach and preach until they were suppressed by force. The teachings of Wycliffe later on spread over Europe even as far as Bohemia. Here in the beginning of the 15th century John Huss began to preach his doctrines. The main object of these movements was to preach against the luxury of the priests, and the leaders of these movements believed in interpreting the Bible directly, independently of the authority of the Church dignitaries. They condemned such church practices as Masses for the dead, and the invocation of saints and martyrs.

Political. But in spite of all these preachings the Church in the later middle ages became more and more powerful. The Pope claimed absolute authority over every country and over every king, in secular as well as in spiritual matters. But in the 15th century there grew in western countries of Europe a sense of nationality, and the growth of royal power. We have seen that in Spain, Portugal, France, and England, both kings and people began to chafe at the outside interference of a foreign potentate, the Pope. As during tbe later part of the 15th century, the papacy became

less spiritual, and more temporal, and as the Pope himself became less and less a pastor, and more and more a ruling prince and warrior, this dissatisfaction among the western national states increased. Kings grudged more and more the constant stream of gold, which flowing in the shape of tithes and other ecclesiastical fees, went to swell the exchequer of the Pope, who was very often their political enemy, Politically, therefore, the world was ready to break with the Pope.

Intellectual. On the doctrinal side, too, the state of affairs was not much different. On the revival of the classical Greek and Latin Learning, and the introduction of the printing press, the Bible was soon published broadcast in the language of every nation in Europe. Men were no longer content to be told by a priest that such and such a doctrine was taught by the Church. They now insisted upon knowing why and on what grounds the Church taught its doctrines. The rise of Humanism, and the new knowledge made available by the geographical discoveries, created an atmosphere for independent thinking, with the consequence that reverence for authority was replaced by a spirit of personal enquiry and investigation. So on intellectual grounds too the people now became unwilling to accept blindly the autocratic authority of the Pope.

Moral. But apart from national, political, and intellectual reasons, the moral conscience of Europe also had begun to revolt against the papacy. It has been stated in Chapter VI that in the latter half of the 15th century the Popes lowered very much the moral authority of the papacy, by advancing their own kinsmen to high positions in the Church, without regard to their age or attainments. Many of these Popes were intensely greedy, wicked, cruel, and selfish. They cared more for themselves and their family

than for their country or the Church. Although the Pope and the other priests were required to lead a life of celibacy, they openly kept concubines, and advanced without any hesitation the interests of their illegitimate children. They felt no compunction in breaking promises solemnly made. Under such circumstances the church dignitaries could not command any confidence among the masses. Morally speaking the Church had lost all respect in the eyes of the people.

Economic. If from the political, national, intellectual, and moral point of view there was a universal revolt against the Church, the question arises why did the Reformation first begin in Germany? The reason is not far to seek. In Spain, Portugal, England and in France, when all the powers of the state were concentrated in the hands of the Crown, steps were taken to restrict the flow of gold from these countries to Rome. The king in all these countries was engaged in the task of consolidating his territorial possessions. He wanted all the resources of the country for himself. He could not, therefore, allow wealth to go out of his country. In Germany, on the other hand, the case was different. The emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, instead of consolidating their own territorial possessions within the country had throughout the middle ages frittered away their energies and resources in trying to build up a universal empire. By their frequent wars they had prevented the rise and growth of a strong national state both in Germany as well as in Italy. The result was that both of these countries were hopelessly divided and split up into a very large number of petty states. Individually each state was too weak to court the enmity of the powerful Pope for by his strong weapons of excommunication and interdict, he could absolve the subjects from all loyalty to their petty sovereigns and call upon the neighbouring chiefs to conquer their territories. In Germany the annates and the tithes could, therefore, be freely imposed, and their rates enhanced.

The burden of church taxation in Germany was consequently far more heavy. So in addition to the political, national, intellectual, and moral reasons, the Germans had the economic reason also to revolt against Papacy. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that the people of Germany were the first to rise.

Sale of Indulgences. It has already been stated that Pope Leo X ascended the Pontifical throne in 1513. The extravagance of the previous Popes, and heavy expenditure on wars carried on by Pope Alexander VI and Pope Julius II, had emptied the papal treasury. Pope Leo X had many projects in hand for which he badly needed money. One of these projects was the re-construction of St. Peter's Church at Rome. To get the money he fell back upon the fruitful expedient of selling Indulgences. An Indulgence meant that by paying a sum of money a man could buy forgiveness of any sin he had committed. The selling of these indulgences was no new thing in the Christian Church. It was closely connected with ths practice of doing penance, for many people preferred to pay money than do penance in any other way. But in the early history of the Church, no Indulgence could be given except on the promise of repentance. Later on, these promises began to be given lightly, and also broken easily. To the Church, however, these Indulgences meant a good income. By the end of the 15th century the sale of these Indulgences became a regular scandal. The most vile and wicked people who had neither the desire nor the intention of repentance, freely bought these Indulgences. The sellers of these Indulgences were granted a special Bull by the Pope, and they set forth on their rounds with great splendour, and entered the different cities with pomp and show. The people were invited to come and buy these Indulgences in the same way as they were invited by ordinary merchants to purchase other goods. These

sellers of Indulgences employed all the common artifices of traders. Under such a system crimes could be committed with impunity, for after the purchase of an Indulgence, the criminal could not be punished, by the court of any territorial magnate. One such seller of Indulgences was John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, who was in charge of the sales in Germany. He was a very vulgar and blasphemous person, and cried his wares in the church like a cheapjack in the market, freely indulging in indecent jokes. His methods shocked many people. Martin Luther first raised his protests against the sale of Indulgences.

Martin Luther 1482-1546. Martin Luther was born in 1483. He was the son of a poor miner, and had passed his childhood in bitter poverty. But he was given by his parents good education, and he graduated from the university of Erfurt, at that time the most famous university in Germany. In 1505, Luther threw all his future worldly prospects to the winds, and became a monk. He was appointed a teacher of Theology in the university of Wittenberg. At this time many of the rulers in Germany disliked the selling of Indulgences, and the Elector of Saxony had forbidden Tetzel to enter his dominions. Tetzel without entering his territories fixed his booth at Magdeburg very near the borders of Saxony. This enabled many of the subjects of Saxony to cross the borders and purchase these Indulgences. Martin Luther had already begun to think that the selling of Indulgences was wrong. He felt that many of the poor people who purchased these Indulgences were being deceived and exploited. At length on 1st November 1517, he wrote out in Latin 95 articles against the sale of Indulgences and nailed them to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg. The main idea of these articles was "that by true sorrow and repentance only and not by payment of money, could forgiveness of sins be won." These articles of Martin Luther were soon translated

into German, and distributed broadcast throughout the length and breadth of the country. From Germany they spread all over Europe. At first Pope Leo X thought little of the matter, but he very soon saw that the articles of Martin Luther had caused a great stir in western Europe. So in 1520, he issued a Bull of Excommunication against him. But during these three years Luther had also realized that he had on his side a great mass of opinion. So instead of trembling at the wrath of the Pope, he publicly burned the Bull. The Holy Roman Emperor could not during all this time take any action against him. Emperor Maximilian I (1498-1519) was engaged in wars in Italy. When he died in 1519, he was succeeded by his young grandson Charles V, who had in 1516 already succeeded to the throne of Spain. He could not leave Spain till late in the year 1520. He held his first Diet at Worms in January 1521. Martin Luther was summoned before this Diet to answer for his heresy. He refused to retract anything that he had said. So the ban of the empire was pronounced against him. After this he could be hunted down, or slain like a beast of prey. Orders were also passed that his books were to be confiscated and burned. But Luther had by this time gathered round him so many powerful friends, that no one dared to lay hands on him. His books were freely bought and sold. Since many of the German princes supported Luther, the Emperor, Charles V, could not take any strong action against him. The Holy Roman Emperor could not pay undivided attention to Germany. He had to look after his wars in Italy against the French, he had to keep in hand the situation in Spain; he had to look after his affairs in the Netherlands; and above all he was required to check the advance of the Turks in Central Europe Charles, therefore, could not afford to add to his troubles by provoking the hostility of the German princes against him. Martin Luther under these circumstonces continued to carry

on his propaganda against the Church At length in 1529, when Charles V thought he was free from foreign entanglements, he summoned a Diet at Spires, where a decree was passed forbidding any change of religion; and commanding mass to be said in all churches. Many of the German princes who had taken up the cause of Martin Luther, protested against this decree. All those who joined in this protest were called Protestants. In 1530, the creed of the Protestants was drawn up and laid before the Diet of Augsburg. The Lutheran Protestants still abide by this creed, and it is known by the name of the "Confession of Augsburg." After this the Protestant leaders, fearing. that Emperor Charles V might enforce his will by arms, banded themselves in a league, and began to think of resisting force by force. But just about this time the Turks again appeared on the scene, and Charles could do nothing to coerce them. In order to gain the support of the German princes against the Turks he signed in 1532 the religious peace of Nuremberg. By this the Protestants were granted full freedom to worship God as they wanted, until a general council should be called to discuss and settle the matter.

Progress of Reformation The revolt against papacy gave rise to three main Protestant churches, the Church of England, the Lutheran Church, and the Presbyterian Church.

In England The Church which departed least from the principles of the Roman Catholic church was the Church of England. Its creed elaborated by sincere Protestants and learned divines, is sufficiently orthodox to satisfy the most Biblical scholar. But it is to a great extent neutralized by a liturgy which permits a belief in baptismal regeneration, and allows the observance of the Lord's supper to be transformed into the celebration of the Romish mass. Her retention of an

episcopal hierarchy is also clearly Romish. England began to become independent of the Pope of Rome as early as the middle of the 14th century. We have already seen that John Wycliffe (1320-1384), the founder of the sect of Lollards, preached against the luxury of the priests. At that time the popes lived at Avignon, and were under the influence of the kings of France. The English kings, on the other hand, were at this time engaged in a hundred years' war against France. The British kings, therefore, were unwilling to accept the authority in England, of the popes, who were practically nominees of the French kings. Two laws were, therefore, passed, the Statute of Provisors in 1351, and of Præmunire in 1353. The object of the former was to forbid clergymen to receive appointments in England from the pope without the king's consent, and the latter aimed at forbidding any appeal to the pope, or the acceptance of orders from the pope, in England without the consent of the king. In doctrinal matters, however, in spite of the preachings of the Lollards, the English people remained Roman Catholics. When Martin Luther first published his articles against the sale of Indulgences, Henry VIII denounced him and loudly upheld the supremacy of the pope. He even wrote a book called "The Defence of the Seven Sacraments." In return Pope Leo X bestowed upon him, in 1521, the title of 'Defender of the Faith.' But a few years after this, Henry VIII desired to divorce his wife Catherine of Aragon, in order to marry Anne Boleyn. But since Emperor Charles V of Germany was a nephew of Queen Catherine, Pope Clement VII, (1523-1534), could not for fear of offending Charles V grant permission for the divorce. At length in 1533, Henry VIII induced Archbishop Cranmer to pronounce the divorce without any further reference to the pope. When the pope required Henry to take back his wife, and threatened him with excommunication, he replied by cutting the Church of England free from Rome. In 1534

Acts of Parliament were passed to the effect that the king of England, and not the Pope of Rome, was the supreme head of the English Church. All payments of annates and tithes to the Pope were also forbidden. Mass was ordered to be said in English instead of in Latin. Pilgrimages and worship of relics and images were forbidden, and the doctrine of purgatory was denied. Beyond this, Henry made no changes in the teachings or services of the Church. He did one thing more. Between 1536 and 1539 he suppressed monasteries, and their properties were confiscated by the state. This gave to Henry large incomes. In all this the king carried the people with him. They did not resent the suppression of monasteries because most of the monks and nuns led wicked and idle lives, and because they too did not like the interference of a foreign potentate like the Pope in their domestic affairs. In the time of King Edward VI (1547-1557) some real changes were made in the doctrines of the Church. The saying of the masses for the dead was forbidden, services in the Church were ordered to be read in English, and the clergy were allowed to marry. There was some revolt but it was easily put down. When Mary I ascended the throne there was a reaction. She restored the mass and burned the heretical bishops. On her death in 1558, Elizabeth ascended the throne, and in her reign a new Act of Supremacy was passed. By this Act of Uniformity the order of public worship was regulated. Under the new settlement of the Church thus made, bishops were retained but their appointment was to be confirmed by the Crown, and the saying of mass was declared illegal. The new creed was practically a compromise between the old Roman Catholic faith, and the extreme Calvinistic creed, which acknowledged the supremacy of no sovereign, recognized no fixed prayer book, and accepted no priests. They wanted to put the control of their religious affairs in the hands of a council of elders or Presbyters. But this democratic organization of the Church was distasteful to Elizabeth.

in Germany, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. If the Reformation in England was of a very conservative nature, in Germany it went further in its revolt against Rome. The main object of Luther was to remove abuses in the Church. In the matter of doctrinal changes he was rather a conservative. The wild excesses of the followers of Zwingli and Calvin, and the Peasants' Revolt which was organized by them in 1524, threw him into the arms of the princes. He thought popular armed revolts would not help the cause of Reformation. He, therefore, put the government of his new church in the hands of the princes. The Lutheran Church was, therefore, an amalgam of various ideas and motives. The doctrines of this new church were based on the confession of Augsburg. The rites and ceremonies recognized in the church service were more or less Roman; while in the management of Church affairs the supremacy of the state was accepted. But unlike English clergymen, the priests of the Lutheran church were given no special privileges over laymen. The Lutheran Church prevails in northern Germany, in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

in Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland. The extreme type of Protestants were the followers of Calvin. They considered the Bible to be the sole authority in all doctrinal matters, recognized no priests, and believed in a democratic organization of church affairs. The French Huguenots, the Swiss, and the people of Holland, and Scotland adopted the Presbyterian church. The presbyterian church was introduced into Scotland by John Knox, a follower of Calvin. Broadly speaking then, when the Reformation had worked out, the whole of north western Europe, practically half of Christendom, was lost to the papacy. Lutherism was established in northern Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway Anglican church prevailed in England, and Calvinism in Scotland, Holland, and parts of Switzerland. But Roman

Catholic faith still survived in Ireland, France, Spain. Portugal, Italy, Southern Germany, Hungary, and Poland. It must also be understood that the Reformation did not bring complete freedom of religious thought, or real toleration. The Reformers had merely changed an infallible church for an infallible Bible. Each reformer, Luther, Zwingli, or Calvin, produced his own creed or dogma, and would admit of no salvation for those who differed from him. But still it cannot be denied that the principle of the right of private judgment was admitted, and this prepared the way for the modern ideas of toleration.

Counter-Reformation When country after country began to revolt against the Catholic church, the Pope at last awoke to the necessity of removing evils from the Church. We have seen that in 1532 by the peace of Nuremberg, Emperor Charles V had promised a general council for the settlement of all religious differences. For many years this promise had not been redeemed, and the Reformation went on in its onward course. But in 1545, a general council was called to meet at Trent. Here after long discussions the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church were re-stated in a plain and simple manner. Many of the objections that stood in the way of devoted Catholics were removed. From this time onward no priest of evil reputation has been able to become a pope. This Counter-Reformation stayed the force of the Reformers. Just about this time the Church found a very powerful helper in Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard by birth.

The Jesuits Ignatius Loyola was born in 1491, and lived till 1556. He devoted his early youth and manhood to the profession of arms. But in 1521, while fighting for his king Charles V he was wounded, which made him lame for the rest of his life. During a long and painful

illness, he got an opportunity to read several books dealing with the life of Christ, and the heroic deeds of the saints. So deep an impression was made on his mind, that he determined to devote the remainder of his life entirely in the service of God. He visited many shrines, and he also went to Palestine. He then studied at several universities, and equipped himself with sufficient knowledge. He thus spent several years in study. He left Paris University in 1534, and was at length successful in gathering round him a few followers. The celebrated Francis Xavier was one of his earliest associates. He and his followers then took a vow of poverty and chastity. By 1537 his little band of workers had increased to ten. The original object of Ignatius Loyola and his followers was to free the Holy land of the Christians from the rule of the Turks. But as the Protestant heresy was considered to be as injurious for Christianity as was the occupation of Jerusalem by the Turks, this little band of Christian workers was easily induced to work for the suppression of Protestantism. This new society of theirs was called the Society of Jesus, and it was in 1540 recognized by Pope Paul III. The aim of this society was to defend the Roman Catholic Church, and spread its doctrines. Soon its well-disciplined, scholarly, and devoted members were to be found all over the world, and to them the Church owed much of its re-established authority.

The Council of Trent At Trent three councils were held in the long period from 1545 to 1563. As a result of the discussions held here, the first and the most important thing that was settled was the formulation of doctrines. The Scriptures and the Traditions were held of equal authority, and the Church alone possessed the power to expound the scriptures. The Vulgate, a Latin version of the scriptures made by Jerome at the close of the 4th century, was declared to be the authoritative text of the scriptures. A list of books considered to be heretical was

prepared. Nothing contained in them was to be considered of authority. The different sacraments were defined, and their rites and rituals were fixed. The net result of all this was that now in the Roman Catholic Church there was a dogmatic certainty and the Pope was recognized as the supreme head of the Church. He alone possessed the right of interpreting the papal decrees. The second most important thing done by the Councils of Trent was to remove abuses from within the Church. The authority of the bishops over the parochial clergy was strengthened. Means were provided for the removal of the incompetent and the immoral priests, and it was decided to establish seminaries for the education of clergy in each diocese. In this way the discipline of the Church was improved. The net result was that increased centralization in the government of the Church, and a strict definition of dogma made Roman Catholicism after the decisions of Trent a far more powerful fighting force, than it had ever been before. The Church was now reformed, and underwent a moral regeneration. But it must be remembered that in all these discussions, the question of the papal prerogatives was avoided. Religious and intellectual freedom was not granted. In the formulation of the doctrines and in the reform of the Church, the members of the newly established Society of Jesus founded by Ignatius Loyola a Spaniard, took a very prominent part.

After the Reformation the borders of the old Roman Catholic Church in Europe were no doubt narrowed. But it was more than compensated by rich fields opened out for conversion in the new world of America and in the newly discovered continents of Africa and Asia. Yet in a way it was stronger than it had been for centuries. Once again its priesta expounded the beauty of holiness, and by leading a pure and virtuous life made the Roman Church again strong and powerful. Although corruption was removed from within

the church, religious freedom was not won. Europe now became divided into two rival camps. Since neither the Protestants nor the Roman Catholics had yet learned toleration, religious wars disfigured for a long period the history of Europe.

Religious Wars in Germany. The progrese of Religious Reformation in Germany was not peaceful. When Luther first condemned the sale of Indulgences, it caused a great upheaval of ideas in the country. In 1520 a Papal Bull excommunicated him, which he publicly burned. When in 1521 he was summoned by Emperor Charles V before the Imperial Diet to answer for his heresy, he refused to recant, and so the ban of the empire was pronounced against him. In the eyes of the law he was now an outcaste. Although his books were ordered to be destroyed, his writings were very extensively read not only in Germany but also beyond its borders. It was just about this time that at first, the Knight's War in 1522, and then the Peasants' rising in 1524 took place. Both of these risings are sometimes attributed to the teachings of Martin Luther. But a more careful study of the contemporary events will show, that originally these risings had nothing to do with religion, In this period of European history national kings and other territorial princes were engaged everywhere in consolidating their powers and in contralizing their administrations. The knights who formed an independent class, and possessed many privileges, naturally suffered under this process. It was this more than anything else which caused the revolt of the knights. But it is also true that this movement was later on used to resist the exactions of the Pope. Then again the Peasants' rising was due mainly to agrarian causes. The main object of the Peasants was to resist the payment of feudal dues and other exactions to the lords. Once the idea of resisting the payment of feudal dues to the temporal lords got abroad, it was easier

for the masses to catch the idea of defying the spiritual lords as well. But later on a religious tinge was given to this movement also. The opponents of Martin Luther held that these wars and risings were due to the revolutionary nature of the great reformer's teachings. The Peasants had demanded that serfdom, lesser tithes, and death dues should be abolished. They suggested that this loss to the feudal lords and princes could be compensated by the confiscation of Church properties. But both of these movements, of the knights as well as of the peasants, got out of hand, and great many excesses were committed by them. The natural consequence was they lost the popular sympathies. They were then easily suppressed, and even Martin Luther who had at first seen in these risings the hand of God for the punishment of the iniquitous priests and princes, now condemned the violent methods of the peasants. He realized that the employment of violent meams would only injure the cause of the Reformation. He had first turned to the masses for support and now he sought the assistance of the princes. These territorial lords the princes were in a mood to take up the cause of the Reformation, not only because they condemned the corruption and immorality which then prevailed in the Roman Catholic Church, but also because they thought by allying themselves with the forces let loose by Reformation, they could take possession of the church properties within their respective jurisdictions, as well as become independent of the Holy Roman Emperor, who had adopted the cause of the Pope as his own. While the princes now in league with the Reformers were consolidating their positions, Emperor Charles was engaged in fighting against King Francis I of France. The whole of Germany now became sharply divided into two parties. Since there was no one in the entire country strong enough to decide this great question of religious reform, the Diet which met at Spires in 1526, resolved that pending the

summoning of a Church Council each ruler should "so live, reign, and conduct himself as he would be willing to answer before God and His Imperial Majesty." In this way the different German princes were allowed to determine the religious affairs of their respective subjects in any way they liked. But the adherents of the Old Church as well as the Reformers both hoped that eventually the entire German people would profess one religion. The old Church people believed that the heretics would in time be suppressed, and Martin Luther was equally confident that all Christians would at length accept the new gospel. But once the minds of the people were unhinged from old beliefs and customs they began to think out quite independently. Several new sects, as opposed to the old Church, began to appear. Zwingli began to have many followers in Switzerland, and the Anabaptists, the radical reformers also began to plan the complete overthrow of the Roman Catholic Church. At length Emperor Charles V finding himself for a time free from his wars, once again attended to his German affairs. He summoned another Diet, which met at Spires in 1529. Since the majority in this Diet decided to order the enforcement of the Edict of Worms passed against the heretics in 1521, and now according to their decision no one was to preach against the Mass, and no one was to be prevented from attending it freely, it meant that the Evangelical princes would be forced to restore most of the important Catholic ceremonies. As these Reformist princes formed only a minority in the Diet, all they could do was to draw up a *protest*. In this protest they claimed that the majority had no right to abrogate the Edict of the former Diet of Spires passed unanimously in 1526. They, therefore, appealed to the Emperor and asked for a future council against the tyranny of the majority. Those who signed this appeal were called *Protestants*. In 1530, Emperor Charles V summoned a Diet to meet at Augsburg for the

purpose of settling the religious problem. He ordered the Protestants to draw up a statement of exactly what they believed, so that it might serve as a basis for discussion. Melanchthon, one of the most famous and intimate friends of Luther, was entrusted with the task of drawing up this statement. The *Augsburg Confession*, as this celebrated statement prepared by Melanchthon is called, contains the main principles of the Protestaut faith. On the production of this historic document of *Augsburg Confession*, Charles V ordered the Roman Catholic theologians to prepare a refutation of the Protestant views. The Catholics rejected altogether the practical reforms introduced by the Protestants. On this Charles V declared the Catholic Statement to be "Christian and Judicious" and commanded the Protestants to accept it. He ordered that the Protestants were to stop troubling the Catholics, and that they were to give back all the monasteries and Church property which they had seized. But at the same time the Emperor agreed to urge the Pope to call a Church Council to meet within a year. This Church Council it was expected would only confirm the Catholic view point. The Protestants refused to accept the "Christian and Judicious" document of the Catholics, and they refused to restore the church properties seized by them. The Roman Catholic princes had in connection with the Peasants' Revolt in 1524 already formed at Ratisbon a Catholic League of defence. When in 1530 the Protestants refused the demand of Charles V then fearing that they might be compelled by force to agree to his demands, they also formed in 1531 at Schmalkalde a League of Protestant princes for the purpose of defending their rights. In other words Germany now prepared for a civil war. But once again the advance of the Turks in Central Europe averted it. In order to get the support of the Protestant princes against the Turks, Charles V was compelled to issue from Nuremberg in 1532, an Interim Edict, which

accorded to the Protestants a temporary and provisional toleration. During the next ten years Protestantism made steady progress. Efforts were made in different conferences to reach a compromise between the two creeds, but it seemed the differences were irreconciliable. In 1544, the treaty of Crespy between Charles V and Francis I provided for a joint effort to suppress Protestantism in their respective countries. As Charles now made up his mind to crush Protestantism, the princes of the Schmalkaldic League had no alternative but to fight. In 1547, the Protestants suffered at Muhlberg a crushing defeat. In 1548, the emperor attempted to impose his own compromise on both the parties, but he failed. But since the emperor had succeeded in crushing the Schmalkaldic League with the aid of the Spanish soldiers, and since he had treated some of the princes very harshly a great amount of resentment was caused throughout the country. Maurice, Duke of Saxony, who had helped Charles V in crushing the Schmalkaldic League, now led the revolt against him. He entered into a treaty with Francis I of France, occupied Augsburg, and introduced Protestantism in that city. Charles V was now so hard-pressed that he now agreed to a settlement at Augsburg in 1555. The basis of this settlement was that each prince was to dictate the creed of his own subjects. Lutheranism as defined in the Confession of Augsburg was the only form of Protestantism recognized. The followers of Zwingli and Calvin were excluded from this settlement. The possession of Church properties which had been seized before 1552, were guaranteed to the then holders, but it was laid down that if in future any ecclesiastical prince became Protestant he was to forfeit his lands. By this settlement, Protestantism along with the old religion obtained a legal footing in Germany. After this the country enjoyed peace for about half a century.

Thirty Years' war in Germany. There were two great defects in the religious peace of Augsburg. In the first place only those Protestants who were the followers of Martin Luther, received any recognition. The Calvinists were not included in the peace. Secondly, this peace did not put a stop to the seizure of Church property by the Protestant princes. But in the mean time Protestantism made rapid progress, in Austria and in Bohemia. It appeared as if even the home territories of the Holy Roman Emperor were to be lost by the old Church. But the Catholics had in the Jesuits a band of strong and energetic supporters. They had after the Council of Trent (1545-1563) not only established schools, and carried on propaganda in favour of Catholic religion, but had also succeeded in winning the confidence of some of the German princes. In 1617, Ferdinand became king of Bohemia and in 1619, he was elected Emperor. He had been educated by the Jesuits, and was thus a zealous Catholic. He had made up his mind to extirpate the Protestant heresy atleast in his own Hapsburg dominions, if not in the whole of the empire. In this religious policy he may well be compared with King Philip II of Spain. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Hungary had become Calvinistic in creed. Austria itself was largely Lutheran, and in Bohemia the Lutherans were very strong. In 1609, the Czechs in Bohemia had wrung from Emperor Rudolph II (1576-1612) a royal charter by means of which they obtained the right of freedom of worship. Emperor Ferdinand proposed, in 1618, to abrogate this charter of religious freedom. The Bohemian Protestants decided to take up arms against the emperor. They drove the agents of the emperor out of Prague, the capital of Bohemia, and proceeded to set up a provisional government. In 1619, they elected as their king Frederick V, Elector of Palatine, who was the Head of the Evangelical Union in Germany, and was son-in-law of King James I of England.

Frederick accepted the Bohemian crown. Thus began a war which lasted for thirty years. It started originally in Bohemia. It later on spread into Germany, and it brought in the interference first of Denmark, then of Sweden, and eventually of France.

Intervention of Frederick of Palatinate. In the first phase of the war which lasted from 1618 to 1623, the war was between the Emperor on the one hand and Bohemia and Palatine on the other. But in 1619, Frederick was chased out of Bohemia. Later on he was driven out of his hereditary dominions in the Palatinate, as well. The result was that the Bohemian insurrection was completely crushed, and their Charter for religious freedom was abrogated. Protestant leaders were either executed or driven into exile. The Evangelical Union which had been formed under the leadership of Frederick V, Elector of Palatinate, in 1608, was now dissolved in 1621. His territory was handed over to Maximilian of Bavaria. Thus closed the first phase of this war.

Intervention of Denmark. During the first phase of this war, while Bohemia was carrying on the contest against the emperor, the Protestant princes of northern Germany did not feel called upon to intervene. But when the Emperor handed over the territory of Palatinate to Maxmilian of Bavaria, leader of the League of Catholic princes, the eyes of other princes in Germany were opened. They now realized that the ambitions of Emperor Ferdinand extended much beyond the limits of his own Hapsburg dominions. The northern powers like Denmark and Sweden also became alarmed at the success of the Emperor who was known to be entirely in the hands of the Jesuits. Denmark in these days controlled the estuaries of the Elbe and the Weser. She also held a peculiar position as

gatekeeper of the Baltic Sea. The King of Denmark was also Duke of the German duchy of Holstein. The success of the League of Catholic princes was particularly dangerous to Denmark. So in 1625, King Christian IV of Denmark intervened. But emperor Ferdinand too had two very able generals ready to serve him, Wallenstein and Tilly. In 1626, King Christian suffered a crushing defeat. In 1629, peace was signed at Lubeck by virtue of which the Danish king renounced for himself and his sons the German Bishoprics and promised to interfere no more in German affairs. This closed the second phase of the thirty years' war.

Intervention of Sweden. After the defeat of the king of Denmark, Emperor Ferdinand became entirely supreme and he now felt himself strong enough to issue in 1629, the Edict of Restitution. This Edict restored the state of affairs as they existed before 1552. This meant that no Protestants except the Lutherans were to be tolerated. Further more even the Lutherans were to give up two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and more than a hundred other religious institutions. This Edict of Restitution was highly distasteful to Wallenstein, who strongly opposed it. So in 1630, the League of Catholic princes induced the Emperor to dismiss Wallenstein. But this victory of the Catholic princes very much alarmed Gustavas Adolphus, the young king of Sweden. He had ascended the throne of Sweden in 1611, at the age of 17. It was his ambition to establish the supremacy of Sweden in the Baltic Sea, to help the Protestants of Germany, and to establish for his country such a power in the north, as to be able to deal on equal terms with the German Empire in the south. Gustavus Adolphus had defeated Denmark in 1628, and Poland in 1629. So now, in 1630, he crossed the Baltic Sea, and entered Pomorania. He then advanced into the heart of Germany. He

compelled George William, Elector of Brandenburg, to join him in 1631. In 1632, even Saxony joined his standard. He then fought a brilliant battle in southern Germany, in which Tilly was killed. After this he occupied Munich. Emperor Ferdinand was now thoroughly alarmed. He recalled Wallenstein, who fought a fiercely contested battle with the Swedes at Lutzon, near Leipzic. Although the battle was won by the Swedes, they lost their brave king, Gustavus Adolphus. As Wallenstein after this battle again remained inactive, and since it was suspected he wanted the withdrawal of the Edict of Restitution, concessions for the Swedes, and perhaps the crown of Bohemia for himself, he was at the instance of the Spanish and German Catholics again dismissed in 1634. Shortly after this Wallenstein was assassinated. Frederick after this won another battle at Nordlingen, near Ulm, and peace was signed with Saxony in 1635, at Prague. By this treaty favourable terms were granted to the Lutherans, but no security was given to the Calvinists. This closed the third phase of the war.

Intervention of France. After the deaths of Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein, and the treaty of Prague it was now the turn of France to intervene in this war. In 1616, Richelieu had been appointed minister in France, and, in 1624, he had become the chief adviser of King Louis XIII. Like Henry IV he too was in favour of a policy of religious toleration. Just about this time the Hapsburg family was quite supreme in Europe. France at this time was particularly in danger of being encircled by the territories of Emperor Ferdinand and his friends. The Union between the Austrians and the Spaniards was considered to be very dangerous to the liberties of France. So it had been the policy of Richelieu to stop for the Spaniards their right of way through the south eastern frontier of France and to

close the door against the Hapsburgs through northern Italy, or through Tyrol. In Germany he followed the policy of supporting the Protestants. He had also helped Gustavus Adolphus with money when he invaded Germany. But eventually the death of Gustavus Adolphus. and the subsequent defeat of the Swedes at Nordlingen compelled Richelieu to intervene directly in the affairs of Germany. He now entered into treaties with the Swedes, the Dutch, the Duke of Savoy, and other Protestant princes in Germany. Having thus secured the friendly co-operation of powers on her eastern frontiers, Richelieu declared war on Spain in 1635. By 1642, the French were able to conquer Artois, Arras, and Alsace on the north east, and Roussillon on the south west. A rising in Catalonia, and a re-assertion of independence by the Portuguese in 1640, weakened Spain very much, and this made the task of France easier. While this war was still in progress, Emperor Ferdinand II died in 1637, and Richelieu died in 1642. But Cardinal Mazarin, who succeeded Richelieu, continued the war with energy. The Swedes marched right across Germany from the shores of the Baltic right up to Prague and Vienna, Spain was given a crushing defeat, and the supremacy of France was established in the Netherlands and in Upper Rhinelands. At length the Hapsburgs were compelled to sue for peace. The treaty of peace was signed on the 24th of October, 1648. The treaties signed on this occasion have profoundly effected the subsequent history of the different countries in Europe. These treaties called by the name of the treaties of Westphalia, had the following results:—

Results of Thirty Years' War.

(1) These treaties ended religious wars in Germany. The Calvinists were now to have the same rights and privileges as the Lutherans. It was recognized that northern Germany was to be Protestant and Southern Germany Catholic.

(2) These treaties practically speaking put an end to the Holy Roman Empire, although nominally speaking the empire dragged on its existence till 1806 when it was finally overthrown by Napoleon the Great. After 1648, the Emperor was nothing more than a president of a lose confederation of virtually independent states. The real sovereignty vested in the territorial princes, who had now their own diplomatic representatives at foreign courts. They now possessed full powers to wage wars and make treaties.

(3) Many territorial changes were brought about by this war. The old Palatine was divided into two parts. Upper Palatinate was retained by Maximilian of Bavaria, and Lower Palatinate was restored to Charles Lewis, son of Frederick V. Frederick William of Brandenburg was compelled to cede western Pomerania to Sweden, but was allowed to hold Eastern Pomerania, and various other small places. Sweden obtained western Pomerania, Stettin, the isle of Rugen, and three votes in the Diet of the empire. Switzerland at the sources and Holland at the mouths of the Rhine were recognized as independent states. France obtained Alsace and Lorraine, and thus she attained in the east the natural frontier of the Rhine. The Emperor, on the other hand, was now allowed to consolidate his position in Austria, Hungry, Bohemia, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol. The treaties of Westphalia did not affect Spain. The war between Spain and France dragged on till 1659, when peace was signed by the treaty of the Pyranees. By this treaty the conquests made by France were retained by her. Louis XIV of France married Maria Theresa daughter of king Philip IV of Spain.

(4) After the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, the boundaries of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism were now finally damarcated. After this war the Church of Rome remained in possession of Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria and her

dependencies, Bavaria, and other south German States, France, and Belgium. On the other hand, half Germany, half the Low countries, and the whole of England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden remained Protestant. Thus western and central Europe religiously remained divided into two parts. The supremacy both of the Pope as well as of the Holy Roman Emperor was now destroyed for ever. After this Europe had no common superior either in a temporal or in a spiritual sense. Henceforth International disputes were to be settled only by the sword.

Religious Wars in Switzerland. It was in 1498 that some of the forest cantons in the Alps and lying in between Italy, France, and Germany became independent of the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Emperor, and formed the independent country of Switzerland. The Swiss peasants fought so bravely for the independence of their country, that they became famous throughout Europe. After this the neighbouring kings and nobles, began freely to employ Swiss mercenary soldiers in their standing armies. In course of time this traffic in soldiers became a regular business of Switzerland. But about this time there lived in this country a priest named Zwingli (1484-1531). He began to preach against the abuses of the Church and the traffic in soldiers. He proclaimed the Gospel of Christ as the sole guide of faith and denied the supremacy of the Pope. Many of the Swiss Cantons accepted the teachings of Zwingli, and broke away from obedience to Rome. But some of the other cantons were ready to fight for the old faith. This led to a civil war. The Swiss Protestants fought against the Swiss Roman Catholics. A battle was fought at Kappel in 1531, and Zwingli was killed in action. After the death of Zwingli the two parties made peace which allowed each canton to determine its own religion. The result has been that even to this day some of the Swiss cantons are Roman

Catholic and some are Protestant. But soon after this the Protestants in Switzerland found another leader in Calvin (1509-1564) who established himself in Geneva, where he established a kind of theocratic form of government.

Religious Wars in France. We have already seen that by the end of the fifteenth century, France had become a centralized state under a strong monarchy. Francis I, who fought many wars with Emperor Charles V of Germany, still further increased the power of the Crown in France. It was during the reign of king Francis I (1515-1547) that Protestantism first began in France. Towards the close of the fifteenth century the people in France became attracted towards Greek learning, and many Frenchmen turned to the New Testament in the original Greek, and commenced to study it with a new insight. Lefevre, (1450-1537) the most important of these new scholars, translated in 1523 the Bible into French, and began to talk about reform in the Church. The Serbonno, the well known theological school in Paris, soon became filled with the new ideas. In 1535, several adherents of the new faith were burned as heretics, and in 1536, Calvin was forced to flee to Basel in Switzerland. There he wrote the celebrated Institutes of Christianity in defence of his beliefs. He appealed to Francis I to become tolerant to the Protestants. But Francis, in the latter years of his reign, had become extremely intolerant. In 1545, he ordered the Massacre of three thousand poor people who were following the simple teachings of the Weldensians. The persecution of the Protestants in France continued in the reign of his successor king Henry II (1547-1559). When Henry II was accidentally killed in 1559, he was succeeded one after the other by his three minor sons. Francis II ruled only for a year from 1559 to 1560. He was married to Mary, Queen of the Scots. As the king

was a minor, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine who were the maternal uncles of Queen Mary, took the affairs of Government in their own hands. Even when the king died, they did not like to surrender their power. Francis II was succeeded by his younger brother Charles IX, who ruled from 1560 to 1574. Since Charles IX was also a minor, his mother Catherine de Medici, who belonged to the famous Florentine family, claimed the right to conduct the government during the minority of the king. But by this time the Protestants in France had become a powerful party. They were known as Huguenots and accepted the religious teachings of their fellow-countryman, Calvin. Many of the nobles in France had also become the followers of Calvin. Coligny was their leader, and Henry, the king of the little state of Navarre, in Southern France, who belonged to a younger branch of the royal family, was a great supporter of the Protestants. Under these circumstances it was natural that the Huguenots should try to get control of the Government and they consequently formed a *political* as well as a *religious* party. Catherine de Medici tried at first to concillate both Catholics and Huguenots, and issued in 1562 a Decree of Toleration, by which former decrees against the Huguenots were suspended and they were now permitted to worship during day time and outside of the towns. But even this restricted freedom of the Huguenots was not tolerated by the fanatical Catholics. The Duke of Guise while passing through the town of Vassy on a Sunday, found about a thousand Huguenots gathered together in a barn for the purpose of worship. The followers of the Duke rudely interrupted the service, and in the tumult that arose a large number of these Huguenots were killed. The news of this massacre aroused the Huguenots to action and this led to the Huguenot wars which continued for more than thirty years, till after the House of Valois was overthrown. There were as many as eight religious wars fought in France

during this period. In these wars both sides exhibited the most inhuman cruelty. For more than thirty years France was filled with burning of buildings, pillage of houses, and slaughter of innocent people. In 1570, a short-lived peace was concluded. The Huguenots were given some freedom of worship. For some time both Charles IX and his mother Catherine de Medici, were on very friendly terms with Coligny, the leader of the Huguenots. But the fanatical Catholics could not tolerate the ascendancy of Coligny. They induced Catherine de Medici to believe that she was being deceived by Coligny. It was at first proposed to bring about his assassination. When this attempt failed, Catherine invented a story of a great Huguenot conspiracy. The young credulous king was deceived and the Catholic leaders at Paris arranged the massacre of not only Coligny, but also of all the Huguenots who had gathered together at the capital to witness the marriage of the Huguenot king Henry of Navarre with Margaret, sister of king Charles IX, on the eve of St Bartholomew's day, that is to say, on 23rd of August 1572. It is stated that as many as two thousand Huguenots were killed in Paris alone. When the news of this massacre reached the provinces, many more thousands of French Protestants were killed in the rest of the country. On this Civil War again broke out, and the Catholics formed a Holy League under the leadership of Henry of Guise. The aim and object of this league was to advance the interests of the Catholic faith, to destroy the Huguenots, and to extirpate heresy. In 1573, the Huguenots were given some rights by the treaty of La Rochelle, which were extended still further in 1576 by the treaty of Monsiour. But when, in 1574, king Charles IX died without leaving any issue, he was succeeded by his younger brother Henry III, who was also childless. Should he too die without any male issue, there was only the Duke of Anjou, also childless, between Henry III and Henry of Navarre.

In 1584, the Duke of Anjou, died, and now the Huguenot king Henry of Navarre was heir to the throne of France. The idea of Henry of Navarre succeeding in the throne of France could never be tolerated by the Catholics. So the Catholic League proclaimed the Cardinal of Bourbon, an uncle of Henry of Navarre, who was a Catholic, as heir to the throne. In 1585, King Philip II of Spain joined the Catholic League, and the Pope also published a Bull against Henry of Navarre and his cousin Henry, Prince of Conde. Thus was precipitated "the war of the three Henries," Henry III of France, Henry Duke of Guise and Henry king of Navarre. Henry duke of Guise was killed in 1588, and king Henry III of France was assassinated in 1589. His death ended the House of Valois, for now Henry of Navarre proclaimed himself king of France. But the new king had still many enemies, and his kingdom was devastated and demoralized by years of war. He soon saw that he must accept the religicn of the majority of his people, if he wished to reign ever them. He accordingly asked in 1593 to be readmitted to the Catholic Church. On his readmission to the Catholic Church all opposition to the king collapsed, and the Huguenot wars came to an end. But King Henry IV did not forget his old friends. In 1598 he issued the celebrated Edict of Nantes, by which the Huguenots were to enjoy freedom to worship publicly in a large number of villages and towns. But in Paris and at the royal court only Roman Catholic Service was to be held. Although this Edict did not grant complete religious liberty still it marked an important step in that direction. The two rival faiths could now exist peaceably side by side in France. Having settled the religious question, Henry IV could now turn his attention to the re-construction problems of the country. But he was assassinated in 1610. He was succeeded by his son Louis XIII.

Religious Wars in the Netherlands. Long before Luther began to preach against the Pope in Germany, the Netherlands were swarmed with the followers of John Wycliffe, John Huss, the Weldenses, and the adherents of other dissenting sects. Erasmus (1486-1456) the great Humanist, who translated the Bible from the original Greek into Latin was a native of Holland. The northern provinces of the Netherlands were soon attracted by the doctrines preached by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. In spite of the Edicts against heresy issued by Charles V the Protestant heresy made a considerable progress among its people. At length the emperor Charles V was compelled to put the dreadful institution of the Inquisition into force in the Neitherlands. Large numbers of the people became its victims during the last five years of the reign of emperor Charles V. But the new faith went on gaining more adherents. At length in 1567, the Duke of Alva was sent to the Netherlands at the head of a large force. The object was to put down heresy with a heavy hand. On his arrival many fled away from the country. Thousands of Flemish weavers fled across the North Sea to England. Immediately after his arrival in the Netherlands the Duke of Alva thought that the wisest and the quickest way of pacifying discontent in the country was to kill all those who ventured to criticise "the best of kings" of whom he had the honour to be the faithful servant. So he established a special court for the speedy trial of those whose loyalty was in suspicion. The court was commonly known as the Council of Blood. The administration of the Duke of Alva lasted from 1567 to 1578. At length the people found a leader in William the Silent, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau. He collected an army in 156', and opened the war of independence against Spain. He found his main support in the northern provinces, now called Holland. In 1572,

Calvinism was finally accepted by the Dutch by the Confession of Dordrecht. At length the Duke of Alva was recalled in 1578. In 1579, the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands united together under the union of Utrecht. William the Silent was elected as the Stadtholder of the Union. Two years later in 1581 this Union declared its independence of Spain. In 1584, William the Stadtholder was assassinated, but he was succeeded by his son Maurice, and the struggle against Spain continued. During this struggle for freedom the Dutch received a good deal of help from the English people. Money and men freely poured into Holland. On the sea Spanish ships were plundered by the English and the Dutch. At length in 1588, Philip II of Spain was compelled to send an Armada against England, but it was dispersed by the storm. After this Holland practically gained her independence, although nominally the struggle continued till 1609, when a 12 years' truce was proclaimed. Complete independence of Holland was recognized in 1648 by the treaty of Westphalia. Since then Holland has continued to be Calvinist in faith.

Religious Conflicts in Northern Europe. In England, Scotland, Denmark Norway, and Sweden, the Protestant faith spread partly through the activities of the kings and partly through the free will of the people themselves. Although the spirit of toleration between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants was a plant of very slow growth, and each party whenever it got into power tried to persecute the other, yet there were no religious wars in these countries.

Summary

1. *Causes of Reformation.* There were several causes which led to the reformation of the Roman Catholic faith in Europe. These causes were political, intelectual, moral and economic.

2. *The Indulgences.* The immediate cause was the corruption in connection with the sale of Indulgences. In the early history of the church a man could purchase forgiveness for the sins he had committed by doing penance.

Later on payment of money was substituted for penance. As the need of the church for money increased, this practice was abused Those who purchased these Indulgences were granted special Bulls of exemption by the Pope, and after this they could not be proceeded against by any civil court.

3. *Martin Luther, 1483-1546.* He was the son of a miner, but he had received good education, In 1505, he became a monk, and was then appointed teacher of Theology in the University of Wittenberg. As the sale of Indulgences meant the remittance of a great amount of money out of the country, many of the territorial lords and princes were opposed to it. Many of them had prohibited their sale in their respective territories. But it was sold in spite of these prohibitions. In 1517, Martin Luther first wrote against the sale of Indulgences. His writings were translated into the German language, and distributed broadcast throughout the country. When the country became very much agitated in connection with the preachings of Luther, Pope Leo X issued in 1520 a Bull of excommunication against him. But he publicly burned this Bull. In 1521, Emperor Charles V summoned the Imperial Diet at Worms and Martin Luther was asked to answer for his heresy. He refused to retract, So the ban of the empire was pronounced against him. His books were ordered to be burned. But Luther obtained the support of the princes. But as the knights and the peasants had in their risings against their territorial lords adopted the cause of the Reformation and committed many excesses, Martin Luther instead of seeking the popular support, sought the support of the princes. When in 1529 Emperor Charles V tried to coerce the princes, they combined and in 1530 raised a protest against his policy. In 1532, the different princes were given freedom to settle the form of worship in their respective territories.

4. *Progress of Reformation in England.* Dissatisfaction against the abuses in the church was first expressed by John Wycliffe (1320-1384). During the Hundred Years' War when the Pope was living at Avignon, practically as a prisoner of the French king, Church appointments and appeals in church matters were to some extent taken under control of the king in England. But the final break in England with the Roman Catholic Church took place in the time of Henry VIII, in connection with the divorce of Queen Catharine. In 1534, England was cut off from the Roman Catholic Church. Bet ween 1536 and 1539 monasteries were suppresed and their properties were confiscated by the Crown. In the time of King Edward VI

(1547-1553) some changes were made in the doctrines of the church, but the old practices were restored in the time of Queen Mary I (1553-1558). The existing Anglican Church was formed in the time of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603). The Anglican Church departed least from the Roman Church.

5. *Progress of Reformation in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden.* In these countries the Protestant Church is based on the Augsburg Confession of 1530. On account of the excesses committed during the war of the peasants in 1524, Martin Luther put the new Protestant faith under the protection of the territorial lords and princes. The rites and ceremonies in the Lutheran Church are more or less Roman, but the management of the Church affairs are in the hands of the State.

6. *Progress of Reformation in Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland.* The extreme type of Protestants are the followers of Calvin, and they are found in Switzerland, Holland and Scotland. They consider the Bible to be the sole authority in all doctrinal matters, they recognize no priests, and they believe in a democratic organization of the church. Broadly speaking the Protestant Reformation worked itself in north western Europe. Practically half of Christendon was lost to the Roman Catholic Church. Lutheranism was established in northern Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Anglican Church prevailed in England, and Calvinism in Scotland, Holland and Switzerland. But Roman Catholic faith remained strong in Ireland, France Spain, Portugal, Italy, Southern Germany, Hungary, and Poland.

7. *Counter-Reformation.* When it was realized that a very large portion of Europe was definitely lost to the Roman Catholic Church, a general council of the Church was at length convened at Trent which continued its sessions between 1545 and 1563. As a result of the discussions held in these councils many of the abuses in the Roman Catholic Church were removed. The Church had in these discussions received the greatest assistance from Ignatius Loyola.

8. *The Jesuits.* The Society of Jesus, called by the name of the Jesuits, was founded by Igantius Loyola, who lived from 1491 to 1556. He was a Spaniard by birth, and had in his early life fought in the wars of Emperor Charles V. But when in one of the battles he fought he became lame, he turned his attention to religion. He took to study in the different universities, and at length in 1524 he gathered ronnd him a band of earnest workers. In 1540, his band of workers, who now formed the Society of Jesus, were recognized by Pope Paul III. The aim of the Jesuits was to defend the Roman Catholic Church, and spread its doctrines.

9. *The Council of Trent.* Three councils of the Church were held at Trent during the long period from 1545 to 1563. Here the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church were properly formulated, the Scriptures and the Traditions were held of equal authority and the church was held to be the only authority for expounding the scriptures. Vulgate, a Latin version of the Bible made in the 4th century, was declared to be the authoritative text of the scriptures. A list of heretical books was prepared. Nothing contained in them was considered to be of any authority. The different Sacraments were defined and their rites and rituals were fixed. The Pope was recognized to be the Head of the Roman Catholic Church. Most of the abuses in the Church were removed. The authority of the bishops over the parochial clergy was strengthened, and means were provided for the removal of the incompetent and the immoral clergy. Thus discipline in the church was improved. After this the Roman Church again became strong and powerful. Its losses in Europe were made good by conversions in America, Africa and Asia.

10. *Religious Wars in Germany.* Martin Luther was excommunicated by the Pope in 1520, and the ban of the Empire was laid upon him in 1521. After this there was in Germany a War of the Knights in 1522, and of the Peasants in 1524. The causes of these wars were feudal and agrarian, but they soon identified themselves with the cause of the Reformation. The excesses committed during these risings turned Martin Luther against them. He realized that the cause of the Reformation could not be promoted by allying himself with the masses, but by seeking the co-operation of the territorial lords and princes. These feudal lords and barons had already been resisting the exactions of the Pope. and they also wanted to free themselves of the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Emperor, who had allied himself with the cause of the Pope. In 1526, the Diet which met at Spires decided that the different territorial lords were allowed to determine the religious affairs of their respective subjects. In 1529, the council of the Diet at Spires decided by a majority to proceed against the heretics. The Reformist princes who were in a minority protested against this decision, and appealed to the emperor and asked for another council to protect them against the tyranny of the majority. Those who signed this appeal were called the Protestants. They formulated their creed in 1530 by the Confession of Augsburg. The Roman Catholics refuted the views of the Protestants. Emperor Charles V took up the side of Roman Catholics, and threatened to use force against the Protestants. In 1524, in connection with the rising of the Peasants, the Roman Catholic princes had at Ratisbon formed a league of defence. Now in 1531,

the Protestant princes also formed at Schmalkalde a league of defence for their protection, Now Germany prepared for a Civil War. But just about this time the Turks again appeared in Central Europe, Charles V who wanted the support of the Protestant Princes, issued from Nurenburg, in 1532, an interim Edict, by which temporary and provisional toleration was granted to them. After this the new Protestant faith made a steady progress in the country. Efforts ware made to bring about a compromise between these two faiths, but without any success. In 1544, a treaty was signed at Crespy between Emperor Charles V and King Francis I. By this treaty both of these sovereigns agreed to suppress heresy in their respective territories. The Schmalkaldic League of the Protestant princes had now no alternative but to fight. But they suffered a crushing defeat at Muhlberg. In 1548. the emperor attempted to impose his own compromise on the Protestants and the Romon Catholics, but failed to do so. Now Maurice, the Duke of Saxony, with whose assistance the emperor had crushed the Schmalkaldic league turned against him. He entered into a league with Francis I of France, occupied Augsburg, and introduced Protestantism in that city. Charles V was at length compelled to agree to a settlement at Augsburg in 1555. The followers of Zwingli and Calvinism were excluded from this settlement. The possession of church properties which had been seized before 1552 was guaranteed to the holders. By this settlement the Protestants were put on equal footings with the Roman Catholics. This peace lasted for more than half a century.

11. *Thirty Years' War.* There were two defects in the settlement of Augsburg. It was only the Lutherans who received recognition, and secondly, it did not stop seizure of church property by the princes. In the mean time Protestantism made rapid progress in Austria and in Bohemia. But emperor Ferdinand who ascended the throne of Bohemia in 1617, and became Emperor in 1619, was a strict Roman Catholic. In 1618, he abrogated the Edict of religious freedom which the Bohemians had won in 1609. On this the Bohemian Protestants rose in revolt, and drove the officers of the Emperor from Prague, the capital city. In 1619, they elected Frederick V, Elector of Palatinate, and son-in-law of king James I of England as their king. Thus began the Thiry Years' War.

12. *Intervention of Frederick of Palatinate.* The first phase of this war lasted from 1618 to 1623. In 1619, Frederick was chased out of Bohemia, and was then driven out of his hereditary dominions. After this the Bohemian rebellion was completely crushed, Protestant leaders were either executed or exiled, and Roman Catholic faith was re-established in Bohemia. The Evangelical League which had been

formed in 1608 under the leadership of Frederick V was dissolved in 1621. His territory was handed over to Maximillian of Bavaria.

13. *Intervention of Denmark.* In the first phase of the war the Protestant princes in northern Germany remained neutral. But by the destruction of the Palatinate they became alarmed. So in 1625 the king of Denmark intervened. But the emperor had at this time two generals in his service Wallenstein, and Tilly. In 1626, King Christian of Denmark suffered a crushing defeat. In 1629, peace was signed and the kings of Denmark rehounced all claims of interference in Germany. This closed the second phase in the Thirty Years' War.

14. *Intervention of Sweden.* After the defeat of Denmark, Emperor Ferdinand felt strong enough to issue in 1629 the Edict of Restitution, by which was restored the state of affairs as they existed before 1552. The Lutherans were by this Edict required to give up two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and over a hundred other religious institutions. This Edict of Restitution was highly distasteful to Wallenstein, who stronglv opposed it. So, in 1630, the league of Catholic princes induced the emperor to dismiss Wallenstein. This victory of the Roman Catholics now alarmed Gustavus Adolphus, the young king of Sweden. He had defeated Denmark in 1628 and Poland in 1629. So now in 1630 he invaded Germany, and induced in 1631 the elector of Brandenburg, and in 1632 the Duke of Saxony to join him. He then fought against the forces of the Emperor in which Tilly was killed. After this he occupied Munich. Ferdinand now recalled Wallenstein. Another battle was fought at Lutzen, near Leipzic, in which the Swedes came out victorious, but their brave king was killed. After this battle Wallenstein again became inactive. It was suspected he wanted the withdrawal of the Edict of Restitution, some concessions, to the Swedes and the throne of Bohemia for himself. So he was again dismissed in 1634. Shortly after this he was assassinated. Peace was signed with Saxony in 1635. By this treaty favourable terms were granted to the Lutherans, but no security was granted to the Calvinists. This closed the third phase of the War.

15. *Intervention of France.* In 1616, Richelieu had become a minister of king Louis XIII of France, and he became his chief adviser in 1624. At this time there was a sort of family pact between the sovereigns of Spain and Germany. This was very dangerous to the independence of Franoe. The policy of Richelieu, therefore, was to close the right of passage of Spain along the south eastern frontiers of France, and to stop the advance of the Hapsburgs westwards through Tyrol and Switzerland. Within Germany his policy was to support

the Protestant princes who were fighting against Ferdinand. He also helped Gustavus Adolphus with men and money. But after his death Richelieu decided to intervene directly in the war. He entered into treaty relations with the Swedes, the Dutch, the Duke of Savoy in Italy, and other Protestant princes in Germany. Having secured his frontiers on the East he declared war on Spain in 1635. By 1642 the French were able to conquer a large portion of the Spanish Netherlands in the north, Alsace on the north-east, and Roussilon in the south-west. During this war there was a rebellion in the Spanish province of Catalonia, and in 1640, the Portuguese re-asserted their independence which they had lost in 1581. Now the Swedes marched right across Germany. At length the Hapsburgs were compelled to sue for peace. A treaty of peace was signed on 24th October 1648, at Westphalia. This treaty affected profoundly the subsequent history of Europe.

16. *Results of the Thirty Years' War.* The following were the results of this War :—

(*a*) Religious Wars in Germany were ended, and the Calvinists also were to have the same rights as Lutherans.

(*b*) The different territorial lords and princes in Germany were now recognized as independent princes, and the Emperor was reduced to the position of a President of a loose confederation of independent states.

(*c*) The old Palatinate was divided into two parts. Upper Palatinate was retained by Maxmillian of Bavaria, and the Lower Palatinate. was restored to Charles Lewis, son of Frederick V. Western Pomerania, Stettin, and the island of Rugon was given to Sweden. Eastern Pomerania was retained by Brandenburg. Switzerland and Holland were recognized as independent states. France obtained Alsace and Lorraine, and thus gained the natural frontier of the Rhine. The Emperor, on the other hand, was allowed to consolidate his power in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol. The War between France and Spain dragged on till 1659, when peace was concluded by the treaty of Pyranees by which France retained all her conquests, and Louis XIV married Maria Theresa.

(*d*) The supremacy of both the Pope as well as the Emperor was now destroyed for ever. Europe had now neither a spiritual nor a temporal superior.

17. *Religious Wars in Switzerland.* The Swiss gained their independence of the Hapsburgs in 1498. After this the Swiss soldiers

became so famous for their fighting qualities that they began to be extensively employed in the mercenary armies of most of the territorial lords in the neighbourhood. Reformation in Switzerland began with a view to check the abuses in the Church, and to stop the recruitment of Swiss soldiers as mercenaries. Zwingli, a local priest, began to preach in this connection. This led to a Civil War between the Swiss cantons. Zwingli was killed in 1531 in the battle of Kappel. After this it was decided that each canton should regulate its own religious affairs. Shortly after this Calvin established himself at Geneva.

18. *Religious Wars in France.* Reformation first began in French in the reign of king Francis I (1515—1547). The Bible was translated into the French language in 1523. But very soon after this the persecution of reformers began. A large number of them were put to death in 1535. In 1536, Calvin was forced to leave the country, After the treaty of Crespy signed in 1544, Francis I became more intolerant. A large number of the Waldensians were massacred in 1545. This persecution of the French Protestants continued in the reign of Henry II (1547-1549). He was succeeded by ministers, and now the country became torn between the different factions. In 1562, an Edict of Toleration was issued by Catharine de Medici, but the Duke of Guise caused a large number of Protestants to be killed at Vassy. This led to the Huguenot Wars in France. As many as eight wars were fought. In 1572, on the Bortholomew Day many Protestants were killed. After this began the wars of the three Henry's, Henry of Guise was killed in 1588, and Henry III in 1589. Now Henry IV (Bourbon) ascended the throne of France. He followed a tolerant policy, and in 1598 he issued the Edict of Nantes by which freedom of worship was granted to the Protestants in France.

19. *Religious Wars in the Netherlands.* The Netherlands had already before the rise of Martin Luther been swarmed by the followers of John Wycliffe, John Huss, and the Waldensians. The great Humanist, Erasmus, was also a native of Holland. So the people in northern parts of the Netherlands were easily attracted by the teachings of Zwingli and Calvin. But the policy of persecution followed by Emperor Charles V and King Philip II forced the people to revolt. A War of Independence began in 1568. After a great amount of suffering the Dutch won independence from the Spaniards.

20. *Religious Wars in Northern Europe.* In England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden Protestants spread partly through the efforts of the kings, and partly through the willingness of the people themselves.

CHAPTER VIII

RISE OF HOLLAND AND ENGLAND AS COLONIAL POWERS

The Mercantile System. We have seen in Chapter V that the greatest period of prosperity of the Spanish and Portuguese Empires was in the sixteenth century. Both of these countries annexed to their respective dominions extensive territories in the new world and acquired many trading centres in oriental countries in the east. The chief motive for the acquisition of these territories and centres was the import of raw material for home manufacture, acquisition of markets for the sale of goods, promotion of trade and commerce, and also, to some extent, the conversion of the natives of these lands to the Christian faith. This gave rise to what is called the "mercantile system". This is a name given to an economic doctrine which lays emphasis on the importance of manufacture and foreign trade, rather than on agriculture and domestic trade, as sources of national wealth. It is the view of some of the mercantilists that the prosperity of a nation is in exact proportion to the amount of money in circulation within its country. It was, therefore, their aim to attract the largest quantities of the precious metals to their own country. This could be done by encouraging the export and restricting the import of manufactures. A favourable balance of trade thus caused would pour in more wealth into the country. So in order to have unrestricted import of cheap raw materials, for the purpose

of fostering home industries, and for securing good markets for the sale of home manufactures it was necessary to have large and flourishing colonies. Colonies were looked upon merely as estates to be worked for the advantage of the mother country. The home government did its best to prevent other countries from trading with its dependencies. On the other hand, it laid heavy restrictions on manufactures of the colonies, so that they may not compete with the mother country. This was the policy which was consistently followed both by Spain as well as Portugal with regard to their colonies throughout the sixteenth century. The same mercantile policy was adopted by Holland and England.

Rise of Holland as a Commercial and Sea power. Holland contains within its borders the mouths of the largest rivers of western Europe such as the Scheldt, the Meuse and the Rhine. The Dutch, therefore, possess easy communications to the interior of western Europe. Again Holland is not far distant from Denmark, and Norway, and it is only a few hours sail from the French and English coasts. These geographical advantages combined with a small infertile territory not at all capable of supporting more than a very small portion of the population by agriculture, turned from a very early time the attention of the Dutch towards the sea. They first started as fishermen, and by this occupation earned money. They sold the product of the sea in the neighbouring countries, and after that filled their empty ships with goods obtained in exchange, and carried them from one country to another. In this way they gradually built up a carrying trade in the seas of north-western Europe, and later on extended their activities to the Baltic Sea in the north and the Mediterranean Sea in the south. After the discovery of the Cape route to India and further east, Dutch traders met Portuguese merchants at Lisbon, and there obtained spices and other oriental goods for distribution throughout Europe.

But, in 1581, Portugal was annexed to Spain. King Philip II now became master of Portugal. At this time the Dutch had embraced the Protestant faith of the Calvinistic variety, and had begun to be persecuted by the Government both of Charles V and Philip II. In order to further coerce the Dutch in the matter of suppressing Protestant faith in Holland, Philip II closed the port of Lisbon to the Netherlanders. He also seized a large number of Dutch ships lying in Spanish and Portuguese harbours. After this the enterprising Dutch sailors began to make expeditions directly to the East Indies, whose trade had for more than a century been monopolised by the Portuguese. They now began to capture Portuguese and Spanish ships on the high seas, and they also acquired many ports on the coasts of Africa and India, and thus were able to establish a strong position for themselves in the Far East. After the Spanish Armada was dispersed in 1588, the sea power of Spain was practically overthrown and now the maritime activities of the Dutch in the east increased still further. In 1602, the Dutch government chartered the Dutch East India Company and gave to it the monopoly of trade and political power in the entire east from the Cape of Good Hope in the extreme south of Africa to the strait of Magellan, the extreme southern point of South America. But the chief centre of activity of the Dutch was in the East Indies Islands. Here they had to fight with the Portuguese, who were finally driven from almost all of their possessions in the east. The Dutch now took possession of South Africa, Ceylon, some trading posts in India. Sumatra, Java, Malacca, Celebes, and the Spice Islands. The headquarters of the Dutch East India Company were fixed at Batavia in Java.

The Dutch in South Africa and in America. The Dutch had taken possession of the region of the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. At first it only served the purpose of a watering station on the way to the East. But after some time Dutch immigrants began to arrive at the

place. Later on the French Huguenots came into the country, when in 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked. These farmer-settlers, or Boers, as they were called, passed slowly into the interior and laid the foundation of Dutch rule in South Africa. Encouraged by their success in the East the Dutch resolved to form another colonial empire in the west. It was an agent of the Dutch East India Company, Henry Hudson, who in trying to seek a north west passage to the East Indies discovered, in 1609, the river which bears his name. The Dutch after this sent out ships to trade with the natives of Hudson territory, and there built a fort. In 1621, the Dutch West India Company received a charter for the purpose of commerce and colonisation between the west coast of Africa and the eastern coasts of the two Americas. The new Dutch fort in the Hudson territory became in time the flourishing port of New Amsterdam, and new settlements round about began to be called by the name of New Netherland. The Dutch West India Company also secured a large part of Guiana on the northern coast of South America, and some Islands in the West Indies as well.

Decay of Dutch Power. In the seventeenth century the Dutch were the leaders of Commerce in Europe. They had the largest number of merchant ships and they almost entirely monopolized the carrying trade from the East Indies and between the Mediterranean and the Baltic. But towards the close of the seventeenth century their power began to decay. Their possessions were really mere trading posts and not real colonies. The Dutchmen in these places were too few to put up a resistance against other peoples. But as they soon came into conflict with the English and the French, they suffered not only in trade but also in political power. Just about the time that Holland had taken possession of the Cape Region in South Africa war broke out in 1652 between

England and Holland. It was finally closed in 1667. In this war she lost heavily. In the War of Spanish Succession which lasted from 1702 to 1713, a severe blow was struck at the prosperity of Holland. But although the Dutch have lost the leadership in commerce, they have retained in their hands most of their overseas possessions, up to the present time.

English Maritime activities under the Tudors. We have seen in Chapter V that it was in the time of the Tudors that a strong and stable government was established in England. Shortly after Henry VII had consolidated his position in the country, he began to encourage sailors to take part in the discovery of the new world. John Cabot visited the shores of North America in 1498. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth Sir Martin Frobisher explored the coasts of Greenland and Labrador, and another Sea-dog, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, tried unsuccessfully to colonize Newfoundland. His half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, also unsuccessfully tried to colonize what is now called Virginia. It appears that in the sixteenth century Spain was quite supreme on the western Sea and until her power was not broken, Englishmen could not obtain any success in America. But the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 at last enabled them to establish colonies in America without the interference of Spain.

Beginnings of English colonization. When Sir Walter Raleigh found that single-handed he had failed in attempts at colonization, he assigned his interests in Virginia to a group of merchants and adventurers. At length in 1606, this group of merchants obtained from king James I a Charter for the incorporation of two joint-stock companies, one with its headquarters in London, and the other in Plymouth. This Charter claimed for England all the North American continent from Florida to Nova Scotia. The London Company had the exclusive

right to colonize in the southern parts and the Plymouth Company had a similar right in the territory in the north. The London Company first took steps to colonize its share, Virginia. On 1st January, 1607, a party of 120 men left the shores of England and after passing four months on the ocean they reached the Chesapeake Bay. They entered the bay, and on a peninsula in the broad river they founded Jamestown, the first English settlement in America. These early settlers had to struggle hard against the obstacles of nature, and in these struggles they suffered much. Between 1607 and 1624 as many as 6,000 settlers arrived in Virginia, but four-fifths of them died either of hunger, or disease, or at the hands of the aborigines. The future of Virginia was not assured until the colonists turned their attention to the cultivation of tobacco, for which the soil of the country is well suited. Tobacco soon became popular in Europe. It fetched high prices, and then its cultivation in Virginia became its principal industry. It became the chief article of export to England. But the London Company was controlled mainly by the Puritan Protestants, who began to take interest in politics, and oppose some of the measures of King James I. At length the charter of this company was annulled. Virginia now became, in 1624, a royal province, and remained so throughout the colonial period. The king appointed the Governor, but the settlers were allowed to manage their own affairs.

New England Colonies. In the mean time another group of settlers came to the shores of America. Persecuted by Queen Elizabeth and King James I, many Independents and Dissenters left England and went to Holland, where liberty of conscience was allowed. But the prospect of losing their English speech and customs among the Dutch did not please them, and they soon began to think of another

home, where "they might more glorify God, do more good to their country, better provide for their prosperity, and live to be more refreshed by their labours, than ever they could do in Holland." One of these English congregations, living in Leydon, made up their mind to go to America. Having obtained permission from the London Company to settle within the limits of Virginia, a party of 102 men, women and children. set sail in 1620, in the 'Mayflower'. When they reached the coasts of America, they found themselves actually outside the territory granted to the London Company. But before they left the 'Mayflower', they took steps to provide for the ordinary rule of their small community. The leaders of the party called the Pilgrims signed their names to an agreement establishing a "civil body politic," and they promised to obey all laws for their "general good." They had reached the American coasts in mid-winter, as they had to experience great hardships. Before the spring season arrived, more than half of these pilgrims died. Yet these new settlers did not lose heart. Within ten years they numbered 300. They called their settlement Plymouth, and during the reign of James I and Charles I a very large number of Puritans who were persecuted in England came and settled in and near Plymouth. These Puritan colonies were called New England colonies. Here they founded self-governing communities far removed from the political and religious absolutism of the Stuarts. A large tract of land was purchased from the Plymouth Company and charter was obtained from King Charles I which incorporated, in 1630, the company of Massachusetts. A large number of Englishmen came and settled in Massachusetts between 1630 and 1640 when in England Charles I was ruling without a Parliament. During these ten years more than 20,000 Puritans left England, came to America, and settled at different places on the Massachusetts Bay. The Charter which Charles I gave to the Puritans in 1630 did not require

that its headquarters should be in England. So the company decided to move its headquarter to America, and there found an independent state. King Charles I was at the time carrying on a fight with his parliament, so he could not interfere with the affairs of these Puritans across the seas, and later on Cromwell also did not molest them. On restoration King Charles II took away the charter of these Puritans, and James II also treated these colonists in New England harshly. But when William III ascended the English throne in 1688, he granted to these Puritans a new charter in 1691. This charter allowed them to have a representative assembly, but required them to accept a governor appointed by the king. After this Massachusetts formed a royal province. By the time the seventeenth century closed, not only Plymouth was wholly occupied but other colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island Connecticut, and New Hampshire, were also formed. This group of colonies was called the New England colonies. In the south, another group of colonies grew up with Virginia as their centre. In the north of Virginia was formed the colony of Maryland, which became a home for the persecuted Roman Catholics of England. To the south of Virginia grew up the colonies of Carolina.

The Conquest of the Dutch Colonies. The territory in between the lands of the Plymouth Company in the north and the London Company in the south at first contained the colonies of Holland and Sweden, New Netherland, and Delaware. But the Swedish colony of Delaware was soon conquered by the Dutch. In 1664, all these Dutch possessions passed into the hands of the British Government. In this territory were formed later on the four English colonies of New York, New Jersy, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. The last of the British colonies to be formed was Georgia in 1733 as an outpost against the Spaniards.

The Type of Population in the 13 English Colonies. The population in all these thirteen colonies was mainly of English blood, although it is true that there were also found among the settlers the Dutch at New York, the Swedes in Delaware, the Germans of the Palatine in Pennsylvania, and also some of the French Huguenots. In migrating from England across the Atlantic over to the North American continent, these English settlers carried to their new homes English language, English customs and manners, and English festivals. As the settlements contained men who had escaped from religious persecution in their old homes, they appreciated the virtue of religious toleration. Almost every variety of Protestantism was represented in the colonies. The Church of England was strong in New York, Maryland, Virginia, and in Carolina. Puritanism flourished in the New England colonies af Massachusetts and Connecticut, Baptists were numerous in Rhode Island, and Quakers in Pennsylvania. But in every colony there was observed complete religious toleration. Roman Catholics, however, were looked upon with suspicion.

The Political System in the colonies. It has already been stated that the English settlers took into their new homes the English Language, the English customs and manners, and the English festivals. But they also took with them the private rights which Englishmen had won during centuries of struggles against their despotic kings. Free speech, freedom from arbitrary imprisonment, and trial by jury, formed part of their legal inheritance from England. The customary law of the English people, as interpreted by the judges, and embodied in their judgments formed the Common Law, and it was this law which was taken by the English settlers to their new homes in America. So also was the representative government carried to America. Each colony had a representative assembly modelled after the House of Commons

in England. Virginia set the example in this matter. The Puritans who had gained control of the London Company, permitted the Virginia colonists to form an assembly consisting of two deputies freely elected by the inhabitants of each settlement. The House of Burgesses, as it began to be called, met for the first time in 1619, at Jamestown. A few years later in 1634, the freemen of each town in Massachusetts were allowed to send two deputies for the General Court of the Colony. New York, which had originally been a Dutch possession, was the last of the colonies to receive representative govern-ent in 1684. In England the Parliament had been divided into two Houses from the 14th century. The English colonists in America also adopted a bicameral system of legislature. All the colonies excepting Pennsylvania, and Georgia, had a legislature consisting of a representative assembly forming a lower House, and a small council, forming an upper House. The governer served as the link between the colonists and England. In some of the New England colonies, the governor was elected by the people, in the proprietary colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland, he was appointed by the hereditary proprietor, and in the royal colonies of the south he was appointed by the crown in England. There was a constant conflict in the Amercian colonies between the Governor and the representative assemblies on the question of the grant of supplies. In the southern colonies, which were mostly agricultural, the unit of representation was the county. The Justices of Peace were chosen from the most important landowners, of the county. They regularly met as a court to try cases and assess taxes. In the Northern colonies of New England, the towns governed themselves directly, and they also sent their representatives directly to the legislature of the colony. The colonies in the centre borrowed their political system partly from New

England, and partly from the South. But all these colonies were not united together under any common head. Differences in industrial matters, religion, and customs and manners, prevented them from co-operating with one another. But in order to protect themselves against raids of the aborigines they had very often to combine. Later on, when the French colonies sprang up in the north, and the French Government acquired the territory of Louisiana in the west, there arose a greater necessity for these thirteen English colonies to combine. The New England colonies were compelled as early as 1643 to combine, in a league "for mutual help and strength in all our future concernments." This league known as the United Colonies of New England, held together for forty years. In 1754, delegates from seven colonies met in congress at Albany to discus a plan for forming a defensive union of all the colonies. After the close of the French War and the war against the aborigines, the colonists, who had learned the value of united action, against a common enemy, began to unite in defence of their common rights against even the king and Parliament of England. They declared independence in 1776, and formed a separate state in 1783.

English colonies in the East. As has been mentioned above, the maritime activities of England began in the time of the Tudors. Colonial possessions began to be acquired, however, from the beginning of the 17th century. We have already seen how English settlements were formed on the eastern coasts of northern America, and thus the foundations of the British Colonial Empire were laid. But England did not confine her attention to the west alone. She formed joint stock companies to capture the eastern trade also. On the 31st of December 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted to the merchants and traders of London a charter for trade and acquisition of colonies and trading posts in the East. Sir Thomas Roe was sent to India to secure trade privileges

from the Moghul Emperor. He arrived in India in the reign of Jahangir (1605-1627). He impressed Jahangir favourably, and was after this permitted to establish a British factory at Surat, then the chief Indian port on the west. Later on British trading centres were formed in other parts of India as well. But the British East India Company authorities did not stop in India alone. Spices at that time formed the chief article of export to the west. In order to get this commodity they went to the East Indies, where the Dutch had already formed their Headquarters. Here the British traders came into conflict with the Dutch merchants. These conflicts became so serious, that at length in 1629, a large number of British merchants were massacred at Amboyna in the East Indies. Immediately after this the English people became engaged in their struggle against their king, Charles I. As they could not immediately take their revenge against the Dutch, so they withdrew from the East Indies, and now concentrated their attention on India. In 1639, the British East India Company purchased from the Raja of Chandragiri, the site of land on which is built the present city of Madras. After the restoration, when King Charles II was married to the daughter of the king of Portugal, he received the island of Bombay in dowry. This island was granted by the king to the East India Company. Shortly after this the British East India Company established a factory at Hughly in Bengal. In 1698, they acquired the zamindari rights of the three viliages of Govindpur, Sutanati, and Kalighat, and founded the city of Calcutta. In this way were the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta established. But during the seventeenth century and during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, when the Mughal Empire in India remained strong and powerful, the British East India Company confined its attention mainly to trade and commerce. They were not permitted to interfere in the political affairs of the

country. They tried in 1680 to take possessions of some islands near Chittagong in Eastern Bengal, but Auragnzeb ordered them to be expelled from the whole of Bengal. But when in the reign of Emperor Muhammed Shah, the empire became split up into a number of independent principalities, and when the prestige of the empire was destroyed by the attacks of the Marhattas, and the invasion of Nadir Shah the British factors in India also began to take part in the quarrels of the local chiefs.

Summary

1. *The Mercantile System.* It is an economic doctrine which lays emphasis on the importance of manufacture and foreign trade rather than on agriculture and domestic trade as the source of national wealth. Under this system foreign colonies and possessions are acquired with the object of supplying to the mother country cheap raw materials, and an exclusive market for the import of its manufacture. This system was first adopted by Spain and Portugal, and later on followed by Holland, England, aud France.

2. *Rise of Holland as a Commercial and Sea Power.* The Dutch first began as fishermen. They captured fish in the North Sea, and took this commodity to the neighbouring countries of France, England Denmark, and Germany. After having sold their fish they filled their empty ships with the goods obtained from these neighbouring countries and carried them to other places. Gradually the carrying trade of the north west fell into their hands. When after the discovery of the sea route to India, Lisbon became the distributing centre of oriental goods, the maritime activities of the Dutch increased, But in 1581 Portugal was annexed to Spain, and then Philip II of Spain closed the Port of Libson to the Dutch, who had already started since 1568 their war of independence against the Spaniards. The government of Queen Elizabeth supported the Dutch in their struggle against Philip. During this struggle the Spanish shipping began to be attacked by the English and the Dutch. After the Spanish Armada was destroyed in 1588, the Dutch became practically independent of Spain. In 1602, they formed a Dutch East India Company, and from this time they began to bring eastern goods directly from the East. They overpowered the Portuguese in the east. and took possession of the Cape region of South Africa Ceylon, the East Indies islands, and many trading posts in India. They fixed their headquarters in the East at Batavia, in Java.

3. *The Dutch in South Africa and America.* The Cape region in South Africa was acquired by the Dutch in 1652. Shortly after this Dutch immigrants began to arrive in South Africa. Later on when in 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked in France, French Huguenots came into the country. These farmers, Boors as they were called, spread themselves into the interior of the country, and thus was formed the Dutch colony of South Africa. After obtaining success in the East the Dutch extended their activities to the west. In trying to discover a north west passage to the east they discovered the Hudson river. After this they sent out ships to trade in the Hudson river territory and there built a fort. In 1621, a Dutch West India Company was formed for the purpose of commerce and colonization in the west. They founded in the Hudson river territory the new city of New Amsterdom, and the settlements round about this place began to be called New Netherlands. The Dutch also acquired Guiana in South America, and some islands in the West Indies,

4. *The Decay of Dutch Power.* The Dutch were the leaders of commerce in the seventeenth century, and they monopolised the eastern trade. But in the east their possessions consisted merely of trading posts, containing few men, which were not able to resist foreign aggression. Very soon after, the Dutch came into conflict with the English and the French Merchants. War broke out with the English in 1652 and lasted with some intervals till 1667. They had also to fight against the French from 1672 to 1678. Their king William of Orange fought the War of the league of Angoburg from 1689 to 1697. In the War against the English she lost her American colonies. The other wars also exhausted her. In the War of Spanish Succession which ended in 1713, the Dutch suffered heavily. But they have managed to retain their colonial possessions in the East.

5. *English Maritime Activities during the time of the Tudors.* English sailors began to take part in geographical discoveries in the time of king Henry VII. In the time of Queen Elizabeth the eastern coast of North America were explored, and some unsuccessful efforts were made at colonisation.

6. *Beginnings of English Colonisation.* In 1606, two joint stock companies were chartered, one with its headquarters at London, and the other at Plymouth. All the eastern coasts of North America from Florida to Nova Scotia were claimed by these companies. The London Company confined its colonising activities in the South and the Plymouth Company in the north. Virginia colonised in the south was

the most important colony in the south. It was made a crown colony in 1624. It soon became known for the cultivation of tobacco.

7. *New England Colonies.* When the Puritans began to be persecuted in England by the government of Queen Elizabeth and King James I, many of them left the country and settled in Holland. But these settlers did not like the idea of being merged in the general population of the Dutch, so in 1620 they migrated to America, and settled in the territory of the Plymouth Company. The leaders of these immigrants, Pilgrim Fathers, as they were called, formed an independent " civil body politic ", and they established independent self-governing colonies. The colonies were called New England colonies. Some 20,000 Englishmen came and settled in these colonies between 1630 and 1640. The colonies that were formed in New England were those of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. In the south, Virginia was the most important colony. The other colonies in these Southern parts were the two Carolinas, and Maryland.

8. *The Conquest of the Dutch Colonies.* The territory in between the lands of the Plymouth Company in the north and the London Company in the south was occupied originally by the New Netherlands colonies of the Dutch, and a few colonies of the Swedes. But the Swedish colony was soon conquered by the Dutch. But when war broke out between England and Holland, in the time of Cromwell, and later on again in the reign of Charles II, these Dutch colonies were annexed in 1664 to the British dominions, in America. In this way were formed the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. The last British colony of Georgia was formed in 1733 as an outpost against the Spaniards.

9. *The type of Population in the 13 English Colonies.* The population in all these 13 colonies was mainly British in blood, although there were also a few Dutch Swedes, French, and Germans scattered about. As most of the settlers were those who had escaped from religious persecution in their respective mother lands, they appreciated the value of religious toleration. The English settlers carried to their new homes, the English language, English customs and manners, and English festivals. The Anglican Church was professed by the colonists in New York, Maryland, Virginia and in the two Carolinas. Puritanism flourished in the New England colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Baptists were numerous in Rhode Island, and Quakers in Pennsylvania. Roman Catholics were looked upon with suspicion.

10. *The Political System in the British Colonies.* Along with English language, English customs and manners, and English festivals, the British settlers in America, brought with them English law, and the English system of Government. Each colony established for its government a governor controlled by a representative assembly and a Council. In some of the colonies the governor was elected, in some he was appointed by the crown in England, and in others he was appointed by the hereditary proprietor of the colony. In the northern colonies the townships formed the unit, but in the south the county formed the unit. The Justices of Peace were selected from among the more important landlords, and they met as a court to try cases and assess taxes. In order to protect themselves against raids by the aborigines and the attacks of the French who had established themselves in the north and in the west, the colonies were forced to combine, otherwise all these colonies led a separate and independent existence. There was a great amount of inter-colonial jealousy in America.

11. *English Colonies in the East.* The British East India Company was granted its charter on the 31st of December, 1600. It was permitted by this charter to built up trade in the east and to acquire colonies and trading posts there. Sir Thomas Roe was sent to the court of the Great Mughal for the purpose of securing trade privileges. The British East India Company established its first trade factory in India at Surat. In 1639, they purchased from the Raja of Chandragiri the site on which is built the modern city of Madras. Later on they obtained from King Charles II the Island of Bombay which he had received as the dowry of his Queen from the King of Portugal. In 1698, they acquired the zamindari rights of Calcutta. So long as the Mughal empire remained strong and powerful, the British East India Company confined its activities to trade and commerce, but when in the first half of the eighteenth century the Mughal Empire broke up into a number of mutually fighting independent kingdoms, the English pecple by taking part of the different powers began to build up political power as well.

CHAPTER IX

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

Divine Right of Kings. We have seen in Chapter I that in 752 A. D. Peppin, the mayor of the palace of the Frankish kings, took possession with the approval of the Pope of the French throne. He was annointed king first by St. Boniface, the apostle to the Germans, and later on by the Pope himself, in accordance with an ancient religious custom of the Jews. King Peppin thus became the Lord's annointed, and the Pope threatened with God's anger any one who should attempt to supplant the consecrated family of Peppin. It, therefore, became a religious duty to obey the king and his successors. He came to be regarded by the Church, when he had received its approval, as God's representative on earth. Here we have the beginnings of the later theory of "kings by the grace of God" against whom it was a sin to revolt, however bad they might be. This was quite in accordance with the theory of kingship held by the later Roman Emperors, who acted as absolute sovereigns, and posed to hold their power not from the choice and consent of their subjects, but from God. In ancient times the Hellenistic kings of the East received divine honours from their subjects. In still older times, in Egypt, temples were erected in honour of the Pharaoh, and offerings were made to his sacred majesty. During the period of the Protestant Reformation of Germany, Martin Luther and his followers

set up the authority of the state against the authority of the Church. The Protestants argued that Providence had never sanctioned the papacy, but Providence had really ordained the state and had placed over it a ruler whom it was a religious duty to obey. The Lutheran Protestants thus defended the Divine Right of Kings. In England too, King Henry VIII, and Queen Elizabeth made the Church subordinate to the Crown. In France just about this time, during the reigns of Charles VIII (1483-1498), Louis XII (1498-1515), Francis I (1515-1547), and Henry II (1547-1559), the feudal nobility was crushed, the king's territories were consolidated, and the administration was centralized. Since 1439, the king had begun to employ a standing army, and with its help the powers of the Crown were increased immensely. It was in the reign of king Henry III (1574-1589) when the country was being torn by the devastating Huguenot Wars, that a French writer, Jean Bodin (1530-1596) wrote in 1566, "A method for the easy understanding of History" and in 1576 "Six Books concerning the State". He was a lawyer, who was very much influenced by Greek and Roman ideas. Hereditary monarchy, he believed, was the best form of government, and the only form suited to large countries. Like the ancient Roman lawyers, he declared that the ordinary laws were not binding on the sovereign, whose will was supreme law. He held that the judges and officials must obey the king without question. He said that parliaments had no just claim to a share in sovereign power; they were merely advisory bodies. These theories of Bodin were soon adopted by King James I in England, and King Henry IV in France.

Richelieu 1585-1642. We have seen in Chapter V that the House of Valois ended in 1589, with the death of king Henry III, and with the accession of the first Bourbon king, Henry IV. He rescued France from the disorders from which she was suffering during the previous reigns. France

again became powerful and prosperous. When he was assassinated in 1610, he was succeeded by his son Louis XIII, who ruled from 1610 to 1643. It was during his reign that Cardinal Richelieu rose into power. Although king Louis XIII was not himself a great ruler, he had the wisdom to put the affairs of the state into the hands of able ministers. Richelieu believed in the complete autocracy of the Crown, and it was during his period of office that French absolutism was fully established. He first became minister in 1616, and he became the chief adviser of the king in 1624. He guided the destinies ef France for full 18 years, right up to the time of his death in 1642. When Richelieu came into power, France was still shut in, as she had been in the time of Emperor Charles V, by the territories of the Hapsburgs. Her boundaries in the East and the north-east were more or less artificial, and not natural ones, fixed by rivers or mountain ranges. It was, therefore, necessary for the frontiers of France to reach in the east the Rhine and the Vosges. This could be done only when a large portion of the Netherlands, Lorraine, Alsace, and the county of Burgundy in the east could be absorbed by France. But at this time southern portions of the Netherlands, and the county of Burgundy were under the king of Spain, and Alsace and Lorraine were within the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Empire. These territories could not be obtained till the Hapsburgs both in France as well as in Germany were weakened. It was with this object that Richelieu intervened in the Thirty Years' War. At home his domestic policy was to make the French King supreme. With this object he consistently followed the policy of weakening the nobles. He forbade the practice among them of duelling, ordered many of the fortified castles to be blown up, and caused the rebellious dukes and counts to be put to death. As most of the territorial lords, in France, as was the case with them in Germany, had adopted the cause of Protestantism, Richelieu

had to adopt the policy of suppressing the Huguenots as well. The Edict of Nantes had granted to the Huguenots not only the right to freedom of worship, but also political rights and privileges, not granted to the general population as a whole. The result was that the Huguenots organized themselves as a separate community, a state within a state. They became practically a federation of self-governing communities scattered all over the country. Largely belonging to urban areas, jealous of the power of the king, and intimately associated with the aristocracy of the country, they always wanted to become independent, and their assistance was always sought by the foreign enemies of France. They had thus become a grave menace to the nation as a whole. In 1625, they revolted against government, but this rebellion was soon crushed by Richelieu. The Huguenot party as a political force was now destroyed. They were deprived of their separate political and religious organizations. They were not allowed to garrison towns, but their liberty of worship and freedom of conscience was respected. Richelieu was prepared to tolerate the heretics, but not the rebels. After this they sank into a harmless religious sect. In England the autocratic powers of the Tudors were exercised through the instrumentality of a subservient Parliament. But Richelieu had little faith in Parliaments. The French States-General which had been convened in 1614, was never summoned again. The political ambitions of the Parliament of Paris were also sternly suppressed. In 1641, the Parliament of Paris, which had begun to discuss the Edicts which the king sent to them for registery, was prohibited to intervene in politics or finance, and he ordered it to register the royal edicts without any delay or debate. He even curtailed the judicial functions of the Parliament.

After putting down the rebellions of the nobles, he now administered them another blow. In his time there were 19 provinces in France. These provinces were of two kinds, *Pays d'election* and *Pays d'etats*. In the former kind of

provinces the assessment and collection of taxes was vested in royal officials—*elus*. The latter kinds of provinces were those territories which had recently been absorbed in France. These latter provinces retained their representative institutions and a large measure of local self-government, and powers of local taxation. Richelieu could not succeed in abolishing the local self-governing powers of these provinces. So he turned to the alternative of redistributing French territories into 32 *generalities* or districts, over each of which he placed a royal officer, known by the name of *Intendent*. He dismissed most of the old provincial governors and replaced them by officials responsible to himself. But most of the executive powers in the districts was now concentrated in the hands of the *Intendents*. Having done this Richelieu re-organized the royal council, and entrusted it with a large number of functions. Out of this, later on developed the *Conseil d'etat* or cabinet. After this he re-organized the army, and created both the navy and the mercantile marine. The net result of the reforms of Richelieu was that feudalism as a system of government was destroyed completely, and the administration was concentrated in the hands of the Crown. But although the political functions of the nobles were now gone, they still retained their social and fiscal privileges, right up to the outbreak of the French revolution in 1789.

Richelieu was not only a great statesman, but he was also a great patron of Art and Literature. He founded the now well-known French Academy, and he established the Gazette de la France. In other words he was the parent of Autocracy and the Press both mutually in conflict with each other.

Mazarin. 1602—1661 When Richelieu died in 1642 he was succeeded by Cardinal Mazarin as Chief Minister. A year after that in 1643, king Louis XIII also died. He was succeeded by his son Louis XIV, who was at the

time only five years old. But Mazarin continued the war against Spain and against the German Emperor with energy. At length peace was signed in 1648, in Westphalia. The provisions of the treaties signed here have already been stated. Mazarin was an Italian by birth, but he had become naturalised as Frenchman, in 1639, when he entered the service of the French Crown. In 1648, while the war in Germany had not yet ended, the Parliament of Paris thought like the Parliament of England, to establish its supremacy over the Crown. Just as the English Parliament had presented a Petition of Rights to the king, so did this Parliament of Paris, present in June 1648, a Petition of Rights, to the king wherein, among other things, they demanded that the *Intendents* and farmers of Revenue should be abolished, that the *Taille* should be reduced by 25 per cent, and that no further impost be levied without the consent of the sovereign courts. They also demanded that arbitrary imprisonment should be abolished, that the principle of the *Habeas Corpus* should be introduced, and that personal liberty should be guaranteed. These demands meant nothing less than a constitutional revolution. It was found that the princes of the royal blood, the great feudal lords, and the mass of the people in the city of Paris were all in league with the Parliament of Paris. Since the war in Germany had not yet ended, Mazarin was compelled to temporise for the moment. But when in October 1648, peace of Westphalia was signed, he was ready to deal with the Parliament. Paris was now besieged, and at length the lawyer-ridden parliament was compelled to yield. In April, 1649, a compromise known as the Peace of Rueil was arrived at. This ended the first Fronde War. But this peace settled nothing and so it did not last long. In 1650, war again broke out. This time it were the princes who rose against government. But their opposition also collapsed by the end of 1650. By 1652, the whole thing ended, and by October, 1652, the king was able to

return to Paris. In these Fronde wars the Parliament of Paris gainednothing. It was now reduced to the position of a mere law-court. The princes and the nobles also gained nothing. Their last bid for power had failed hopelessly. They now gave up all pretensions to political importance. After this they left their stewards to collect their revenues, and themselves became courtiers at Versailles. The benefits of this triumph won by Mazarin was fully reaped by the Crown. The Parliament was a mere law court, the Huguenots were a mere religious sect, and the nobles merely courtiers. After this, in 1659, the long war with Spain was brought to a successful conclusion. The Crown now had no enemies outside and no rivals within the country. So when Mazarin died in 1661, the Crown in France could assume the position of an absolutely despotic and autocratic ruler.

The Personality of Louis XIV. After the death of Mazarin in 1661, Louis XIV took the reins of government into his own hands. Thanks to the previous efforts of his father and grandfather, and of the two Cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin, Louis XIV found himself an absolute autocrat, with no limitations on his royal authority. He was a handsome man of elegant and courtly manners. He also possessed a sound judgment and a quick apprehension. He worked hard and spent several hours a day attending to the business of government. He said that it was an audacious ingratitude towards God, and tyrannical injustice towards man, to desire to be a king, and decline the toil of reigning. Every detail of administration was reviewed by him personally. But in spite of all this he cannot be said to a genius, there was no originality about him. Such was Louis XIV who took the administration into his own hands in 1661, after the death of Mazarin. Although his rule was a personal one, still he had during the earlier period of his direct rule some very capable

ministers. Jeane Baptiste Colbert was one of them. Louis XIV was careful to see that his surroundings should suit the grandeur of his office. His court was magnificent beyond anything that had been dreamed of in the west. He caused an enormous palace to be constructed at Versailles twelve miles outside Paris. This beautiful and magnificent palace was surrounded by the houses of those nobles who were privileged to be near his majesty, or who could supply the wants of the royal court. This splendour and luxury of the court helped to attract the nobility, who lived no longer on their estates in well fortified castles, to live near the king, for only by living close to the king could the courtiers hope to gain favours, pensions, and lucrative offices for themselves and their friends. Literary men and artists were no less eager to bask in the sunshine of the king's presence, and to receive pay and praise from the most lavish of patrons, The greatest poets and dramatists, sculptors, and painters who gathered at Versailles made the time of Louis XIV the classical period of French literature and art. Among these literary men were the three great dramatists, Corneille, Moliere and Racine. Louis XIV believed in the "Divine Right" of kings. It pleased him to be called the "Grand Monarch." He chose as his special emblem the Sun, the brightest of the heavenly bodies.

Jeane Colbert 1619—1683. Unlike most of the statesmen of the times Jean Baptiste Colbert was neither a nobleman nor a cardinal, but the son of a merchant. He was however a shrewd businessman. When, in 1661, the then superintendent of finances, was suddenly arrested and convicted for dishonesty and financial malpractices, Colbert was put in charge of the financial affairs of the country. He was born in 1619 at Rheims. He first began life in a banking house at Lyons. He then joined a Notary's office at Paris, and in 1651, he became the steward of the immense establishment

of Mazarin. In that capacity he had the opportunity of learning everything that could be known about financial methods. In 1661, he was appointed to the modest office of Chief Clerk to the Council of Finance. In 1665, he was appointed Controller-General of Finances. In 1669, he was appointed Secretary of the Admiralty and the Colonies. He soon attained the position of the chief minister in the government of his country. He first turned his attention to the reformation of the financial system of the government. He introduced a new system of Book-keeping similar to that employed by businessmen. By discharging dishonest tax collectors, and by imposing indirect taxes, or customs duties, he increased the royal revenues, and at the same time reduced land revenue which was proving a burden to the common people. One of his innovations, now adopted by all well-ordered states, was the budget system. In olden times expenditure of government was incurred at random, without regard to the capacity of the treasury. Colbert drew up careful estimates one year in advance, of the probable receipts and expenses, so that the expenditure may never exceed the income. He realized that the revenues of the state could not be increased unless there was also an increase of the national wealth. He therefore tried in every way to encourage trade, commerce, and industries. He placed heavy duties on the importation of foreign products, as a means of protecting the "infant industries" of France. Thus began the protective system now adopted by most of the civilized countries of the world. Colbert regarded protectionism as only a temporary device and spoke of tariffs as crutches by the help of which manufacturers might learn to walk and then throw them away. He believed that the wealth of a country can be measured by the amount of gold and silver which it possesses. He therefore wished to provide the French with overseas colonies from where they could obtain raw material, and which could serve

them as markets for the sale of their home products. With a view to pursue this policy, many islands in the West-Indies were acquired, Canada was developed, and the extensive territory of Louisiana, drained by the Mississipi, was opened up for colonization and settlement In this way France became one of the leading colonial powers of Europe. As long as Colbert lived he kept on good terms with the Huguenots, who were mainly an industrious people. He paid great attention to the question of encouraging industries. He argued that if foreigners could be induced to buy French goods, these sales would bring gold and silver into the country, and so enrich it. He made rigid rules as to the width and quality of the cloths which the manufacturers might produce, and the dyes which they might use. He even re-organized the old Mediæval guilds, for through them the government could keep an eye on all the manufacturing that was done. When Colbert took charge of the finances, the country was from the fiscal point of view still hopelessly divided. The five great farms, or *Domaine Royale* coextensive with the original kingdom of France, the reputed foreign provinces, which like Burgundy, and Brittany, had lately been absorbed, and the real foreign provinces, like Alsace and Lorraine which had only recently been annexed, were all divided by huge tariff walls and guarded by a host of custom-house officers. Colbert removed all these internal customs barriers. He was a free trader for the purposes of inter-provincial trade, and a staunch protectionist against the rest of the world. When Colbert died in 1683, he left the finances of the country in a very prosperous condition. The resources of government were now improved so much that Louis XIV could very easily bear the strain of the many wars he undertook.

Wars of Louis XIV. The traditional ambition of France has always been to identify the frontiers of modern France with those of ancient Gaul of Roman times,

that is to say to extend French territory to the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. Richelieu and Mazarin had done much to realise this ambition. But there was still a good deal of rounding off to be done. The Spaniards were still in Belgium and Luxemburg, and in the east they still held the country of Burgundy, called Franche Comte. Northern Alsace and most of Lorraine except the three fortresses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, were still parts of the Holy Roman Empire. So was Strasburg which commanded the road from Vienna to Paris within the jurisdiction of the Empire. But the ambitions of Louis XIV looked even beyond the attainment of these natural frontiers of the country.

War of Devolution 1667-68.

From the moment of his marriage with the princess Maria Theresa of Spain in 1659, his eyes were fixed on the whole of the Spanish empire. The little king Charles II of Spain, half brother of Maria Theresa, who ascended the Spanish throne in 1665, was a sickly child. It is no doubt true that Maria Theresa had renounced all her claims to the throne of Spain, on the condition of receiving a large dowry, which was never paid. On the death of his father-in-law Philip IV in 1665, Louis XIV claimed the greater part of the Netherlands, Franche Comte, and Luxemburg, under the *Jus Devolutionis*, a local custom in Brabant, by which property descended to the daughter of a first marriage as against a son of the second. This claim was merely an excuse to declare war against Spain. This war called the War of Devolution was fought in 1667-68. Franche Comte was conquered within three weeks, and Flanders was occupied within three months. Holland was very much alarmed by the advance of the French in Belgium. She at once made peace with England, and in 1668, England and France both combined with Sweden to snatch from Louis XIV the fruits

of his victories. By the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he consented to restore Franche Comte to Spain, and he retained only the fortresses he had conquered in Flanders.

The Dutch War 1672-1678. Shortly after this peace in 1668, Louis XIV concluded a treaty with Emperor Leopold, by which they both agreed to divide the Spanish empire between them. Leopold was married to a sister of Maria Theresa. So really speaking the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was intended by Louis to be only a truce. He really wanted to teach a lesson to the insolent Dutch, who had dared to thwart the ambition of the Grand Monarch of France. Having secured the friendship of the emperor, Louis XIV now turned towards England. In 1670, he made a secret treaty with King Charles II of England at Dover. After this Charles II dissolved the Anglo-Dutch combination. Thus Holland was isolated. In 1672, Louis XIV declared war against Holland. This war lasted from 1672 to 1678. It was during this war that William of Orange who later on became king William III of England, came into prominence. On the advance of the French into Holland, William ordered the Dykes to be opened, and the inflowing ocean stopped their further advance into the country. At the same time William used his diplomatic skill. In 1674, England was induced to desert France. In 1677, William married Princess Mary of England, and in 1678, England threatened to declare war against France. The League of the Rhine which had been formed by Louis XIV was now broken up. Not only this, but Louis was now threatened with war by many of the princes in Germany. At length peace was signed in 1678. Holland came out of this war without any loss of territory, but Spain was compelled to cede Frenche Comte, and a long line of strong fortresses stretching from Dunkirk to the Meuse. The eastern frontiers of France were thus strengthened considerably.

The Short Spanish War 1683-84. This eastern frontier was further strengthened by the acquisition in 1681 of Strasburg. During the Short Spanish War of 1683-84 which began in 1683, Louis seized Luxemburg. He took possession of Genoa in 1684. But these unbroken series of annexations alarmed William III very much.

The War of the League of Augsburg 1689-1697. In 1686, Willam formed the League of Augsburg for the purpose of maintaining the *status quo*. This league included besides the Dutch Republic. the Holy Roman Emperor, the king of Spain and Sweden, the Elector of Saxony, the Elector Palatine, and other German Princes. A short time after the formation of this League, King James II of England was deposed in 1688, and then William of Orange the promoter of this League became the king of England and Scotland. This enabled William to carry on the struggle against Louis XIV with greater energy, for he had now larger resources to fight against his enemy. This War of the League of Augsburg lasted from 1689 to 1697. It began when Louis XIV attacked the Palatinate. After this he concentrated his attack upon Holland and England. In the Netherlands his generals made many conquests, and so far as England was concerned he gave assistance to the Stuart king James II. But in 1690, William III inflicted a crushing defeat on James II in the battle of Boyne. At length in 1697, peace was signed at Ryswick. All conquests excepting Strasburg, made since 1678, were mutually restored. Louis XIV recognized William III as the king of England, and he also acknowledged Princess Anne as his heir to the throne of England.

The War of Spanish Succession 1702-1713. Soon after the peace of Ryswick, Europe was again plunged into another war. King Charles II of Spain died in 1700, without leaving any issue, or any brother to succeed him. On his death bed he left the whole

of his empire to Philip, the young grandson of Louis XIV, on the condition that the thrones of France and Spain were never to be united. Louis accepted this inheritance for his grandson. The result was that the Bourbons were now masters of the whole of south western Europe. This was a position highly displeasing to William III. The English people however did not like to interfere in the politics of the continent. But just about this time king Louis XIV committed a blunder. When James II died in 1701, he recognized his son as the king of England. At the same time he expelled the Dutch garrisons from the barrier fortresses of Belgium, and occupied them with French troops. Both these things aroused bitter indignation in England. The English people were now ready to join the Coalition which had been arranged by William III against France. William III died in 1702, but his successor Queen Anne joined the war against Louis. The real issue in this war was not the question of the Spanish throne, but international equilibrium in Europe. In this war France and Spain were compelled to fight the Grand Alliance which included England, Holland, Austria, Portugal, and several of the German States. William III died shortly after the outbreak of war. But after his death the government of the English queen, Anne, supplied the Coalition with funds, and a powerful fleet. The British general, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, who fought on the side of the Coalition was the greatest general of the Age. In Eugene, prince of Savoy, the allies had another daring and skilful general. Their great victory at Blenheim in 1704 was the first of a series of successes which finally drove the French out of Germany and Italy, and opened the road to Paris. Just a week before the battle of Blenheim, the Admiral Rooke captured Gibraltar. In 1706, Marlborough won another battle at Ramillies. In 1708, the English people captured the island of Minorca, and Marlborough and Prince Eugene

inflicted another defeat on the French at Oudenarde, and captured Lille, and Tourney. In 1709, the French were again defeated at Malplaquet, and Marlborough took the great fortress of Mons. But a curious development took place in 1711. On the assumption of power in England by the Tories, Duke of Marlborough was accused of peculation and recalled. In the same year Emperor Joseph (1705-1711) died and was succeeded by Archduke Charles, who now came into possession of the Hapsburg dominions and the imperial throne. By continuing the fight were the allies to help Charles in getting the throne of Spain also ? That would have disturbed the balance of power just as much as was the case if the grandson of Louis XIV got the Spanish throne. Moreover by this time both the sides were exhausted. So negotiations for peace began. At last in 1713, peace was signed at Utrecht, between Spain and France on the one side, and England, Holland, and Savoy on the other. In 1714, France and Austria made peace at Rastadt. By the terms of these treaties, Philip, the grandson of king Louis XIV became king Philip V of Spain, but he renounced all claims on the throne of France. France and Spain were not to be united under a single crown. England secured from France, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay territory. Thus were laid the foundations of British Canada. England obtained Gibraltar and Minorca from Spain. In this way Great Britain obtained a control over the Mediterranean Sea. Austria obtained the Spanish Netherlands, Lombardy, Naples and Sardinia. Sicily, and a portion of Lombardy were received by Savoy. Brandenburg got upper Guelderland. France retained Strasburg, with the rest of Alsace, and other conquests on the west bank of the Rhine, but was required to restore Freiburg and other places which she had taken on the eastern bank of that river. The Elector of Brandenburg was now recognised as the king of Prussia, and the Duke of Savoy was also recognised

as king of Savoy and Piedmont. But this new kingdom was soon made to give up Sicily and receive Sardinia in exchange. Holland received certain fortresses to make its position more secure. Thus ended the War of Spanish Succession. France lost far less in this war than what was considered likely in view of the brilliant victories of Marlborough. It is no doubt true that Louis XIV gave up all his dreams of dominating Europe, but he kept all the conquests he had made on the continent in the earlier part of his reign. But the price paid by France for the warlike activities of her king was very heavy. Although Louis XIV succeeded in putting is grandson on the throne of Spain, and was thus able to remove the Hapsburgs from the southern frontiers of France, and he also succeeded in strengthening his frontiers in the east in the direction of the Rhine, yet at the same time it cannot be denied that by conquering the German territory of Alsace and Lorraine, he sowed the seeds of further conflicts between France and Germany. Louis XIV fought five wars but by spending the strength of France on petty conquests in Europe, he lost the opportunity of building up her commerce, her navy, and her merchant marine. He lost many of his overseas possessions. He thus enabled England to obtain a lead in the race for maritime supremacy, and world empire. As a result of these wars, France was now thoroughly exhausted, the French people were burdened with a heavy load of taxes, and famine and pestilence now visited the country. Louis XIV realised his mistake too late in his life. When he died in 1715, two years after the treaty of Utrecht, he on his death bed told his great-grand-son, Louis XV, "Do not imitate my love for building and for war, but assuage the misery of my people."

The Army of Louis XIV. There are a few more things to be remembered in connection with the reign of king Louis XIV. It has already been pointed

out that the first standing army in France under the control of the Crown was formed in 1439, when the French people were engaged in driving the English out of their country. With the help of this standing army, the kings of France were not only able to free their country from the hold of the foreigners, but they were also able to consolidate their own position in the country, by the suppression of the territorial lords, and the centralization ot the administration. The standing army thus helped the king to become an autocratic ruler. It was, therefore, the interest of the monarch to increase and strengthen his army. During the reign of Louis XIV France was the most militaristic nation in Europe. His War Minister Louvois enlarged and re-organized the army, The infantry now consisted of 300,000 soldiers, well equipped with muskets and bayonets. The cavalry and artillery contained another 100,000 soldiers. It was Louvois who introduced the use of distinctive uniforms for soldiers, and it was he who first required the soldiers to march in step. He also established field hospitals and ambulances, and placed camp life on a sanitary basis. These reforms made the French army the best and the most well-disciplined army in Europe. France produced during this period a famous engineer, Sebastian-de-Vauban. He constructed all along the frontiers of France a line of strong fortresses. He also developed the art of siege-craft.

Religious Policy of Louis XIV. It has already been stated that so long as Colbert lived, he was on very good terms with the Huguenots, who were a people mostly engaged in industries. But Louis XIV had no love for them. From the religious point of view they were heretics, and he knew their Calvinistic principles endowed them with very little respect for absolute monarchy. It had always been the effort of the king to induce the Huguenots to return back to the old Roman Catholic faith. He offered

them posts of honour, privileges, and other concessions whenever they renounced their own faith and conformed to the Catholic faith. While he subjected those who remained Huguenots, to indignities and disabilities. At length in 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes. The Huguenots were now denied freedom of worship and were also deprived of their rights as citizens. They practically became outlaws. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes resulted in a very large emigration of the Huguenots from France. In this way a large number of artizans and craftsmen left France. This was a great loss to the industrial prosperity of the country. But what was a loss to France became a gain to England, Holland and Germany. The military policy of Louis XIV exhausted the country, and his religious policy inflicted a crushing blow on the industries of France. But it is no doubt true that literature and art in his time flourished in the country.

Summary

1. *Divine Right of Kings.* In ancient Egypt temples were built in honour of kings, and offerings were made to his sacred majesty as if he were a God. Divine honours were also paid to ancient Hellenistic kings. The Later Roman Emperors also posed to hold their powers not from the choice and consent of the subjects but from God. So also among the ancient Jews, the king was a theocratic king, and a special religious ceremony was held on his coronation. He was anointed with sacred oil. In 752 A. D. when Peppin the mayor of the palace of the Frankish kings of France, with the approval of the Pope, became king, he was anointed king according to the ancient Jewish practice. He was henceforth "king by the grace of God", against whom it was a sin to revolt. This was the origin of the Divine Right of Kings. Martin Luther set up the authority of the king against the Pope. The Protestants thus defended the Divine Right of kings. In 1576, Jean Bodin wrote books, wherein he declared that the ordinary laws were not binding on the sovereign, and that his will was supreme law. He did not believe in the sovereignty of parliament. This doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings was adopted by the Bourbon kings in France, and by the Stuart kings in England.

2. *Richelieu, 1585-1642.* When the Bourbons came to power, France was surrounded on all sides by the territories of the Hapsburgs. This was very dangerous to the Independence of France. It was, therefore, the policy of Richelieu to weaken the Hapsburgs. So he encouraged the Protestant princes in Germany to rebel against the Emperor. In the Thirty Years' War, Richelieu helped with men and money the enemies of the Emperor. In 1635, he caused France to intervene directly in this war, and declared war against Spainalso. The object was to attain the natural frontiers of the Rhine. The domestic policy of Richelieu was to make the French king supreme. With this object he weakened the nobles, suppressed the Huguenots, who were allied with the nobles, removed the old provincial governors, and replaced them by *Intendents* directly under the orders of the Crown. He also abolished the self-governing powers of the provinces. The entire administration was centralised. But Richelieu was a great patron of Art and Literature. He was also the founder of the Gazette de la France.

3. *Mazarin, 1602-1661.* Richelieu was succeeded by Mazarin. He brought the Thirty Years' War and the Spanish War to a successful conclusion. He put down the Fronde Wars which were caused by the pretensions of the Parliament of Paris, and the nobles. All these things increased the powers of the Crown in France. Mazarin was by birth an Italian, but he was naturalised as a Frenchmean in 1639. He died in 1661.

4. *The personality of Louis XIV.* He was an handsome man with elegant manners. He possessed a sound judgment and a quick apprehension. He worked and spent several hours every day attending to the business of government. He had several capable ministers. He held a magnificent court at Versailles, where he had built a beautiful palace. Here he was surrounded by a large number of courtiers and men of art and literature. Louis XIV believed in the idea of the divine right of kings, and he loved to be called the Grand Monarch. He chose the sun as his special emblem.

5. *Jeane Baptiste Colbert, 1619-1683.* He was the most famous minister of Louis XIV. He re-organised the finances of the country. He levied high protective duties on the import of foreign goods, and removed all customs barriers on inter-provincial trade. He took great interest in the commercial and industrial progress of the country, and he was the first statesman to rely on high protective tariff walls for the promotion of home industries. He was also the first to introduce

the Budget system in the financial administration of the country. He died in 1683.

6. *Wars of Louis XIV.* He fought five wars, His first war is known by the name of the war of Devolution, (1667-8). It was concluded by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. By this treaty Louis XIV gained some fortresses in Flanders. His second war was fought with the Dutch (1672-78). In 1668, he had concluded a treaty with emperor Leopold, and in 1670 he entered into a secret treaty with Charles II of England. In this way he isolated the Dutch. Having done this he attacked them. It was during this war that William of Orange came into prominence. He caused the Dykes to be opened, and the inflowing sea stopped the further progress of the French. William then induced England in 1674 to desert France. He married Princess Mary of England in 1677, and in 1678, England threatened to declare war against France. Many of the German princes were induced to fight against Louis XIV. Peace was signed in 1678. In this war Holland did not lose any territory, but Louis XIV obtained Franche Comte, and a line of fortresses from Dunkirk to the Meuse. The Third War of Louis XIV was a short one against Spain. In this he gained Strasburg, Luxemburg, and Genoa. His fourth war was against the League of Augsburg formed by William of Orange, who had now become king William III of England. This war lasted from 1689 to 1697. It was concluded by the treaty of Ryswick, by which all conquests since 1678, except that of Strasburg, were restored. Louis XIV recognised William III, king of England, and acknowledged Princess Anne as his successor to the throne of England. The fifth and the last war of Louis XIV was the War of Spanish Succession. It lasted from 1702 to 1713. King Charles II of Spain had died in 1700, and he had by his will given the [whole of his empire to Philip, a grandson of king Louis XIV. This disturbed the balance of power in Europe. A grand alliance was formed by William III of England against Louis XIV. England, Holland, Austria, Portugal, and several German princes joined this alliance. William III died in 1702, but his successor Queen Anne carried on the fight. The English general, the Duke of Marlborough, the greatest general of the age, won many brilliant victories. Emperor Leopold died in 1705, and his successor Emperor Joseph died in 1711. He was succeeded by Archduke Charles, who was also an heir of king Charles II of Spain. It was now realised that if the Grand Alliance came out victorious in this war, instead of Philip succeeding to the throne of Spain, Archduke Charles would do so. Both of these alternatives disturbed the balance of power. The

parties were also now exhausted. So peace was signed in 1713 by the treaty of Utrecht, and in 1714 by the treaty of Rastadt. By these treaties Philip the grandson of Louis was recognised as king Philip V of Spain. But the crowns of Spain and France were never to be united. On the other hand, Belgium, a greater portion of Lombardy, Naples and Sardinia were given to Austria. England obtained from France, the Hudson Bay territory, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia, all in America. She also got Gibraltar and the islands of Minorca from Spain. The Duke of Savoy obtained a portion of Lombardy and the islands of Sicily. Sicily was later on exchanged for Sardinia. Brandenburg received the territory of Guelderland. The Elector of Brandenburg was new recognised as the king of Prussis, and the Duke of Savoy also became king. After this Louis XIV had to give up all dreams of dominating Europe. France was thoroughly exhausted by these wars. England now became more powerful.

7. *The Army of Louis XIV.* France had her first Standing Army in 1439. With its help the kings of france had built up the power of the Crown. The nobles were suppressed and the administration was centralised. The king now became autocratic. During the reign of Louis XIV France was the most militaristic nation in Europe. His War Minister enlarged and re-organised the army. It was Louvois who introduced the use of distinctive uniforms for soldiers, and it was he who first required the soldiers to march in step. He established field hospitals, and ambulances, and placed camp life on a sanitary basis. These reforms made the French army the best and the most disciplined army in Europe.

8. *Religious Policy of Louis XIV.* So long as Colbert lived his relations with the Huguenots were very good. But king Louis XIV did not like them. They were not only heretics, but they also did not believe in the Divine Right of kings. So he began to persecute them. At length he revoked in 1685 the Edict of Nantes passed in 1598. The Huguenots now became practically outlaws. They left France in large numbers. They now settled in England, Holland, and Germany. As the Huguenots formed a business and industrial community, their emigration was a great loss to the commercial and industrial prosperity of France. But what was the loss of France, was the gain of England, Holland, and Germany.

CHAPTER X

THE RISE OF MODERN PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA

The Hohenzollerns in Brandenburg. We have seen in Chapter V that the German king Henry the Fowler (919-936) had in the tenth century established the Margrave of Brandenburg in between the Elbe and the Oder, as an outpost against the world and the half civilized Slavonian tribes. Subsequently much of the territory in between the Elbe and the Oder was occupied by the Germans. In 1415, Frederick of Hohenzollern, who was a Burgrave of Nurenburg in Franconia, was given the Mark of Brandenburg in return for some services he had rendered to Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg. The name Hohenzollern is derived from a castle on the heights of Zollern in old Swabia. Throughout the sixteenth century, Brandenburg continued to be a small state. During the religious wars of the sixteenth century the electors of Brandenburg always remained loyal to the empire. Beyond the Vistula on the Baltic seaboard, lived another non-Teutonic people the ancient Borussi, or the Prussians. They were converted by an order of the Teutonic knights, who occupied the entire seaboard of the Baltic Sea, in between the Vistula and the Gulf of Finland. These Teutonic Knights were overthrown in 1410, by King Ladislaus of Poland, and much of their territory was, in 1466, annexed to Poland. In 1466, Prussia was divided into two parts. West Prussia was annexed to Poland, and in East Prussia, the Teutonic knights

formed a feudatory state under the suzerainty of Poland. In 1511, Albert of Hohenzollern was elected High Master of the Teutonic Knights, and on the dissolution of that Order in 1525, he became the first hereditary duke of East Prussia, holding the Duchy as a vassal of Poland. In 1568, the Elector of Bradenburg concluded with his kinsman of East Prussia a compact of mutual inheritance. In 1618, the male line of the Hohenzollern Dukes of East Prussia, came to an end, and on this the dukedom was united to the Electorate of Brandenburg. On account of a matrimonial alliance, the Duchy of Cleves on the river Rhine was also joined in 1609, to the Electorate of Brandenburg. Although the territories of Brandenburg were, thus increased, they remained territorially unconnected. In between East Prussia, and Brandenburg lay the Polish territory of West Prussia. Then again Brandenburg was separated from the Duchy of Cleves by the territorries of several intervening states. Although Brandenburg was itself a barren and infertile land, yet it occupied an important geographical position between the two chief waterways of North Germany, the Oder and the Elbe, and had thus on account of the activities of the Hanseatic League, become commercially important. In 1618, after the union of East Prussia, Brandenburg now attained an important position among the principalities of Germany. Its early formative period was now closed, and it now entered upon another period, during which the enlightened despotism of its rulers raïsed it to a high position in Germany.

Frederick William the Great Elector 1640—1688. During the earlier years of the Thirty Years' War. Brandenburg played rather a sorry part. Its territories were overrun by the Swedes. But when in 1640, the Electorate of Brandenburg and the Duchy of East Prussia was inherited by Frederick William, known as the Great

Elector, things changed. He expelled the Swedes from Brandenburg, and gradually built up a well desciplined army. He now used his opportunities in the Thirty Years' War in such a manner, as to obtain (1648) by the treaty of Westphalia, Eastern Pomerania, by the addition of which the territories of Brandenburg, now extended in the north to the shores of the Baltic sea. He also received by this treaty the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Camia, Minden, and also a portion of Magdeburg. The Great Elector set before himself two objects. He wanted (*i*) to remove all foreign influence from Germany, and (*ii*) to consolidate and strengthen his own hereditary dominions. When war broke out in the north, between Poland and Sweden (1654—1660) he played his cards so well, that in 1657 he obtained from the king of Poland a renunciation of the surzerainty over the Duchy of East Prussia. After this Frederick William became an independent ruler of this duchy. When during the Dutch War of king Louis XIV (1672—78), Frederick William refused to join him against the Dutch, the Swedes were incited to attack Brandenburg. But Frederick William was able to repel this invasion of the Swedes. About this time he laid claim to the Silesian duchies, but they were siezed by the Emperor.

Frederick William during his reign did much to consolidate his rule in his scattered territories. His one aim, like that of Richelieu and Mazarin, was to concentrate the entire administration in the hands of the Crown. He suppressed such representative assemblies as existed in his dominions. In their place he established a central council of ministers, and provincial governors directly responsible to the Crown. It was Frederick William, the Great Elector, who first organised the Great Civil Service, which has helped so much to make Prussia a well organized state. He was also responsible for establishing a powerful standing army. He also devised a financial system necessary for producing revenue for the

purpose of maintaining this army. He brought into cultivation waste lands, he improved means of communication by cutting canals, and he also encouraged the immigration into his territory of Protestant refugees from foreign countries. Not less than 20,000 French Huguenots found refuge in Brandenburg. They contributed a good deal towards the industrial progress of his lands. So Frederick William was not only a good soldier, but a fine administrator as well. He added more territories to his dominions, centralised the administration of the country in his own hands, and promoted commerce and industry in his territories. He was a benevolent despot and he established in Bran denburg a system of government under which the king working through his ministers, who were merely his clerks, encouraged agriculture, industry, and commerce, promoted education, and acted as the guide of his people in moral and religious matters. When Frederick died in 1688, he left Bradenburg, as a power to be reckoned with in all future European wars. Among the German states, it was now inferior to Austria alone, and was regarded as the head of German Protestantism. The fact that one third of the territories of the Great Elector lay in East Prussia, outside the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Empire, which was thus free of even the nominal vassalage to the Emperor, added to its prestige. The Great Elector too was a firm believer in the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. He was succeeded by his son Frederick, who ruled from 1688 to 1713. As he supported the cause of Emperor Leopold in the War of Spanish Succession he was recognised by him in 1702, as the king of Prussia. It is significant that Frederick took the title as king of a territory which was outside the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Empire. This title of king was confirmed in 1713 by the treaty of Utrecht.

King Frederick William I of Prussia. 1713-1740.

King Frederick William I paid the greatest attention during his reign to the strengthening of his army. In a population of two and a half millions he raised an army of 83,000, soldiers well disciplined and drilled. He also improved the administrative system of the country in such a way that he had an overflowing treasury for meeting the expenditure of the army. So far as foreign relations of his country were concerned they were rather uneventful. But in 1720, he secured from Sweden Stettin, which had been allotted to her by the treaty of Utrecht.

Frederick the Great 1740-1786.

On the death of Frederick William I, in 1740, his son Frederick II became the king of Prussia. In his youth he was considered to be effeminate, because he showed a taste for music, poetry, and dancing. But his stern father gave him a rigid military discipline. When Frederick II ascended the throne, he had three ambitions. He wanted fame and glory through war and conquest. He wanted to be thoroughly conscientious in attending to the details of government business, and he wanted to take a lively interest in the culture and learning of his age. It was his desire to make a name which led him to attack Austria in the very year of his accession to the throne. The Hapsburg Emperor Charles VI (1711-1740) of Austria, had died without leaving any son or brother to succeed him. He had, however, secured the solemn promise of Prussia, and other European Powers to recognize his daughter Maria Theresa as the sole heir of his undivided dominions. At this time the Hapsburg possessions were scattered over a great part of Europe, and included Hungary. Bohemia, Netherlands, Lombardy, and Naples. It seemed all these territories were on the accession to the throne of a woman going to fall apart. Frederick II chose Silesia as his share

of the spoils. He suddenly led his army into Silesia, and over ran the country without much difficulty. This led to the War of Austrian Succession, which lasted from 1740 to 1748.

European politics after Utrecht European history during the period 1715-1740, in between the death of Louis XIV and the accession to the Prussian throne of Frederick the Great is rather confused. This confusion was caused by the shifting combinations and counter-combinations which were formed in connection with the maintenance or overthrow of the settlement made at the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. It was the effort of Sir Robert Walpole and Stanhope, in England, and of Cardinal Fleury and Dubois in France, to maintain intact the settlement of Utrecht. On the other hand, Spain and Austria were anxious to overthrow this settlement. The Emperor Charles VI still hankered after the crown of Spain, nor was he satisfied with his Italian acquisitions. He did not like the surrender of Sicily to the House of Savoy. Philip V of Spain was even more anxious to obtain the throne of France. He also felt wronged by the loss of Spanish possessions in Italy. France, England, and Holland, on the other hand, formed a triple alliance for the purpose of maintaining the settlement of Utrecht. But when, in 1717, Philip V attacked the Austrians in Sardinia, Emperor Charles VI joined the Triple Alliance, thus converting it into a Quadruple Alliance, mainly directed against Spain. On this Spain retaliated by inciting the Turks to invade Austrian possessions, in Central Europe, by fomenting a conspiracy against the Regent in France, and by encouraging Sweden and Russia to take up the cause of the Pretender in England. But all these schemes failed. Philip V was compelled to accept the terms dictated by the Quadruple Alliance. In 1720, Emperor Charles VI exchanged with the House of Savoy, Sardinia for Sicily, but the reversion of the

Italian duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza, were secured to Don Carlos.

The Pragmatic Sanction. Although Emperor Charles VI desired the throne of Spain, his one great anxiety was to secure for his daughter Maria Theresa, the succession to his vast and varied territories, since he had no male heir. This he hoped to do by a solemn instrument known as the *Pragmatic Sanction*. Having secured its confirmation by the Representative Assemblies of Austria, Hungary, and of the other provinces, of his empire he tried to make it still more secure by international guarantees, This formed the basis of a treaty between Spain and Austria signed in 1725. In return for Philip's guarantee for the Pragmatic Sanction, Emperor Charles VI promised the reversion of the Italian Duchies to Don Carlos, and to help Spain to recover from England, Gibraltar and Minorca. This caused France and England once more to draw together, which they did by the treaty of Hanover. They were also joined by Prussia, and later on by Holland, Sweden, and Denmak. But as Philip V could not get any assistance from Emperor Charles VI in his attack on Gibraltar, peace was restored by the Peace of Vienna signed in 1731. But this peace did not last long. In 1733, the death of Frederick Augustus II, king of Poland and Elector of Saxony, plunged Europe again into War. This War of Polish Succession lasted from 1733 to 1738. At length in 1735, France guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction and in return secured the reversion of the duchy of Lorraine to herself. Lorraine was actually added to France in 1766. Don Carlos was given the two Sicilies, which he and his successers were able to retain till 1861. Charles VI obtained Parma, and Piacenza, and his son-in-law got Tuscany. A still further slice from Lombardy was given to the House of Savoy, which was now known by the name of

the kingdom of Sardinia. After this the position in Italy was like this. Leaving the territories of the Pope in the middle, and of the king of Sardinia in the north west, the Hapsburgs were now supreme in northern Italy, and the Spanish Bourbons in southern Italy.

The War of Austrian Succesison 1740-1748. Frederick II had succeeded to the throne of Prussia in 1740, and Emperor Charles VI died in the same year. During his life time Emperor Charles VI had secured the assent of most of the powers of Europe to the Pragmatic Sanction. He had married his daughter Maria Theresa to Francis, Duke of Lorraine, and he had hoped that his son-in-law Francis of Lorraine might succeed him as Emperor. In fact he did rulcas emperor from 1745 to 1764. Like other powers, Prussia was also a party to the Pragmatic Sanction, but the moment Frederick II heard of the death of the Emperor Charles VI, he marched his army into Silesia. We have already seen that during the Dutch War of Louis XIV (1672-1678), Frederick William, the Great Elector, had already laid claim to the Silesian duchies. Prussia at this time already possessed the lower portion of the Oder Valley. Silesia meant the upper Oder Valley. Silesia was also the high road to Vienna, and it was the backdoor to Bohemia. Silesia was at the same time in between Poland in the East, and Saxony in the West, and Frederick had designs both on Poland as well as on Saxony. Silesia was, therefore, considered by Frederick II of very great strategic importance. Hence he proposed to take possession of Silesia, but in return he offered to support the claim of Maria Theresa to the rest of her dominions. This proposal was rejected, and the First Silesian War also known by the name of the War of Austrian Succession was the result. It plunged the whole of Europe into war. The fact was, the Pragmatic Sanction was not

worth the paper on which it was written. England and Holland were alone faithful to their engagements, and the rest of the European powers acted just as their interests demanded. Spain, France, Bavaria and Saxony, took up the side of Prussia. England, Holland, and Sardinia took up the side of Maria Theresa. But England and Spain were already involved in a maritime war since 1739. In 1744, France also declared war on England. But since the only object of Frederick II was to obtain Silesia, Maria Theresa was at length compelled to make peace with him by the surrender of Silesia. This enabled her to concentrate her efforts against her other enemies. In 1742, Charles of Bavaria, who had been elected Emperor in 1740, was driven out of his capital Munich. Maria Theresa carried on the war with such great energy, that Frederick II fearing the loss of Silesia, formed at Frankfort, in 1744, union of the Princes of the empire against her. This was the first occasion on which German princes united under the leadership of Prussia, against Austria. When peace was signed at Dresden in 1745, Frederick agreed to recognise Francis of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, as Emperor, and Maria Theresa in return gave up Silesia. After this Frederick withdrew from the war and France and Spain were left to continue the war against England, Holland, Austria, and Sardinia. Peace was at last signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Under this treaty, Sardinia got Nice aud Savoy, and received a further slice from Lombardy. Don Philip the second son of Philip V obtained the duchies of Parma and Piacenza in Italy. In India, France restored Madras to England. In North America, England restored Cape Breton to France. On the European continent there was no change. The only result of this war was that Silesia was added to Prussia. France got nothing on the continent.

The Three Big Neighbours of Russia. In the middle ages, Russia had three big neighbours. The whole of the territory in between the Carpathians and the Baltic Sea was within Poland, In the East, Lithuania was also included in Poland. In the west Posen, and at one time even Silesia, was included in Poland. Then again we have seen in Chapter V that in 1523, Sweden became separate from the other Scandinavian countries, Norway and Denmark. Afrer this Sweden began to expand eastwards and southwards. Finland had formed part of the kingdom of Sweden from the time of King Eric (1150-1160)- Esthonia on the southern shores of the Gulf of Finland was absorbed in Sweden in 1561, in the reign of king Eric XIV (1560-1568). In the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, Karelia in southern Finland and Ingria, on the eastern shores of the Gulf of Finland, were conquered in 1617, Livonia was taken in 1629, and the southern shores of the Baltic Sea were taken during the Thirty Years' War. After this the Baltic Sea was practically a Swedish lake. So long as Sweden and Poland remained big powers, Russia could never hope to get an entrance to the Baltic Sea in the west. The third big neighbours of Russia were the Turks in the south. The Turks in the 16th century were not only masters of the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, and of the greater portion of Hungary, but they also held the whole of the northern coast of the Black Sea. So the Russians were shut out from the sea even in the south. The territories in the north and in the west of the Caspian Sea in the south east were also at this time under Tartar chiefs. In a word, Russia was in the beginning of the sixteenth century entirely land-locked and was shut out on all sides from the Sea.

Rise of Russia. It was in the time of Czar Ivan IV that the Tartar territory of Kazan and Astrakhan, in the north and in the west of the Caspian sea were conquered.

Shortly after this Russia expanded northwards right up to the White Sea and the Arctic Ocean. Soon after this the Russians spread southwards over the regions watered by the Dneiper, the Don, and the Volga. Many people settled in the southern border lands called the Ukraine, which lay on both sides of the lower Dneiper. The vanguard of the Ukranian colonists was led by the mounted warriors, known as Cossacks, who lived a wild and independent life either as herdsmen and farmers, or as hunters and fighters. A little later on, a stream of immigrants passed through the gap in between the Ural mountains and the Caspian Sea into what is now called Siberia, and which was at this time occupied by the Mongol tribes. Before the end of the 17th century, the Russians had occupied the whole of the present day Siberia, right up to the Arctic Ocean in the north and the Pacific Ocean in the East. Thus were the foundations of Russian supremacy under the control of an autocratic Czar, laid in northern Asia. These Czars were the descendants of the original Norman Chief Ruric.

Peter the Great 1689-1725. This dynasty of Ruric ended in 1613. Its place was now taken by Michael Romonov, who founded the Romonov dynasty. He ruled from 1613 to 1645. Peter the Great who ruled from 1689 to 1725 was a grandson of this Michael Romonov. Peter was from his very childhood interested in the sea. But as the northern coasts of the Black Sea were ruled by the Tartar chief, the Khan of Crimea, a feudatory of the Sultan of Turkey, Peter led his first military expedition in 1695, against the Khan of Crimea. He built a large number of boats from the timber obtained from the forests of the Don, and then moving down the Don with their aid, he was able to capture the Turkish fort of Azov, which commanded the mouth of that river. Having thus opened a window in the south, Peter turned his attention towards the west,

In 1697, he visited Germany, Holland, and England with the idea of studying western Art and Sciences. He employed in these countries, artisans, scientific men, architects, ship captains, and men well versed in artillery and in the training of troops. He took all these experts to Russia to aid him in training Russians in these different arts and crafts. While Peter was still away from the country, there was a revolt among Russian nobles and priests. They were horrified at the changes in customs and manners of the country advocated by Peter. But when Peter returned home, he took a fearful revenge upon the rebels and put a large number of them to death. He made his people give up their oriental beards, and long-flowing garments. He forced the women of the richer classes, who had so far been kept in seclusion, to come out and meet men in social assemblies. He invited foreigners to settle in Russia, and sent young Russians to foreign countries for study. He re-organized his army, and set up government on western lines. His next problem was to obtain an entrance to the sea in the west. It has already been stated that at this time the Baltic Sea was practically a Swedish lake. In these days Sweden had a very war-like prince, Charles XII, as its king, (1697-1718). He had come into conflict with Denmark, Poland, and Russia, and gained many victories. He first invaded Denmark, suddenly appeared before the walls of Copenhagen, and compelled the Danes to make peace with him. He then overran Poland, and after that defeated the Russians. These victories turned the head of the young hero Charles XII. He rejected the peace offers that were mads to him. He made up his mind to march on Moscow, and dictate terms of peace to Peter, at his capital. On the approach of the Swedes, the Russians withdrew into the interior of the country. Charles was then compelled to turn to the south into Ukrania. His idea was to rouse the Cossacks against Peter. But there he encountered Peter himself, and was

defeated in 1709, in the decisive battle of Pultova. Charles XII was compelled to seek refuge in Turkey. While there, he stirred up the Turks against the Czar. Peter advanced against the Turks, but was defeated. He was, in 1711, compelled to make peace with the Sultan, and restore Azov to the Turks, and remove the Russian fleet from the Black Sea. Azov was not recovered by Russia till 1739. After peace was signed between Peter and the Sultan, Charles XII was, in 1713, compelled to leave Turkey. He now returned to Sweden. During the absence of Charles in Turkey, Prussia occupied Pomerania, Hanover took possession of Bremen and Verden, Denmark annexed Wismar, and Peter the Great established his supremacy in the Baltic lands. At length Charles decided to invade the neighbouring territory of Norway. But while trying to conquer it he was killed in 1718. He was succeeded by his young sister Ulrica Eleonora. At length a treaty of peace was in 1721 signed at Nystadt. By this treaty Peter the Great acquired Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Karelia. He thus obtained the eastern and southern shores of the Gulf of Finland. Here on the sea shore he built his new capital St. Petersburg. After this treaty Sweden sank to the position of a second rate power, and Russia rose to the position of a first rate power in Europe. Four years later in 1725, died, Peter the Great himself. He was succeeded by his widow, Catharine. For a generation after the death of Peter the Great, Russia fell into the hands of weak rulers, till in 1762, on the death of Peter III, his widow Catherine II became Czarina.

Summary

1. *The Hohenzollerns in Brandenburg.* The Mark of Brandenburg was established in the tenth century by Henry the Fowler as an outpost against the Slavs. In 1415, Frederick of Hohenzollern, whose ancestor had in 1192 obtained the Burgrave of Nurenburg, received the Mark of Brandenburg, In 1511, Albert a collateral of the Elector of

Brandenburg was elected Duke of East Prussia. In 1618, on the extinction of the male line of the Duke of East Prussia, Brandenburg became united with East Prussia. Before this, in 1609, the duchy of Cleves on the Rhine had also joined Brandenburg. In this way Brandenburg attained some importance.

2, *Frederick William, the Great Elector, 1640—1688.* During the Thirty Years' War Brandenburg had been occupied by the Swedes, but when in 1640 Frederick William became Elector, he reorganized his army, and then drove the Swedes out of his territory. On the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War he obtained by the treaty of Westphalia, Eastern Pomerania, a portion of Magdeburg, and the bishoprics of Minden, Camia, and Halberstadt. When War broke out between Sweden and Poland in 1654, he in 1657 obtained from Poland a renunciation of its suzerainty over East Prussia. Thus Frederick William became an independent Duke of a territory outside the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Empire. During his reign Frederick William did much to consolidate his rule, and concentrate the administration in the hands of the Crown. He organized an efficient Civil Service, He established a strong standing army, devised a suitable financial system, improved agriculture and encouraged the reclamation of waste lands. He was a benevolent despot and believed in the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. He was succeeded by his son Frederick I, who ruled from 1688 to 1713. In the war of Spanish Succession, he took up the side of the Emperor. By the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht he was acknowledged king of Prussia.

3. *European Politics after Utrecht.* During the period 1715—1740, it was the effort of England, Holland and France to maintain the settlement of Utrecht, but Austria and Spain wanted to uspet it. In 1720, Charles VI exchanged Sardinia for Sicily, and the reversion of the Italian duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza was secured to Don Carlos of Spain.

4. *The Pragmatic sanction, regarding the successsion of Maria Theresa.* As Emperor Charles VI was without any male issue, he was anxious to secure the succession of his daughter Maria Theresa to all his possessions. He caused a solemn Instrument to be drawn up, known by the name of the Pragmatic Sanction. The representative assemblies of Austria, Hungary, and the other provinces of the kingdom confirmed it. He then tried to secure international guarantees for it. A treaty was in 1725 signed between Charles VI and Philip V of Spain. By this treaty the reversion of the

Italian Duchies was secured to Don Carlos, and Charles VI also promis-to help Philp V in recovering Gibraltar and Minorca from England. The result was that now England, France, Holland, and Sweden joined in self-defence. During the War of Polish Succession, France guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, and in return secured for herself the reversion of the duchy of Lorraine. Don Carlos received the two Sicilies, while Philip VI got Parma and Piacenza, and his son-in-law Francis obtained Tuscany. The House of Savoy obtained another slice from Lombardy. All this meant that leaving the Papal States in the middle, and the territory of the House of Savoy in the north West, Austria established her supremacy in northern Italy, and Spain established her control over Southern Italy.

5. *The War of Austrian Succession, 1740—1748.* Immediately after the death of Emperor Charles VI, Frederick II of Prussia who had also ascended the throne of Prussia in that year invaded Silesia, and occupied it. This plunged Europe into war. France, and Spain also declared war against Austria. England and Holland, however, remained faithful to their engagements regarding the Pragmatic Sanction. War was declared by England against Spain in 1739, and by France against England in 1744. But Maria Theresa carried on the war with great energy. Charles of Bavaria who had been elected Emperor was driven out from Munich. Many of the Protestant princes of Germany for the first time joined under the leadership of Prussia. When peace was signed at Dresden in 1745, Silesia was handed over to Prussia, and thereafter Frederick II withdrew from the contest. After this France and Spain carried on the fight, but the general peace was signed in 1748 at Aix-la-Chapelle. Under this treaty Sardinia got Nice and Savoy, and received a further slice from Lombardy. Don Philip, the second son of Philip V of Spain, obtained the duchies of Parma and Piacenza. In India, France restored Madras to England, and in America, England restored Louisberg in Cape Breton island to France. The only result of this war was that Prussia obtained Silesia.

6. *The Three Big Neighbours of Russia.* In the middle ages Russia was entirely shut out from the Sea. All the territory in between the Carpathians and the Baltic Sea formed the kingdom of Poland. It included Lithuania in the east, and Posen and Silesia in the west. In the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth century Sweden took possession of all the Baltic lands, thus converting the Baltic Sea into a Swedish lake. The third big neighbours of Russia were the Turks, who occupied not only the whole of Balkan peninsula, and a greater portion of Hungary, but also possessed the northern shores

of the Black Sea, The territory in the west and in the north of the Caspian Sea was occupied by Mongol Chiefs.

7. *The Rise of Russia.* In the time of Czar Ivan IV the Mongol territories of the Caspian were conquered. Shortly after that the northern plains right upto the Arctic sea were occupied. About the same time the Russians spread themselves to the south and occupied the lands watered by the Dneiper, the Don, and the Volga. These southern border lands began to be called Ukrania, and the wild and the warlike settlers began to be known by the name of the Cossacks, who later on penetrated through the gap in between the Caspian Sea and the Ural mountains, into Siberia. By the end of the seventeenth century the whole of the present day Siberia right up to the shores of the Pacific Ocean were occupied by the Russians. All this expansion took place in the time of the Czars who belonged to the dynasty of the Norman Chief, Ruric.

8. *Peter the Great 1689—1725.* The House of Ruric ended in 1613, and then a new dynansty was founded by Michael Romonov, who ruled from 1613 to 1645. Peter the Great was his grandson. In 1695, he led his armies against the Khan of Crimea, who was a feudatory of the Sultan of Turkey, and after defeating him built the fort of Axov. But this was lost in 1711. It was again recovered by Russia in 1739. Peter then turned his attention towards the west. He visited Germany, Holland, and England in 1697—98. He sent a large number of Russians for study to the west and he brought many artisans and scientists from the west to Russia, He re-organized his army, and the system of administration in the country. He forced European customs and manners on his subjects, and when the people revolted, he sternly put down the rebellion. At this time king Charles XII (1697—1718) was the king of Sweden. Peter defeated Charles XII in 1709 in the decisive battle of Pultova. Charles was cempelled to seek refuge in Turkey, but he returned to Sweden in 1713, But while trying to conquer Norway, he was killed in 1718. After this by the treaty of Nystadt Peter obtained Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Karelia from Sweden. He thus obtained the coast line of the gulf of Finland. Here he built the new Capital St Petersburg.

CHAPTER XI

STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

Sixteenth Centory The sea route to India, and the new world of America, were both discovered in the last decade of the fifteenth century. Spain carved out a huge colonial empire in South America (excluding Brazil), Central America, Mexico, the West Indies Islands, and in the far distant Pacific Ocean they also ruled the Philippines islands. Portugal, on the other hand, considered as her special preserve, the East Indies Islands, India, Africa, and Brazil, in South America. Spain and Portugal held this monopoly in these newly discovered countries throughout the sixteenth century. But Portugal was absorbed in Spain in 1581, and the Spanish Armada was destroyed in 1588, After this the Spanish and the Portuguese power began to decay, and other nations in western Europe also began to claim a share in the wealth obtained from the East and from the West. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, Holland, England, and France, began to rise as colonial powers. We have already seen in Chapter VIII how the Dutch and the English built up colonial empires. Let us now see how the French colonial empire was built.

The Rise of a French Colonial Empire. The French, like the English at the beginning of the seventeenth century, had gained no foothold in the New World. The earliest French venture in this direction was made in 1534, when the French king Francis I (1515-1547) sent

Jacques Cartier to discover a north-west passage to the East. Cartier failed to discover this passage, but he discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the river bearing that name, which falls into this gulf. He tried to establish a settlement near what is now Quebec. But this early settlement of the French failed. After this for half a century the French were engaged in the Huguenot Wars, and so they could not think about colonial expansion beyond the seas. At the instance of the Huguenot minister, Coligny, an attempt was made in 1564 to establish a colony in Florida, but it was soon destroyed by the Spaniards. But when the Spanish power began to decay after the destruction of the Spanish Armada, it became again possible for the French to renew their colonising activities. Attracted by the fur trade and the fisheries, the French now turned their attention towards the north. Just about the time the English people were cclonising Virginia, the French founded Canada. The first great name in the history of Canadian settlement is that of Samuel de Champlain, who explored this part of North America in the reign of king Henry IV (1589-1610). He explored the coast as far south as Plymouth, discovered the lake which is now known after his name, traced the course of the St. Lawrence river, and finally entered the Ontario and Huron lakes. In 1608, he established a permanent French settlement at Quebec, and, in 1611, he founded the present city of Montreal. Champlain became the first French governor of Canada. After this Canada became filled with Roman Catholic missionaries which were sent during the periods of administration of Cardinal Richelieu and Cardinal Mazarin. When Colbert came into power in 1661, he took up the task of the exploration of Canada with great energy. During these exploration activities they discovered the Mississippi river. At length in 1682, the famous French explorer Robert de la Salle, traced the course of the Mississippi to the sea. He took possession of all the territory drained by

the Mississippi on behalf of his king Louis XIV, and named it Louisiana. New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi was founded in 1718. The French very soon realized the great importance of the Mississippi valley, for it was found to be one of the most extensive fertile areas of the world. Efforts were made to occupy the whole of this extensive area and connect it with Canada by a chain of forts extending from Quebec and Montreal on the river St. Lawrence, to New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi. Thus the whole of the North American continent, west of the Alleghanies, was to become a part of the French Empire. The French might have succeeded in this bold venture of building up a New France, across the Atlantic, had the continental wars of Louis XIV and Louis XV, not exhausted the French at home.

Anglo-French Contest in America. We have seen in Chapter IX that when William III became king of England, he was already carrying on a war against Louis XIV of France. During the Wars of the League of Augsburg, (1689-1697), the French king Louis XIV, took up the side of the Stuart king James II. So England readily joined the war against France. But this war did not remain confined to the continent of Europe alone. The English and the French began to attack each other even on the hige seas. They tried to destroy the commerce and take possession of the colonies of each other. In this war the English Navy first came into conflict with the French Navy. The French Navy was defeated and destroyed, and after this the English people established their naval superiority. During this war known in America by the name of king William's war the English conquered the French possession of Acadia in America, and the Dutch conquered the French settlement of Pondichery in India. But by the treaty of Ryswick signed in 1697, Acadia and Pondicherry were both recovered by the French. The next war in which the French and the English took

opposite sides was the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713). In this war Spain was an ally of France. In America this war was known as Queen Anne's War. In this war the English once again took possession of the French possession Acadia. Since the English were now supreme on the sea, they were, during this war, able to plunder the French West Indies islands and capture Spanish treasure ships on their way from America to Spain. When peace was signed in 1713 at Utrecht, the French colony of Acadia in North America was taken by England. The island of Newfoundland, and the extensive territory around Hudson Bay was also annexed by England. The germs of the British dominions in Canada were thus laid. France was, however, able to retain in her hands the most important colonies in the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. The possession of these two waterways gave to the French a strong strategic position in the interior of the north American continent. In the next war, the War of Austrian Succession, (1740-1748), the English took possession of Louisburg on Cape Breton island, which commanded the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle signed in 1748, it was restored to France. The next war in which France and England took opposite sides was the Seven Years' War.

The causes of the Seven Years' War 1756-1763. We have seen in Chapter X that in the War of Austrian Succession, the only gainer was Frederick the Great, who annexed Silesia to his dominions. Most of the sovereigns in Europe were either afraid or jealous of Frederick. Maria Theresa detested him, and was anxious to begin a war of revenge against him, for the recovery of Silesia. With this end in view she now began to re-organize the revenues of her empire, increase its armaments, and to look out for strong foreign allies. It will be remembered that in 1745, after Frederick had obtained Silesia he had deserted his allies

France and Spain, in their fight against England, Holland, and other countries. The French could not forgive Frederick for this desertion. So they were prepared to make a common cause with the Austrians who had so far been their hereditary enemies. The Russian empress Elizabeth, was also prepared to combine with Austria against Prussia. But the greatest thing that helped Frederick was the assistance that he received from England. The English people were in the eighteenth century the commercial and colonial rivals of the French. So England was bound to take up a side which was opposed to France. But apart from these sentimental reasons, there were other reasons why England decided to take up the part of Prussia. In 1754, the English had come into conflict with the French in America. It was at this time the object of French policy to unite their possessions in the valley of the river St. Lawrence, with their territories of New Orleans by building a chain of fortresses in the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and thus to shut in the English in between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic, and stop for ever their westward expansion. Duquesne, the French Governor of Canada, began the process by building Fort Duquesne. But the English people did not want the French to occupy the Ohio valley. In 1754, George Washington was sent in command of the Virgina militia to check the French, but he failed to do so. In 1755, General Braddock was sent from England at the head of a strong force. But he too was killed near Fort Duquesne. So England and France, though not technically, but actually were already at war. On the continent of Europe, king George II of England, who was also Elector of Hanover, was alarmed lest the French should attack Hanover. So in September 1755, king George II concluded a treaty with the Czarina Elizabeth of Russia, by which she undertook to send her army to defend Hanover if attacked. On the other hand, it must be remembered, that in between Hanover and France, lay the territories

of the Austrian Netherlands. Austria refused to stop the passage of French troops through Netherlands, in case France decided to pass her troops through this territory. So the relations between England and Austria became strained. Under these circumstances, Frederick II of Prussia concluded with England in January 1756, a treaty by which he agreed to defend Hanover, if the French attacked it. Really it was to the interest of Frederick to keep both Russia and France out of Germany. In the general Anglo-French quarrel he wanted to remain neutral. Queen Elizabeth of Russia did not like this friendly understanding between England and Prussia. So the result was that France, Austria, and Russia, were drawn more and more towards one another. On the other hand, England and Prussia became more friendly. When Saxony and Sweden also joined the enemies of Frederick, the position for Prussia became very dangerous. Apparently Prussia became surrounded by enemies on all sides. But Frederick the Great was a great and resourceful general, and he was also very popular amongst the German people. He did not actually await the attack of his enemies. Before they were quite ready, he poured his troops into Saxony, and after subduing it, practically annexed it to his own dominions. After this he invaded Bohemia, and laid siege to its capital Prague. Thus began the Seven Years' War.

The Seven Years' War 1756-1763. The enemies of Frederick now attacked Prussia. The Austrians invaded Silesia. The Russians advanced into East Prussia. The Swedes entered Pomerania, and the French armies crossed the river Rhine, and threatened to attack him from the west. It seemed Prussia was threatened with complete annihilation, and it looked as if the young kingdom of Prussia was going to disappear altogether from the map of Europe. But Great Britain was in this war an ally of Prussia, British gold subsidised the Prussian armies, and British troops by

fighting the French in India, in Germany, and in America weakened Prussia's most powerful, and therefore the most dangerous enemy. After the attacks of Sweden, Russia, Austria, and France, on Prussia, Frederick the Great conducted a purely defensive war. The Russians were able not only to occupy East Prussia, but they also penetrated Brandenburg, and even captured its capital, Berlin. It was about this time when Frederick the ally of Great Britain was hard pressed by his enemies, and when the English colonies in America and the English Settlements in India were hard pressed by the French, that Pitt the elder, Earl of Chatham, began to control the British Cabinet in England. It was a dark hour for England. When William Pitt came to power in 1757, Brandenburg was occupied by the Austrians and the Russians. The Hanoverian forces under the command of the Duke of Cumberland were defeated by the French, and so Hanover and Brunswick had to be surrendered to France. In America the British general, Braddock had been killed, and from India came the news of the disaster of the Black Hole, at Calcutta. Everywhere in Asia, in Europe, and in America, England was losing. But soon after the accession to power of Pitt, the aspect of affairs began to change. The Convention of Kloster Zevan, by which Hanover and Brunswick had been surrendered to France, was denounced, Duke of Cumberland was recalled, and Frederick of Brunswick was put in charge of the British forces. He soon won over the French a brilliant victory at Minden. In India Clive soon retrieved the disaster at Calcutta, by winning, in 1757, the Battle of Plassey, which made the English the masters of Bengal. A few years later, Sir Eyre Coote defeated the French at the battle of Wandiwash, and thereby overthrew French supremacy in South India. The English also proved triumphant in America. Louisburg, and Fort Duquesne were captured in 1758, Quebec was taken in 1759, and Montreal was occupied in 1760. All this was achieved by the brilliant victories of

Wolfe and Amherst. On the sea too, the English won very important victories. The French port of Toulon was destroyed in 1759, while a French fleet was destroyed in Quiberon Bay. All this was achieved by the brilliant naval victories of the British Admirals, Boscaven and Hawkes. In 1761, Spain concluded a family compact with France, and entered the war against England. But the English, who were now supreme on the sea, captured the Spanish possession of Cuba in America, and of the Philippines in the Far East. The Bourbon kings of France and Spain were soon compelled to sue for peace. They came to terms with England by the treaty of Paris signed in February 1763. By this treaty, France gave up in America Canada, Louisiana, and several islends in the West Indies. The whole of Canada, and the eastern part of Louisiana, up to the banks of the Mississippi were annexed to the British dominions. Spain surrendered to England, Florida, and received in compensation, western half of Louisiana, west of the Mississippi. England returned to Spain, Cuba as well as the Philippines, but she retained Gibraltar and Minorca. But in this treaty nothing was done to end the war so far as Prussia was concerned. She was left to carry on her contest against her enemies, France and Austria. But the pressure on Frederick of Prussia was also soon relieved, for in January 1762, Czarina Elizabeth died, who was succeeded by her son Czar Peter III, a great admirer of Frederick II. Immediately after his accession to the throne, Czar Peter III withdrew from the Austrian alliance, and now Frederick II was able to recover some of his lost ground in Germany. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty of Paris, Frederick II came to terms with Maria Theresa. By the treaty of Hubertsburg, *status quo ante bellum* was restored in Germany. Frederick II evacuated Saxony, but retained Silesia. Frederick thus came out of this Seven Years' War without the loss of any territory. The powerful resistance which he had put up

against his numerous enemies immensely increased his prestige. That gave to Frederick the title of Frederick the Great. Henceforth Prussia became one of the great powers of Europe.

The Results of the Seven Years' War. The Seven Years' War marks an epoch in European history. The young Prussian kingdom, was now the only rival in Germany of the Hapsburg monarchy of Austria. From this time Prussia and Austria were to struggle for supremacy in Germany, and the smaller German states were to group themselves either round the Hohenzollerns, or round the Hapsburgs As a result of this War, England now became quite supreme in America as well as in India. The whole of the eastern half of the North American continent now formed the colonial empire of Great Britain. In India she had now no European rival, and there she was now left free to struggle for supremacy against the Marhattas. In this War, France was completely exhausted, and financially she became bankrupt. This military and financial bankruptcy of the French eventually led in 1789 to a great revolution in France. It seemed this war had discredited autocracy, and the French Revolution was a protest against autocracy. Another great result of this war was that with the disappearance of the French power in America the English colonists achieved a sense of greater strength and security. They were now less timid in their opposition to the mother country, England. The English people who were now without a rival, attempted to enforce their mercantile system of commercial regulations on colonial trade more strictly than before. This produced a great amount of resentment among the English colonists in America. The result was the American Revolution of 1776.

The Eastern Question. We have seen in Chapter X that Russia had in the middle ages three big neighbours, Sweden, Poland, and Turkey. We have also

seen that after the death of king Charles XII, in 1718, Sweden rapidly decayed. The eastern and southern borders of the Gulf of Finland, were now in the occupation of Russia, East Prussia and Pomerania were now united with Brandenburg, under the House of Hohenzollern. But there still remained two big neighbours of Russia. We have seen that in the sixteenth century, Turkey held not only the entire Balkan peninsula, and a greater portion of Hungary, but she also held the southern portions of present day Russia, on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The Turks were alien in race, religion, and culture. The problem before the Europeans therefore was how to get rid of this foreign element in the European polity. That constituted the Eastern question.

The decay of the Turks in Europe. The zenith of Turkish power in Europe was reached in the time of Sultan Suleman the Magnificent, (1526-1566), when the greater portion of Hungary was incorporated in the Turkish Empire, and when even Vienna, the capital of the Hapsburgs, was threatened by the Turks. But after the death of Suleman, the Ottoman Empire began to decay. Their naval supremacy in the Mediterranean was overthrown in the battle of Lepanto fought in 1571. They besieged Vienna in 1683, but were forced to retire by John Sobeiski of Poland. After this the Turks decayed rapidly. Venetia was able to conquer the peninsula of Morea in southern Greece, between 1684 and 1699. Peter the Great conquered Azov on the northern shores of the Black Sea in 1695, and the Hapsburgs conquered the Turkish portion of Hungary in 1697.

Turkey and Czarina Catherine the Great. It has already been stated, that Peter the Great was compelled to surrender Azov to the Turks in 1711. But this reverse of Russia was only temporary. In the reign of Czarina Anna (1730-1740), by the treaty of Belgrade. Azov was again taken in 1739. The occupation of Azov

was the first breach in the continuity of Turkish territory round the shores of the Black Sea, which had so far been a Turkish lake. The next great advanace aginst Turkey was made in the reign of Czarina Catherine II (1762-1796). Czarina Catherine II was a daughter of a German prince, Christian of Anhalt Zerbst. She was married to the Grand Duke Peter in 1745, who in 1761 succeeded his aunt Czarina Elizabeth (1741-1761) to the throne of Russia, as Peter III. We have seen that Czar Peter III broke up Russian alliance with Austria, and withdrew from the war against Frederick the Great. These Pro-Prussian sympathies of Peter, produced amongst the Russian nobles a great resentment against him, After a reign of seven months, he was deposed in July 1762. He was soon put to death, and his widow Catherine II now ascended the throne. Next after Peter the Great, she was the greatest sovereign Russia has seen. In domestic policy she was a benevolent despot. Shortly after ascending the throne, she, in 1764, entered into a pact with Frederick of Prussia. This pact provided for a common action against Sultan Mustafa III, who it was feared intended to intervene in the affairs of Poland. The best way in which this Turkish intervention in Poland could be prevented was by keeping them busy at home. So, in 1765, Russian agents began to work in Greece, Crete, Bosnia, and Montenegro. Both the Greeks and the Serbians were pursuaded to believe, that the Russians would free them from the yoke of the Turks. At the same time while pursuing the Polish fugitives, the Russian soldiers entered Turkish territory on the northern shores of the Black Sea. So, in 1768, the Sultan Mustafa III declared war against Russia.

War against Mustaffa III 1768-1774. This Russo Turkish War lasted from 1768 to 1774. But in 1769, the Turkish army was defeated on the banks of the river Dniester, and after this the Russians occupied Jassy

and Bukharest. In 1770, a Russian fleet issuing from the Baltic, sailed round to the Mediterranean, and descended on the coasts of Morea. They also incited the Greeks to rise against the Turks. But the naval forces of the Russians were defeated by the Turks. The Russians had to retire from the Greek coasts, and thereafter the Turks took a terrible revenge on the Greeks. Later on the Russian forces were able to achieve some success against the Turks. But in the meantime in the north Crimea was conquered by the Russians, and most of the Turkish fortresses on the Dniester and the Danube were taken by them. By the end of 1771, the Russians were in occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia. But in the meanwhile there broke out an insurrection among the Cossacks in Ukrania, and it began to be feared that Austria might intervene on behalf of the Turks. So, in 1774, Catherine entered into peace negotiations with Turkey. A peace was signed at Kutchuk-Kainardji. By the terms of this treaty Catherine II restored to the Sultan, Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and the islands she had conquered in the Ionian archipelago. But these territories were restored to the Sultan on the condition that the Christian populations therein would be treated by the government of the Sultan better in future. Russia retained Azov, she controlled the straits between the sea of Azov and the Black Sea, some territory at the mouth of the river Dnieper, and some coastal districts on the eastern shores of the Black Sea. Thus Russia obtained a firm hold on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The territory in between the Sea of Azov and the river Bug, was declared independent of the Sultan of Turkey. The Turkish territory instead of encircling the Black Sea was now confined to the western banks of the river Bug. In addition to all this Russia was now allowed to establish trade agencies throughout the Turkish empire,

wherever she might think fit to do so. She was also now free to navigate the Black Sea. Henceforth Russia was to be represented at the court of the Sultan at Constantinople by an ambassador. She was permitted to erect a public church of Greek ritual in Constantinople, which was to remain under the protection of the Russian ambassador. A study of these terms shows that by the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, Russia obtained not only the northern coastal districts of the Black Sea, but she also obtained a sort of general right of future interference in the internal administration of the rest of the Turkish Empire.

War against Abdul Hamid I 1787-1792. Shortly after the conclusion of Russo-Turkish War, Austria siezed in 1775, Bukovina, a province lying in between Transylvania in the west and Moldavia in the east. The acquisition of Bukovina, brought the territories of Russia and Austria nearer to each other. The sovereigns of these two empires became more friendly. In 1782, Catherine II laid before Emperor Joseph II of Austria, a great scheme for the entire reconstruction of the map of the Balkan peninsula, In 1783, Catherine II annexed the territories of the Khan of Crimea. This new Russian province of Crimea was rapidly developed by Russian engineers and cultivators. The entire country was dotted over by fortresses. After fortifying Crimea and agriculturally developing the northern coastal districts of the Black Sea. Catherine asked Sultan Abdul Hamid I to renounce in her favour, his sovereignty over Georgia, on the eastern shores of the Black Sea, and over Bessarabia a province in between the rivers Pruth and the Dniester, on the north western shores of the Black Sea. She also demanded that hereditray governors he established in Moldavia and Wallachia. Since Sultan Abdul Hamid instead of acceding to these demands, required the immediate restoration

of Crimea to Turkey, war again broke out in 1787. In fulfilment of his engagements with Catherine, Joseph II of Austria also declared war in 1788, against the Sultan. In 1789, the Austrians after taking Belgrade and Semendria, invaded Bosnia. But in 1788, a triple alliance, between England, Holland and Prussia, had been formed by Pitt the Younger for the purpose of checking the advance of Austria and Russia into the Balkan Peninsula. Shortly after this, Sultan Abdul Hamid I died in 1789, and Emperor Joseph II died in 1790. Moreover by this time the attention of entire Europe had been drawn to France, where a revolution had broken out in 1789. Consequently in 1791, Austria concluded peace with the Sultan at Sistova. By the terms of this treaty of peace, Serbia was restored to Turkey, and *status quo ante bellum* was re-established. In 1792, a treaty of peace was signed at Jassy between Russia and Turkey, by which the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardj (1774), and the annexation of Crimea by Russia were confirmed, the Sultan recovered Moldavia, but the Russian frontier was advanced from the banks of the Bug, to the banks of the river Dniester. Thus closed the first phase of the Eastern Question. The second big neighbour of Russia was in this way humbled.

Poland and Russia before the Seven Years' War. The third big neighbour of Russia was Poland. It was the policy of Catherine II not only to establish her supremacy in the Black Sea, but she also desired to absorb Poland within her dominions. Poland was at this period of her history torn by internecine quarrels. The king had in Poland lost all power, and the nobles were not able to follow any consistent policy, for making the government strong and efficient. In 1572, the male line of the House of Jagiello became extinct. After this foreign princes began to be elected kings of Poland. As has

already been seen a prince of the French Royal House of Valois, a prince of Transylvania, a prince of the royal family of Sweden, one after the other became kings of Poland. After this the throne of Poland became a plaything for the Polish nobility. In 1667, Czar Alexius. son of Michael Romanov, taking advantage of the weakness of the Polish kings, siezed Smolensk, Chernigov, Kiev, and Pultova, the eastern districts of the kingdom of Poland. In 1697, Augustus II of Saxony was elected king of Poland. He with a short interval of five years (1705-1709) ruled Poland up to 1733. On the death of Frederick Augustus II, the neighbouring European powers, Russia Austria, and Prussia intervened. At this time French influence was supreme in Poland. In order to check this French influence, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, concluded a secret treaty with the object of securing the election of a Portuguese prince to the throne of Poland. France in 1733, secured the election of Stanislaus Leczinski, father-in-law of king Louis XV of France. On this Austria and Russia, without consulting Prussia, put forward the candidature of Augstus III of Saxony, the son of the late king Frederick Augustus II. This led to the Polish War of Succession (1733-1738). France and Austria came to terms in 1735. It was agreed that Augustus should keep the throne of Poland, and that Satnislaus Leczinski should be compensated with the duchy of Lorraine, and Francis, Duke of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, should get Tuscany in Italy. This Augustus III ruled Poland from 1734 to 1763. During all this period. Russia treated Poland as a vassal state. When Czarina Catherine II came to the throne of Russia in 1762, she proposed to follow a more active policy in Poland. Had she concentrated her attention on Poland alone, and not at the same time followed an aggressive policy against Turkey, she might have succeeded in absorbing the whole of Poland within her

own dominions, and this unfortunate country might have escaped partition.

Partition of Poland. After the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763. Frederick the Great of Prussia dreaded a renewal of an alliance between Russia, Austria, and France. He, therefore, proposed to win the friendship of the two empresses, Catherine II, and Maria Theresa, by sharing with them the territories of Poland. This idea had first been started in 1710, by Peter the Great of Russia, and king Frederick 1 of Prussia. In 1764, Czarina Catherine and Frederick the Great came to an understanding. They agreed to co-operate in securing the election to the vacant throne of Poland of Stanislaus Poniatowsky a Polish nobleman of weak character, and who was Catherine's discarded lover. They also agreed to prevent constitutional reforms in Poland, and secure for the Dissenters toleration in the country. The object was to perpetuate political and religious strife, in the country. So in 1764 Poniatowsky was elected king of Poland, and in 1768, the Polish Parliament, held under the eyes of a Russian army, repealed all the laws against the non-Catholic sects in Poland. The *Liberum Veto*, and the principle of elective monarchy, were declared to be the essential parts of the Polish constitution. This constitution was placed under the guarantee of Russia. On this the Polish patriots, alarmed at the interference of Russia, formed the *Confederation of Bar*, with the object of putting an end to the Russian domination in the country, and of restoring the supremacy of Roman Catholic faith, France too was alarmed at these developments in Poland. She gave encouragement to the Confederation of Bar, and also incited the Turks to declare war on Russia. We have already seen that this war proved disastrous to the Turks. They had to make the humiliating treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji in 1774. It was during this Turkish war that Catherine was induced to listen to the tempting voice of Frederick the Great.

Again it was during this war that Maria Theresa took possession in 1769 of the country of Zips. In 1772, however, partition of Polish territories was actually proposed. Russia obtained the eastern parts of Poland, the territory just south east of the present day Livonia. Prussia obtained the territory of West Prussia, and Austria obtained Galicia. After this first partition of 1772, the Polish patriots made a determined effort to introduce reforms in the constitutional system of their country. In 1790, a new constitution was actually promulgated. They adopted the English system of government. They accepted the idea of a hereditary monarchy, a responsible ministry, and a legislature consisting of two chambers. But the rival party which was in a minority, appealed in 1792, to Russia for intervention. The two German powers, Prussia and Austria, were at this time engaged in war against Revolutionary France. So Catherine was quite free to interfere in Poland. A Russian army soon occupied Poland, and in January 1793, a second partition was carried out. Russia obtained in this partition the biggest portion. The entire territory in between the Dwina in the north, and Bessarabia in the south consisting of Podolia, portions of Kiev and Volhynia, and Minsk were now added to the Russian Empire. Prussia took thet erritory in between West Prussia and Silesia. She also obtained the important towns of Danzig, Posen and Thorn. In this partition Austria received nothing, since she was then engaged in a life and death struggle with France. In 1794, the Poles rose in revolt, and expelled the Russian garrisons from Cracow, Warsaw, and Vilna. On this the Prussians left off their fight with the revolutionary French, on the banks of the river Rhine, and marched into Poland. Russia also sent a strong expeditionary force to Poland. The result was that the Polish patriots were crushed, and Poland disappeared from the map of Europe altogether. Prussia obtained the territory in between East Prussia and Warsaw. Austria was given the

territory in between Warsaw and western Galicia. The rest of the territory in between the Gulf of Riga, and Eastern Galicia, consisting of Lithuania, Grodno, and the remaining portion of Volhynia was taken by Czarina Catherine II. Thus the Polish State ceased to exist. Catherine II died in 1796.

Summary

1. *The Sixteenth Century.* After the discovery of the New World and the Sea route to India, in the last decade of the 15th century. Spain and Portugal established vast colonial empires. Both these countries held great colonial empires throughout the sixteenth century. But after the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588, these empires decayed, and their place was taken by the Dutch, the English, and the French.

2. *The Rise of a French Colonial Empire.* The earliest attempt at colonisation by the French in the New World was made in 1534, but it failed. After this, for 50 years the French being engaged at home in Huguenot wars, could not take part in colonial activities. In 1564, an attempt was made to establish a colony in Florida, but it was soon destroyed by the Spaniards. The first successful efforts at colonization in North America were made by Samuel de Champlain, who explored its coasts from Gulf of St. Lawrence to Plymouth. He traced the course of the river St. Lawrence right up to the Great Lakes region. A permanent French settlement was established at Quebec in 1608, and Montreal was founded in 1611. Champlain was the first French Governor of Canada. Later on a large number of French missionaries came into Canada, and they began to explore the country. The famous French explorer, Robert de la Salle, traced the course of the Mississippi river from its sources to the sea He took possession of the entire country drained by this river system in the name of King Louis XIV of France, and gave to this new country the name of Louisiana. New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi was founded in 1718. Efforts were later on made to connect Louisiana with Canada by building a chain of fortresses, extending from Quebec and Montreal in the north to New Orleans in the south. Had they succeeded in this task they would have succeeded in shutting up the English colonists in between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies. But the continental wars of Louis XIV and Louis XV exhausted the French at home and prevented them from building up a big colonial empire across the seas.

3. *Anglo-French Contest in America.* The first contest between England and France took place during the War of the League of Augsburg, which lasted from 1689 to 1697. This war in America is known by the name of King William's War. During this war the English Navy showed its superiority over the French Navy. The French Navy was defeated and destroyed. During this war, the English took possession of Acadia in America, and the Dutch took possession of Pondicherry in India. But when the war was concluded in 1697, by the treaty of Ryswick, both Pondicherry and Acadia were restored to France. The second war in which France and England took opposite sides was the war of Spanish succession, which lasted from 1702 to 1713. This war in America is called by the name of Queen Anne's War. During this war the English again took possession of Acadia. When this war was concluded by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, England obtained Acadia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay territory. Thus were the foundations of British Canada laid. Canada and Louisiana were, however, retained by France. In the next war, the war of Austrian succession which lasted from 1740 to 1748, the English took possession of Cape Breton island, which commanded the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in America, and the French took possession of the English settlements in south India. The next war in which the French and the English fought against each other was the Seven Years' War.

4. *The Causes of the Seven Years' War.* The only gainer in the war of Austrian succession was Prussia. The other powers were therefore jealous of her. Austria wanted to take a revenge against her. In 1745, after taking Silesia from Maria Theresa, Frederick had deserted her allies, France and Spain, so they too were against Prussia. The Czarina Elizabeth of Russia was also ready to fight against Frederick. England and France were in the eighteenth century the colonial and commercial rivals of each other. They were already at war with each other in America. King George II was afraid lest the French might attack Hanover. Austria was not prepared to stop the advance of the French through Austrian Netherlands, in their threatened attack on Hanover. So the relations between England and Austria became strained. The result was that England and Prusaia became friendly. On the other hand, France, Austria, and Russia, joined together. Saxony and Sweden also joined the enemies of Frederick. The war was precipitated by the attack of Frederick on Saxony. After conquering Saxonv, he attacked Bohemia. Thus broke out the Seven Years' War.

5. *The Seven Years' War, 1756—1763.* On this the enemies of Frederick attacked his territories. Russia invaded East Prussia. Sweden invaded Pomerania. The French crossed the Rhine, and attacked his

territories from the west. It seemed Prussia was going to be crushed. But England came to her help. She subsidised Prussian armies, and fought against her most powerful enemy, France, in India, in Europe, and in America, and thus weakened and exhausted her. Everywhere the English came out victorious. The French supremacy was overthrown in India, where England after this had no European rival. In Europe Hanover was recovered. In America, the French colonial empire was ended. In 1761, the Bourbon King, Charles III of Spain joined the Bourbon King Louis XV of France. But England defeated the Spaniards too. At length in 1763 both France and Spain were compelled to make peace with England. A treaty was signed at Paris. By the terms of this treaty, France gave up Canada, Louisiana, and some of the islands in the West Indies. Spain was compelled to give up Florida. The eastern half of Louisiana, east of the Mississippi river was annexed to the British Dominion in North America, and western half of Louisiana west of the Mississippi was handed over to Spain. Prussia was left to carry on her war against France and Austria. But in 1762, Czarina Elizabeth had died, and was succeeded by Peter III, who was a great admirer of Frederick the Great. He at once withdrew from his war against Prussia. That gave a relief to Frederick. He now was able to recover some of the lost ground in Germany. So soon after the treaty of Paris, peace was signed at Hubertsburg between Frederick and his enemies. By this treaty *status quo ante bellum* was restored in Germany. Frederick evacuated Saxony, but retained Silesia. During this war he did not lose an inch of territory. He was therefore called Frederick the Great.

6. *The Results of the Seven Years' War.* As a result of this war, Prussia now began to be counted as one of the great powers of Europe, In Germany now, Prussia and Austria were the rivals for obtaining supremacy. Secondly after this war England became supreme in America, and in her struggle for supremacy against the Marhattas in India, she had no European rival. Thirdly France became exhausted both from the military as well as the financial point of view. Autocracy in France had failed, and this eventually led to the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. Fourthly as a result of this war, the English colonists in America felt stronger and more secure But England began to impose her mercantile system more strictly on the colonists in America. This led to the Amercan War of Independence in 1776.

7. *The Eastern Question.* In the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries the Turks had become masters of not only the Balkan Peninsula, and

of a greater portion of Hungary, but their territory encircled on all sides the Black Sea. By race, religion, and culture the Turks were a foreign element in the European Polity. To get rid of this foreign element, constituted the Eastern Question,

8. *The Decay of the Turks in Europe.* The Turkish power in Europe was at its zenith in the time of Sultan Suleman the Magnificent (1526—1566). But after his death their power began to decay. Their naval supremacy was overthrown, in 1571, by the battle of Lepanto, The Venetians took possession of Morea, in Southern Greece, during the years 1684 to 1699. They were finally repulsed from Vienna in 1683, Azov was taken from them by Peter the Great in 1695, and Hungary was lost by them in 1697.

9. *Turkey and Czarina Catherine the Great.* Catherine was a German princess married in 1745 to Grand Duke Peter, who ruled as Czar Peter III for seven months in 1762. He was succeeded by his widow Catherine II. In 1764, she entered into a pact with Frederick the Great for the purpose of preventing Turkish intervention in Poland. In 1765, Russian agents began to rouse the Serbians and the Greeks against the Turks. At length in 1768 war broke out between Russia and Turkey.

10. *War against Mustaffa III, 1768--1774.* This war lasted till 1774. It was concluded by the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji. By this treaty Russia retained Azov, and some territory on the mouth of Dnieper. The territory of the Tartar Chiefs east of the river Bug was made independent of Turkey. Russia obtained the right to navigate the Black Sea, carry on commercial activities throughout the Turkish empire, and to build a public Church of Greek rituals in Constantinople. The Sultan agreed to treat his Christian subjects better in future.

11. *War against Abdul Hamid I, 1787—1792.* After Austria took possession of Bukovina in 1775, she became more friendly with Russia. In 1782, Catherine II and Joseph II formed a pact for the division of Turkish territory in Europe, In 1783, Catherine seized Crimea, and then soon began to fortify and colonise it. After this Catherine asked Sultan Abdul Hamid I to surrender to her Bessarabia, and Georgia. On this war broke out between Russia and Turkey in 1787. In 1788, Joseph II also declared war against Turkey. But Abdul Hamid I died in 1789, and Joseph II died in 1790. On the other hand, England, Holland, and Prussia had formed a triple alliance to check the advance of Austria and Russia into the Balkans. In 1791, Austria made peace with Turkey, and *status quo ante bellum* was restored. In 1792, peace was signed between Russia and Turkey. The

annexation of Crimea by Russia, and the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji were confirmed.

12. *Poland and Russia before the Seven Years' War.* The male line of the House of Jagiello had become extinct in 1572. The Jagiello dynasty even through the female line became extinct in 1672. But by this time the nobles in Poland had become so powerful, and the power of the king had decayed so much, that the throne of Poland became a plaything of the nobles. It was during this decaying period that in 1667. Russia first cut off a slice from the eastern side of Poland. Smolensk, Chernigov, Kiev, and Pultova were seized by Czar Alexius. In 1697, Frederick Augustus II, Elector of Saxony was elected king of Poland. He ruled till 1733. On the death of this king, there broke out a war of Polish Succession which lasted from 1733 to 1738. On the conclusion of this war, Augustus III of Saxony was recognized king of Poland, Stanislaus Leczinski, father-in-law of Louis XV of France was acknowledged, Duke of Lorraine, and Francis, husband of Maria Theresa, obtained the Duchy of Tuscany in Italy. Augustus III ruled Poland from 1734 to 1763. During all this time Poland was treated as a vassal state by Russia.

13. *Partition of Poland.* When Catherine II ascended the Russian throne in 1762, she proposed to follow a more active policy in Poland. In 1764, Catherine II and Frederick the Great agreed to put Stanislaus Poniatowsky, a Polish nobleman of weak character on the throne of Poland. In 1768, the Polish Diet was compelled to give toleration to non-Roman Catholic sects, and to declare Liberum Veto, and the elective principle of the monarchy as essential features of Polish constitution. On this the Polish patriots formed the *Confederation of Bar*, with the object of ending Russian domination in the country. On the other hand, after the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, it was the policy of Frederick the Great to conciliate Maria Theresa and Catherine II by inducing them to join him in the partition of Poland. In 1772, the first partition took place. Russia obtained the eastern parts of Poland, Prussia obtained West Prussia, and Austria got Galicia. After this the Polish patriots made a determined effort to introduce proper constitutional reforms in Poland. They made monarchy hereditary, and adopted the English constitution. The rival party opposed to these reforms invoked the assistance of Russia. So the second partition took place in 1793, Russia obtained the biggest portion, the entire territory in between the Dwina and Bessarabia. Prussia took Posen, Thorn, and Danzig. In this partition Austria obtained nothing. In 1794, the Poles

again rose in revolt. So in 1795, by the third partition, Poland disappeared from the map of Europe. Prussia obtained the territory in between East Prussia and Warsaw. Austria obtained the territory in between Warsaw and Western Galicia, and Russia got the rest of the territory. Catherine after this died in 1796.

CHAPTER XII

THE LOSS OF AMERICAN COLONIES, THE FIRST EMPIRE THE RISE OF A NEW EMPIRE

England and her Colonies in America before 1763. We have seen in Chapter VIII, that there were three groups of English Colonies on the eastern seaboard of the North American continent. The earliest group, in the south, consisting of South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland were colonised after 1607. The northern group consisting of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Rhode island, and Connecticut, began to be colonised after 1620. The middle group consisting of New York, New Jersy, Delaware, and Pennsylvania began to be colonised after they had been conquered from the Dutch in 1664. The southernmost colony of Georgia was colonised as late as 1733. But from the very beginning all these thirteen colonies in America were more or less free and independent. In the first place the colonies were so far away, and communications across the Atlantic in those days were so difficult, that it was not easy to exercise proper control from England. Then again in the beginning, these colonies in America were considered so poor and unprofitable, that it seemed scarcely worth while to look into their affairs. Moreover we must also remember, that from the time of king Charles I, there began in England a long conflict between the Parliament and the Crown. This eventually led to a civil war in England. King Charles I was deposed

and then beheaded, and a Rebublican form of government was established in the country. It is obvious that when the English people were themselves engaged in a fearful domestic quarrel, they could not pay much attention to the colonies beyond the seas. Under such circumstances these English colonies in America were able to establish free and independent governments. The political training received by the colonists in their local town meetings and colonial assemblies, fitted them for self-government while the hard conditions of life in a new and wild country like that of America, developed among them energy, self-reliance, and a spirit of freedom from control. It has already been stated that the political institutions developed in these colonies were modelled after English models. Just as was the case with the House of Commons in England, it were the colonial assemblies in America, which voted supplies to the Governor for meeting the expenses of the administration. When the Commonwealth was established under the Lord Protectorship of Cromwell, more attention began to be paid to the affairs in the American colonies. In 1650, a Navigation Act was passed by the parliament, by the provisions of which ships belonging to foreign countries were prohibited from coming to or trading with any of the English colonies in America, without first obtaining a license from the Government in England. In 1651, it was laid down that goods could not be imported into or exported from the English colonies in America unless the ships in which they were carried were owned by Englishmen or the Colonists, or were commanded by English or colonial captains, and contained a majority of English sailors. The Navigation Act passed in the reign of king Charles II still further stiffened these Navigation Laws. The object of all these laws was to deprive the Dutch of all the carrying trade which in those days was in their hands. In these days there was a great commercial rivalry between the

English and the Dutch, and during the seventeenth century there were three wars fought between the English and the Dutch, the first in 1652, the second in 1664-1667, and the third in 1672-1674. But although these Navigation Laws were passed in the times of Cromwell and Charles II, they were on account of great distance from the mother country, not strictly enforced in the case of English colonies in America. The result was that smuggling in the American' colonies became a very lucrative occupation. The Navigation Laws did not prove repressive partly because it was very easy to evade them, and partly because at this early period of their history, England was the natural market for the sale of colonial goods, and they also depended on the mother country for the import of their necessities. Moreover during this period, England subsidised many of the colonial industries, and they also encouraged ship-building in the colonies.

The English Mercantile System begins to press hard on the Colonies. It seems the restrictions put on the international trade of the colonies were not resented till after the conclusion of the Seven Years' War. In the first place these restrictions imposed by England on her colonies were far more lenient as compared with those imposed by France and Spain on their colonies. Secondly, it was realized that when England was required to defend the colonies against the foreign aggression of the French and the raids of the Red Indians, it was right that she should in return obtain trade privileges from the colonists. So long as the English colonists in America needed the assistance of the mother country against France, they did not raise any serious protests against the Navigation Laws passed by the English Parliament. But after the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763, when Canada and Louisiam, were conquered the French danger was removed and

this foreign danger disappeard. The American colonists after this were not in a mood to tolerate any restrictions on their international trade. On the other hand, after the close of the Seven Years' War, George III and his ministers also proposed to enforce the Navigation Laws more strictly. Besides this the Government in England now began to discourage the manufacture in the colonies, of such goods as could be produced in England. The colonists were prohibited from exporting woollen goods from the colonies, and they were not permitted to establish factories for the manufacture of iron and steel goods. Naturally this was resented by the colonists. The chief agricultural products of the colonists in these days were sugar, tobacco, cotton, and indigo. It was laid down that these commodities could only be exported to England and nowhere else from the American colonies direct. They had a large supply of furs in the colonies. but they were forbidden to export any caps or hats. We can well imagine that all these restrictions and prohibitions must have set the American colonists against the mother country.

Attempt of British Parliament to tax the colonists resented. We have already seen that from the very start the English colonies in America had assumed to themselves the function of voting supplies to the Governor for meeting the expenses of the administration. The English Parliament had never attempted to impose taxes on the American colonists. But after the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763, George III and his ministers decided to keep British troops in America as a protection against the outbreaks of the French and the raids of the Red Indians. But just about this time England was very heavily burdened with debt which had been incurred in the Seven Years' War. A large portion of this debt had been incurred for defending the colonies. Since it was found that the colonial assemblies were unwilling to make voluntary

contributions for maintaining the military forces considered necessary for the defence of the colonies, the Ministry of George Grenville who had become Prime Minister in 1763, proposed to strictly enforce the existing trade laws. So in 1764 the British Parliament passed an Act to amend and strengthen the trade laws, imposed a duty on the import of Sugar in America, and at the same time George Grenville gave a notice of his intention to raise about a hundred thousand pounds by means of a stamp duty on colonial documents, which was one-third of the cost of the military establishment proposed to be stationed in the colonies for their protection. After the Sugar Act of 1764 was passed, British Warships were stationed along the coast to prevent illegal trading. British Collectors were empowered to search private houses for smuggled goods, and various old and dead-letter laws against trading with foreigners were enforced. The imposition of the duties was now so strictly enforced that, the foreign trade of the New England colonies was seriously injured. The Stamp Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1765. But since this idea of taxing the English colonists in America by the Parliament in England was a new one, it aroused a bitter opposition in the colonies, and so in 1766 this Act was repealed by Lord Rockingham's ministry. But at the same time, in order to re-assure British politicians, the British Parliament passed a Declaratory Act to the effect, that the British Parliament possessed the sovereign authority over all the possessions of the Crown, both in regard to taxation as well as legislation. The colonists were not satisfied by the mere repeal of the Stamp Act. Their contention was that since the British Parliament contained no representatives of the American colonists, it had no authority to tax them. They accepted the sovereignty of the British Crown, but not of the British Parliament. So they protested against the Declaratory Act passed in 1766. In 1767, the government of Earl Chatham

imposed a number of small customs duties, all of which combined were estimated to yield about £40,000/- a year. The passage of this Act involved other constitutional issues as well. It was proposed that persons violating the law regarding the payment of customs duties, should be tried without juries, and that the revenue raised from these new taxes be used to pay the salaries of colonial governors, judges, and soldiers. This meant that the colonial administrations were in future to be to some extent independent of the supplies voted by the colonial assemblies. On this the colony of Massachusetts at once protested, and there was a riot at Boston. The imposition of these taxes roused so much hostility in the colonies that in 1770, all these duties were repealed excepting a small duty on tea. This duty on tea was retained partly to show that the British Parliament had not abandoned its right to tax the colonies, and partly to benefit the British East India Company, for it were they who imported tea into the colonies. But the effort to make the American colonists pay even a small import duty on tea, and to force upon the markets of Boston, the tea of the British East India Company at a low price, produced trouble in 1773. Some of the patriotic young men of Boston disguised themselves as Red Indian porters, boarded a tea ship which was at the time lying in the harbour, and threw the cargo into the sea. The authorities in England were indignant. In 1774, Acts were passed by the British Parliament, prohibiting the landing and shipping of all kinds of goods at Boston, and the colony of Massachusetts was deprived of its former right to choose its judges, and the members of the upper house of its legislature, who were in future to be nominated by the Crown in England. These measures of coercion against Massachusetts alarmed the rest of the colonies so much that in 1774 a Congress of the representatives of all the colonists was held at Philadelphia.

This congress decided to boycott all trade with Great Britain, till the grievances of the colonists were re-dressed. In 1775, the Americans attacked the British troops at Lexington, and made a good stand against them in the battle of Bunker Hill. Thus began the War of American Independence.

The Colonies did not at first wish to secede. At the beginning it was not the intention of the American colonists to secede from Great Britain and establish an independent government for the colonies. It seems they thought less about the theories of self-government, than about the taxes on the different commodities. When the *patriots* or the leaders of the opposition organized in 1774 a continental congress consisting of delegates from all the colonies, they still regarded the Crown in England as their sovereign. They only asked that taxes or laws should not be imposed on the colonies without the consent of the colonial assemblies. Even after blood had been shed at Lexington, in 1775, a second continental congress recognized George III as the *rightful sovereign* and again sent a petition to him. Really in the beginning the colonial leaders considered themselves loyal Englishmen. They thought in opposing these taxes they were only defending their old historic rights as Englishmen. They claimed that Englishmen could be subject to no law or taxes without the consent of their own representatives. They believed that the colonial assemblies represented the colonies in the same way as the British House of Commons represented Great Britain. So the colonists thought that the imposition in the colonies of taxes without the approval of the colonial assemblies was a tyrannical violation of the sacred and time-honoured rights of Englishmen. So far the fight of the colonists was only a constitutional fight. The liability to pay taxes for meeting the expenses of the administration was not denied. What was denied was the sovereign right of the

British Parliament to tax the colonies without the consent of the colonial assemblies.

Political Issues involved in the Revolt of Colonies. But shortly after the first armed conflict a new development took place. In January 1776, there was published in Philadelphia a pamphlet written by Thomas Paine, which contained more radical and democratic theories. It was stated in this pamphlet that monarchs after all had no *divine right* to rule their fellow-men. If kings had unlimited powers they were despots, and if, like the Crown in England, they were constitutional monarchs, they were expensive figureheads. This pamphlet was published just at the time when George III, turning a deaf ear to all petitions, was raising troops to crush what he called a rebellion in America. It seemed under such circumstances conciliation or compromise with England was impossible. This pamphlet was read very widely in the colonies. The colonists now lost all veneration for the Crown in England, and they now felt justified in fighting for complete independence. Their rapidly increasing wealth and strength, and their free life in a new land had given a new confidence to the colonists. The important part which the colonists had played in the conquest of Canada, assured the colonists that they could rely upon their military capacities. So the patriots decided to fight their mother country, England. It was due to the energy of these patriots that the continental congresses were held. On the 4th of July, 1776, the celebrated Declaration of Independence was issued. It was written mainly by Thomas Jafferson, but his ideas were influenced mostly by what had in recent years been written by the French and English political philosophers. Three most important principles were proclaimed in this Declaration of Independence. It was proclaimed that (1) all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, (2) governments derive their just

powers from the consent of the governed, and (3) it is perfectly justifiable to overthrow one government and establish a new one by force of arms if necessary. Thomas Jafferson, the author of this Declaration of Independence, went so far as to argue that frequent revolutions were a good medicine for democracy. He said "the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants." By this Declaration of Independence, the congress declared that "these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." The Congress now issued Bills of Credit, raised an army, and placed it under the command of George Washington. Thus revolted the thirteen British colonies in America against their mother country, England.

The War of American Independence 1776—1783. The first armed conflict began in 1775 with a collision between British troops and the colonial militia at Lexington. For two years from 1775 to 1777 the war remained confined to a fight between Great Britain and her rebellious subjects in America. But it soon led to international complications. We have seen that between 1689, when William III ascended the throne of England and in 1763, when the Seven Years' War was concluded, there had been fought between England and France as many as four wars. The result of these wars was that France had been deprived of her vast colonial empire in America. Naturally the revolt of the thirteen English colonies in America against Great Britain afforded France an opportunity of taking a revenge against her hated rival, England. The French sympathized strongly with the American colonists in their struggle for liberty. Marquis de Lafayette, one of the most illustrious of French noblemen, and many French volunteers crossed the Atlantic Ocean, in order to fight side by side with the American soldiers. In 1777, the American revolutionists

demonstrated their strength by winning a brilliant victory at Saratoga. The British general Burgoyne, had made a surrender before the American soldiers. In the meantime the Americans who had now begun to regard France as their natural ally, had sent Benjamin Franklin to Versailles in the hope of obtaining the help of the new French king Louis XVI, who had ascended the throne of France in 1774. The ministers of the French king were uncertain as to whether the American colonies could for long maintain their struggle against the overwhelming strength of England. But when it was known that the Americans had defeated the British general Burgoyne at the battle of Saratoga, France decided to hestitate no more. In 1778, a treaty was concluded between France and the United States of America. By this treaty France recognized the independence of the United States of America, and thus declared war on England. Soon After Spain and Holland joined France. England, on the other hand, asserted the right of search and seized neutral vassals carrying contraband of war. This was resented very much by the Baltic powers. Frederick the Great of Prussia, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Naples, and even Portugal formed a League of Armed Neutrality to protect their shipping against England's enforcement of a blockadė against neutrals. The suppression of rebellion in the American colonies thus developed into a big international war. Gibraltar was attacked by the Spaniards, and the English garrison there was compelled to make a heroic defence. On the other hand, news arrived from India that in 1776 war had broken out between the British East India Company and the Marhattas. In this war king Hyder Ali of Mysore had joined the Marhattas and invaded the territories of the British East India Company in South India. It seemed just at this moment Great Britain was at war against the entire world. The combined fleets of France and Spain obtained

for some time the command of the English Channel. Great Britain was now called upon to defend her own shores. The English fleet was now required to fight the French and the Dutch in the North Sea, in the Caribbean Sea, and in the Bay of Bengal. The land forces of England were compelled to fight in India, in Europe, and in America. Under such circumstances it was very difficult to send reinforcements to America. In 1881, Lord Cornwallis, who was in command of the British forces in America, was compelled to surrender at Yorktown, before the combined attack of the American army, and the French fleet. Under the circumstances the Irish in Ireland extorted from Great Britain legislative independence. All this meant that Great Britain was beaten. In 1783, she was compelled to sign a treaty of peace at Paris and Versailles. By the treaty of Paris the independence of the thirteen English colonies in America was acknowledged. By the second treaty signed at Versailles, France recovered Pondicherry and four other towns in India, Senegal and a few othet possessions in Africa, and she was also given fishing rights on some of the coasts of North America. Spain obtained Minorca and Florida, but England retained Gibraltar. A separate treaty was made with Holland, by which the Dutch lost all their settlements in India, and were compelled to open to the English people their trade in the East Indies. The boundaries of the new State, the United States of America, were fixed at the Great Lakes in the north, the banks of the Mississippi river in the west, Florida in the south, and Atlantic Ocean in the east. This successful revolt of the Thirteen colonies in America dealt a staggering blow to the old mercantile policy of England. After the restoration of peace in 1783, although the Americans were not compelled to trade with England yet they continued to do so guided as they were by self-interest. The result was that during the next fifteen years the volume of British trade with the United States doubled itself. This showed how futile commercial restrictions are. But

France had the satisfaction of seeing England's oldest and most important colonies separated from the mother country. This war ended the first colonial Empire of Great Britain. This war had an important effect on France as well. She was during this war compelled to undergo enormous naval and military expenditure, and this made her practically bankrupt. We have already seen that France was very much exhausted by the wars of Louis XIV and Louis XV. She was still further exhausted by this American War. This financial bankruptcy of France eventually led to the French Revolution that broke out in 1789. Moreover, the French soldiers who had crossed the Atlantic Ocean, to fight the American War for freedom returned filled with the ideas of freedom and liberty. The Declaration of Independence which had in America set forth the inalienable rights of Man, as against feudal privileges and oppression, provided the patriots in France with a formula of liberty, which they could not but apply to their own country. So the French Revolution of 1789 was a child of the American Revolution of 1775.

Early English settlements in India. But if Great Britain lost in America, her first Empire, she was almost immediately able to build up another empire in India. We have seen that from the beginning of the seventeenth century, England and France were the rivals of each other in colonial expansion in North America. In India the French and the English started as trade rivals. In 1600, Queen Elizabeth of England had granted to the merchants of London a charter for the monopoly of trade in the East. In those days Surat was the chief port of India in the west. The British East India Company established its first commercial centre in 1612 at Surat. The Government of King Charles I sent Sir Thomas Roe as an ambassador to the court of the

Great Mughal at Agra. The English Company was granted some trade privileges. In 1628, they established a trade centre at Masulipatam on the east coast. After this in 1639, they purchased from the Raja of Chandragiri, the site of land on which is built the present city of Madras. That became the commercial centre of the Britlsh people in the south. Another centre of British trade was established at Hughly in Bengal in 1634. When Charles II was married to a Portuguese princess, he received from the king of Portugal the island of Bombay in dowry. In 1668, this island was granted by Charles II to the British East India Company. Later on, the commercial headquarters of the British East India Company were transferred from Surat to Bombay. In 1690 was founded Calcutta.

Early French Settlements in India. The French East India Company was granted its charter for trade in the east by King Louis XIV. Soon after the grant of the charter they too began to establish their trade centres in India. The French established their headquarters at Pondicherry a little to the south of Madras in 1674. Their other settlements in the south were at Karikal near Tanjore, and on the western coast, at Mahe near Cochin. In Bengal their commercial centre was at Chandernager, a little to the north of Calcutta. In the seventeenth century and during a greater portion of the first half of the eighteenth century, both the French and the English companies confined themselves to purely commercial activities. But in 1707, died the great Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb. After his death the Mughal empire in India began rapidly to decay. Hindu feudatory princes, and local officers and governors of the Mughals began to establish independent principalities and kingdoms in different parts of India. It was then that the French and the English merchants felt the necessity of fortifying their settlements against the raids of local chiefs, who were now no longer controlled by any central government.

Anglo-French Contest in Arcot in South India. It was first Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, who thought of establishing on the ruins of the Mughal Empire a European Empire in India. He was appointed Governor of French possessions in India in 1742, after the war of Austrian Succession had broken out in Europe. In 1744, the French who had already been fighting against the Austrians since 1740, declared war against England. This war between England and France soon extended to spheres outside Europe. At that time India had already been split up into a number of independent kingdoms and principalities. Whatever prestige the Mughal Empire in these days possessed had been destroyed by the conquests of the Marhattas, and by the invasion of India and occupation of Delhi in 1739, by the Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah. In the Deccan at this moment the Nizam-ul-Mulk and the Marhattas were struggling for supremacy. South India, which had on its conquest by the Mughals been first put under the rule of Zulfikar Ali Khan, was in 1710, put in charge of Saadat Ali Khan. When the different local officers and provincial governors on the decay of the Mughal Empire began to become independent, Saadat Ali, who had established his headquarters at Arcot also became independent of the authority of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, the viceory of the Deccan. He died in 1732, and was succeeded by his nephew Dost Ali Khan, who rulled till 1740. In 1736, the Hindu principality of Trichinopoly which had so far never been conquered by the Muslims, was absorbed in the new kingdom of Arcot, and Hussain Dost Khan, better known in Indian History as Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of Dost Ali Khan, was appointed governor of Trichinopoly. On this expansion of the Muslim kingdom of Arcot in the south, the Marhatta Raja of Tanjore was alarmed. He sought the assistance of his cousin, king Sahu at Satara, who sent Raghojee Bhonsla in command of

a strong Marhatta force to the south. Thus the Marhattas invaded South India. But in the battle that was fought to check this Marhatta invasion, Dost Ali Khan the Nawab of Aroct was killed, Hussain Dost Khan (Chanda Sahib) was taken prisoner and sent to Satara, and Safdar Ali, a son of the late nawab, was put on the throne of Arcot. After taking a heavy ransom the Marhattas retired from the South. But this prince, Safdar Ali was also soon killed in 1742, and now a baby prince, Muhammed Said was put on the throne of Arcot. Under these circumstances the Nizam-ul-Mulk considered it opportune to re-establish his authority in the South. In 1743, he invaded Arcot at the head of a strong force, and in 1744, on the death of the baby prince, Muhammed Said, the Nizam-ul-Mulk put his own officer Anwar-ud-din in charge of Arcot. It was during the rule of this Anwar-ud-din, in Arcot, that war broke out between the French and the English. In 1745, an English fleet came to the shores of India, and plundered French cargo ships. Dupleix who was at that time the governor of the French settlements in India, sought the protection of Nawab Anwar-ud-din of Arcot, within whose territories the French and the English settlements in the south lay. Anwar-ud-din at once issued orders prohibiting the English authorities in the south to attack the French settlements within Mughal territories. On this the British fleet stopped attacking the French on the Indian soil, but they continued to attack the French on the high seas. At length Dupleix was compelled to ask his Home Government in France to send a strong naval force to the east. At that time Mauritius Islands in the Indian Ocean were the centre of French naval power in the east. So in 1746 the French war ships visited the coasts of India. They blockaded the English port of Madras. When at the instance of the English merchants in Madras, Nawab Anwar-ud-din protested against this French aggression, Dupleix assured him, that on its

reduction, the settlement of Madras would be handed over to him. But when shortly after this the town was conquered by the French they refused to hand it over to the Nawab. On the other hand, the English merchants had sought the assistance of the Nawab. So Anwar-ud-din sent in 1747 an expeditionary force against the French at Pondicherry. But Dupleix who had already entertained dreams of establishing a French Empire in India, had from the time he had set foot in India, begun to train Indian soldiers in European merhods of warfare. These trained Indian soldiers armed with European weapons, and commanded by French Officers and supported by French soldiers, inflicted a crushing defeat on the forces of Anwar-ud-din. This was the first occasion on which in modern times the Europeans defeated an Indian Army. After the defeat of the Nawab, the French took possession of all the English settlements on the eastern coast of southern India. When, in 1748, peace was signed between England and France at Aix-la-Chapelle, all these settlements were restored to the English. But since during this war, Nawab Anwar-ud-din of Arcot had been helping the English, Dupleix became his enemy.

War of Succession in Arcot. We have already seen that Hussain Dost Ali (Chanda Sahib) had in 1741, been taken prisoner to Satara by the Marhattas. His family had, however, taken refuge in Pondicherry. Dupleix could, therefore through his family in Pondicherry, remain in touch with Chanda Sahib. When the old Nizam-ul-Mulk died in 1748, and there were signs of a war of succession breaking out in Haiderabad, the Marhattas at Satara released Chanda Sahib, who was on friendly terms with Muzaffarjang, one of the candidates for the throne of Haiderabad. Muzaffarjang and Chanda Sahib soon came to an understanding. Muzaffarjang was to

recognize Chanda Sahib as the Nawab of Arcot, and Chanda Sahib was to help Muzaffarjang in his fight for the throne of Haiderabad. It has been stated that the French were already inimical to Nawab Anwar-ud-din. So it was very easy for Dupleix to take up the side of Chanda Sahib and Muzaffarjang, who had now invaded Arcot. Anwar-ud-din was killed in the battle that was fought to check the advance of the invaders. His son Muhammad Ali was compelled to take refuge in the fort of Trichinopoly. In the meantime Nasirjang the second son of the old Nizam-ul-Mulk had taken possession of the throne at Haiderabad. When he heard what had happened at Arcot, he at the head of a strong army marched towards the south. He called upon all the feudatories of the empire in the south to join his forces. Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly and the English merchants of Madras were also called upon to join with their contingents the forces of Nasir Jang. Seeing this large collection of forces under Nasir Jang, the French forces retired towards Pondicherry. Chanda Sahib too was compelled to take refuge in Pondicherry. Muzaffarjang under the circumstances had no other alternative but to submit before his uncle Nasir Jang. Muhammad Ali was now recognized Nawab of Arcot. But while Nasir Jang was engaged in festivities in honour of this easy victory, Dupleix quietly sent a column of troops and took possession of the fort of Jinji. On the other hand, he entered into communications with the disaffected chiefs in the camp of Nasir Jang, and succeeded in winning many of them over to his side. When Nasir Jang heard about the fall of Jinji before the French, he was awakened to the gravity of the situation, and marched for the relief of this fortress. The French were also ready for its defence. But just at the moment the battle began, the Nawab of Cuddapah took aim at Nasir Jang, and with one shot killed him. Muzaffarjang who was present in the camp, was at once proclaimed Nizam-ul-Mulk, and Nawab

Muhammad Ali had again to run away from Arcot. This one incident made the French supreme in South India. Their nominee, Chanda Sahib, was now Nawab of Arcot, and their nominee, Muzaffarjang, was the Nizam-ul-Mulk in occupation of the throne of the Deccan. General Bussy a French general was now appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the Nizam.

The Rise of Robert Clive Nawab Muhammad Ali, who was now besieged in the fort of Trichinopoly, sought the assistance of the Raja of Mysore in the west, and of the English merchants at Madras. General Lawrence was sent to his assistance from Madras. It was just about this time that Robert Clive, who was a clerk in the service of the East India Company, at Madras, came into prominence. It struck him that while Chanda Sahib was engaged in the siege of Trichinopoly, his own capital Arcot must be lying undefended. So Clive marched at the head of a small force, and took Arcot by surprise. Chanda Sahib was compelled to divide his forces, and send a portion of them for the relief of Arcot. In the meantime other reinforcements came to the assistance of Clive at Arcot, and of Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly. The result was that at length in 1752, Chanda Sahib was compelled to surrender. He was after this put to death. Although Chanda Sahib was dead, still the war between the French and the English went on. At length in 1754, when the Directors of both the Companies, the French and the English, became quite tired of the war in India, they met together, and stopped this war which had ruined the trade of both. It was now agreed that the French should recall Dupleix from India, recognise Nawab Muhammad Ali as the Nawab of Arcot, and that in future, the French and the English both should not interfere in the disputes of the country powers in India. But before this

agreement could be ratified by the parties, war again broke out in 1756.

Seven Years' War and South India. Immediately after the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, the French Government sent Count Lally as Commander-in-chief of the French forces in India. He reached India in 1758. He at once took possession of the British settlement, St. David, advanced towards Madras, and then recalled General Bussy from the Deccan. Count Lally committed the greatest blunder in recalling General Bussy, for immediately after his departure from Haiderabad, there was an end to the French influence in the Deccan. He was found of very little use even in South India, for by that time the English had become practically masters of Bengal and now reinforcements under the command of Sir Eyre Coote had reached South India from Bengal. The French were, in 1760, defeated in the decisive battle of Wandiwash. After this victory, the English took possession of all the French settlements in India. But on the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763, Pondicherry was restored to the French. After this war French influence in South India was finally overthrown. Nawab Muhammad Ali of Arcot was practically a puppet in the hands of the English. Arcot was finally annex-to the British dominions in 1801.

British Settlements in Bengal. The first English settlement was established in Bengal at Hughly, in 1634. In 1690, they transferred their centre of trade to the other side of the Hughly, and established their settlement at the village of Kalighat. This settlement at Kalighat has now grown into the big city of Calcutta. In order to avoid payment of numerous local rates and cesses, the British East India Company purchased in 1698, the *zamindari* rights of the three villages, Kalighat, Sutanati, and

Govindpur. After the death of Aurangzeb, when Farrukhsyar, a former governor of Bengal ascended the Mughal throne in 1713, a British deputation was sent to Delhi, with the object of obtaining permission for the purchase of the *zamindari* rights of the 24 *parganas*, which lay in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. A *Farman* granting this permission was obtained in 1716, but Murshid Quli Khan, the then governor of Bengal did not permit the British people to purchase the *zamindari* rights of this new territory. After the murder of Emperor Farukhsayar in 1719 Murshid Quli Khan became independent. He and his descendants ruled Bengal till 1740. when Ali Verdi Khan, became an independent ruler of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. This Ali Verdi Khan ruled for 16 years, from 1740 to 1756. He spent all his reign in fighting against the Marhattas, or against his own Pathan chiefs. Between 1742 and 1751 there were ten invasions of Bengal by the Marhattas. Ali Verdi Khan was in 1751 compelled to cede Orissa to the Marhattas, and the English merchants at Calcutta were compelled to strengthen their fortifications at Fort William, in Calcutta.

The Black Hole at Calcutta. When Ali Verdi Khan died in 1756, he was succeeded by Siraj-ud-Daula, his daughter's son. Mir Jafar, the husband of his sister, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Nawab's forces. But just about this time the English had already come into conflict with the French in America, and shortly after that in Europe. The extension of this war in India was expected daily. Siraj-ud-Daula, on the other hand, was a head-strong youth. He had soon after his accession to the throne of Bengal antagonized most of the nobles at the court, and even Mir Jafar had turned against him. He now began to extort money from the Marwari merchants in Murshidabad. One of these merchants, whom Siraj-ud-Daula wanted to be arrested, took refuge in

Calcutta and the British authorities there, refused to surrender him into the hands of the Nawab. The Nawab was already suspicious about the British merchants in Calcutta. He did not like the idea of their strengthening their fortifications in Calcutta. The development of affairs in Arcot in south India had alarmed him. He ordered the British people to demolish their recent fortifications at Fort William. When this demand too was refused, the Nawab became indignant. He at once took possession of the English settlement of Kasimbazar, which was in the neighbourhood of Murshidabad, and marched on Calcutta. There were at that time only 230 English people in the town. Mr. Drake, the Presidency Governor, with some English men, women, and children, took to ships, sailed down the Hughly, and sought refuge in one of the islands at the mouth of the Hughly. But there were still left in Calcutta 146 English people. They could not resist the forces of the Nawab. They were soon overpowered, and all of them were in the burning heat of June, thrust into a small room, which was kept as a prison house by the English authorities in Calcutta. Next morning only 23 persons came out alive out of this room.

The Battle of Plassey. When the news about this tragic incident of the Black Hole at Calcutta, reached Madras steps were at once taken to send a relief to Bengal. British forces under the command of Robert Clive and Admiral Watson were despatched. Clive met the Nawab's forces at Sealdah, in January 1757 and compelled them to withdraw. On this he at once took possession of Calcutta. Just about this time Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had invaded India the fourth time, was, it was feared, contemplating an invasion of Bengal. So Siraj-ud-Daula was sending his troops to Bihar, for the defence of his realms, against the Abdali. Under these circumstances he was in a mood to come to terms with Clive. After

his forces were repulsed again at Dumdum, he made peace with the British merchants. By the terms of the treaty that was signed, the Nawab restored to the British all the English settlements he had captured, and he promised to recompense the British merchants for the loss they had suffered during the recent occupation of Calcutta by the Nawab's forces. After peace was made with the Nawab, Clive attacked the French settlement of Chandernagar, and captured it. On this the French took refuge in Murshidabad, and entered the service of the Nawab. But in the meantime new developments had taken place in Murshidabad. The nobles of the court who had been antagonized by Siraj-ud-Daula, formed a conspiracy against the Nawab. They proposed to set aside Siraj-ud-Daula, and put Mir Jafar on the throne. Clive who did not like the idea of the French taking service under the Nawab, also joined this conspiracy. It was agreed that Clive should declare war against the Nawab on the plea that he was in league with the French, and advance against Murshidabad. On the other hand, it was agreed that in the battle that would be fought Mir Jafar would stand aloof. So under the circumstances, when the main forces of the Nawab, which were commanded by Mir Jafar were not expected to take part in the battle, and when it was known that most of the nobles at the court were against the Nawab, and they were not likely to help him, it was easy for Clive to win against the Nawab. Clive met the Nawab's forces at Plassey. The main burden of the battle fell on the French employees of the Nawab. Clive won an easy victory over them. Mir Jafar with his army came over to the side of Clive, the rest of the Nawab's forces were dispersed, and when soon after Siraj-ud-Daula was captured, he was put to death. Mir Jafar was now recognized Nawab of Bengal and Bihar. The British East India Company was now permitted to purchase the *zamindari* rights of the 24 *parganas*, and they also received no less than two

crores of rupees in reward for the services they had rendered. As there was not sufficient cash in the treasury to pay the entire sum to the British people, the revenues of Nadia and Burdwan districts were assigned to them in lieu of the balance that remained unpaid.

The Conquest of Bengal and Bihar. But hardly had things been settled like this when Bengal was invaded by Prince Ali Gohar, the Crown Prince of Delhi. Mir Jafar applied to Clive for assistance. The British East India Company in Bengal were authorized to raise a new army to be maintained at the expense of the Nawab. But Prince Ali Gohar, who had now on the death of his father Alamgir II, in 1759, assumed the title of Shah Alam II, retired from Bengal, and after this the British authorities in Calcutta took over the responsibility of defending henceforth the territories of the Nawab. It was soon found, however, that the Nawab could not meet the expenses of the British army. When he could not meet these expenses he was in 1761 set aside, and his son-in-law, Mir Qasim, was put on the throne. Mir Qasim now assigned to the British East India Company the revenues of the districts of Midnapore, Burdwan, and Chittagong, for the maintenance of the British Army. The new Nawab, however, soon made up his mind to organize an independent army of his own, and thus free himself of the dependance on the British East India Company. In order to find money for his new army he proposed to tax the internal trade of the English merchants. But as they would not agree to this, he made the entire internal trade free, and thus enabled the Indian merchants to compete on equal terms with British merchants within the country. This led to a conflict between the Nawab and the British authorities in Calcutta. In 1764, Mir Qasim was defeated at the battle of Buxar. His allies the Nawab Vazir of Oudh and Shah

Alam II were also compelled to retire. The British people now restored Mir Jafar to the throne. But he soon died in 1765. He was succeeded by his minor son, who was now a mere puppet in the hands of the British Government at Calcutta. In 1765, the Emperor Shah Alam II granted the right of collecting the revenues of Bengal and Bihar to the British East India Company, for an annual remittance of rupees twenty-six lacs to him. The British East India Company were thus promoted from the status of *zamindars* to Diwans under the Mughal constitution. But when in 1771, the Emperor Shah Alam sought the protection of of the Marhattas, Warren Hastings in 1772, stopped the payment of this annual remittance of 26 lacs of rupees to him, and thus established an independent British rule in Bengal and Bihar. Soon after this in 1773, the British Parliament passed a Regulating Act for the government of British possessions in India. British East India Company now became one of the powers contending for supremacy in India. They came into conflict with some of these Indian powers. They fought four wars with Mysore, and three wars with the Marhattas, during the period 1765 to 1805. During the periods of adminis-tion of Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793), and of Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) both Mysore and the Marhattas were subdued and reduced to the position of merely protected states under the British Government in India. In 1783, Great Britain finally lost her colonies in America, but between 1786 and 1805, she succeeded in winning another and vaster empire in the east.

Summary

1. *England and her colonies in America before 1763.* The original 13 colonies of England in America, could be divided into three groups. The southern group began to be colonised after 1607, the northern group after 1620, and the middle group, after they were conquered from the Dutch in 1664. Since during this period the English Parliament was engaged in fighting against the autocracy of Stuart kings the English government could not control these colonies. They from the

very beginning established free and independent governments in their territories. The political institutions in these colonies were modelled after English institutions.

2. *England began to employ her mercantile system to these colonies.* It was first during the time of Oliver Cromwell, that the first Navigation Act was passsd in 1650. By the provisions of this Act, ships belonging to foreign countries were prohibited from coming to or trading with the English colonies in America. In 1651, it was laid down that goods could not be imported into or exported from the English colonies except in English or colonial ships. The Navigation Act passed in the time of king Charles II still further stiffened these Navigation laws. In these days the Dutch were the great commercial rivals of England, and these Navigation laws were really meant against them. During this period England fought three wars against Holland, the first in 1652, the second in 1664-1667, and the third in 1672—1674. Although these navigation laws were passed, they could not on account of great distance from the mother country be strictly enforced in the colonies.

3. *The English Mercantile System begins to press hard on the colonies*, So long as the 'English colonists had to be defended against the French in the north and in the west, and protected from Red Indian raids, the English colonists in America did not resent restrictions on their foreign trade. But when the Seven Years' War was concluded in 1763, the danger from the French disappeared. After this the colonist were not willing to tolerate these trade restrictions. On the other hand, after George III ascended the British throne in 1760, he desired to rule all parts of his dominions more effectively. Navigation laws now began to be enforced more strictly. Restrictions were also put on the manufacture of certain goods in America. All this caused a great amount of resentment in the minds of the colonists.

4. *Attempt of British Parliament to tax the colonies.* In fighting the Seven Years' War in America, Great Britain was compelled to add very much to her public debt. But all this was done for the benefit of the colonists in America. After the conclusion of the war, it was decided to station a strong military force in America, and it was proposed to meet its maintenance charges out of funds raised by taxing the colonies. So in 1764 a duty was put on the import of sugar, and the trade laws were more strictly enforced. In 1763, another tax was imposed by imposing stamp duties on documents. These taxation measures evoked bitter opposition in America. In 1766, the Stamp Act

was repealed, but a Declaratory Act was passed to the effect that the British Parliament had the right to tax the colonies. The colonists did not accept this claim of the British Parliament. In 1767, a number of small customs duties were imposed, and it was proposed that those who infringed these laws would be tried without juries, and that money raised from these duties would be spent in paying the salaries of colonial governors, judges, and soldiers. These measures if enforced would have made the colonial executives independent of the colonial assemblies. The result was Massachusetts protested. and there was a riot in Boston. In 1770, all the customs duties, except on tea. were removed In 1773 the tea which had arrived in Boston was thrown into the sea. On this in 1774 the British Parliament passed a law prohibiting the landing of all ships in Boston, and the colony of Massachusetts was deprived of its former right of choosing its judges, and the members of the upper house of its legislature. These coercive measures passed against Massachusetts alarmed the other colonies. In 1774, representatives of the different colonies met together at Philadelphia. This Congress decided to boycott British goods, till the grievances of the colonists were redressed. In 1775, the colonial militia came into conflict with the British troops at Lexington.

5. *Political Issues involved in the Revolt of the Colonies*. At the beginning the British colonists in America had no intention of seceding from Great Britain. They thought less about self-government than about the imposition of taxes. The colonists only wanted that taxes should be imposed with the consent of the colonial assemblies. But when in 1775 there was an actual conflict between armed forces, just about that time Thomas Paine wrote a pamphlet, in which the *divine right* of kings was denied. When it was found that king George III had turned a deaf ear to all petitions from the colonists, they lost all reverence for the British Crown. They now justified war against England. The important part the colonists played in the Seven Years' War filled them with confidence and self-reliance. So on the 4th July 1776 a Congress of the different colonial representatives issued a Declaration of Independence. It proclaimed three most important principles. All men possess the right to the protection of their life, and liberty, and they should be free to become happy. The people should be governed with their consent. It is just to overthrow a tyrannical government. After this the Congress raised loans, recruited an army and put it under the command of George Washington.

6. *The War of American Independence, 1776—1783.* From the very beginning the American colonists were able to win the sympathy

of the French. Many Frenchmen joined the American army as volunteers. In 1777, the Americans defeated the British army at Saratoga. In 1778, France openly took up the side of the American colonists and declared war against Great Britain. France was soon joined by Spain and Holland. It now became difficult to take reinforcements to America. England now began to asert the right of searching all neutral ships which visited France or Holland. As a protest against this the different powers in Europe, like Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Austria, Naples, and Portugal formed a League of Armed Neutrality. The suppression of rebellion in America thus developed into a big international war. In these days in India too the British East India Company was engaged in wars against Mysore and the Marhattas. Under such circumstances the British general Cornwallis was defeated in 1781 at Yorktown. In 1783, the war was concluded by the treaty of Paris. By this treaty Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the thirteen American colonies. France was restored Pondicherry and four other towns in India, Senegal in West Africa, and some islands in West Indies. Spain received Florida in America, and the island of Minorca in the Mediterranean Sea. This successful revolt of the American colonies ended the mercantile system of England. This war still further exhausted France. But the French people became imbued with the ideas of freedom and democracy. The French Revolution of 1789 was really a child of the American War of Independence.

7. *Establishment of English Settlements in India.* The British East India Company was established in 1600, and the first English settlement was made at Surat in 1612. They founded a centre of trade at Masulipatam in 1628, at Hughly in Bengal in 1634, and at Madras in 1639. They received the island of Bombay from King Charles II in 1668. The city of Calcutta was founded in 1690.

8. *Early French Settlements in India.* The French East India Company was formed in the time of King Louis XIV. They established their headquarters at Pondicherry, in 1674. Their other settlements in India were at Karikal, south of Pondicherry, Mahe, near Cochin on the western coast, and at Chandernagar, in Bengal. In the 17th and in the earlier part of the 18th century both the English and the French companies confined themselves purely to trade. But when after the death of Aurangzeb the Mughal Empire began to decay, and Hindu princes and Mughal officers began to establish independent principalities, these European companies began to obtain political power.

9. *Anglo-French Contest in Arcot in South India.* It was Dupleix, the French governor of the French settlements in India who first thought of establishing a European empire in India. The first Anglo-French contest in India look place in 1745, when in connection with the War of Austrian Succession in Europe, (1740-1748), the French declared war against the English. The French took possession of Madras in 1747, and defeated the army of Nawab Anwar-ud-Din of Arcot in the same year. When peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the English settlements in India taken by the French were restored to the English.

10. *War of Succession in Arcot.* An independent principality had been established in Arcot by Saadat Ali, who ruled from 1710 to 1732. He was succeeded by his nephew, Dost Ali Khan who ruled from 1732 to 1740. When he was killed in battle against the Marhattas, his son Safdar Ali became the Nawab of Arcot, and Chanda Sahib the son-in-law of the old Nawab taken prisoner to Satara. Safdar Ali died in 1742 and his minor son Muhammed Said in 1744. It was at this time that Nizam-ul-Mulk subdued Arcot, and then appointed his own officer Anwar-ud-Din as Nawab of Arcot. When Nizam-ul-Mulk died in 1748, a war of succession began in Haiderabad. The Marhattas also released Chanda Sahib, Muzaffarrjang a daughter's son of the late Nizam-ul-Mulk laid claim to the throne of Haiderabad, and Chanda Sahib laid claim to the rulership of Arcot. They both secured the assistance of the French at Pondicherry. In 1749, Anwar-ud-Din was killed in battle, and his son Muhammed Ali fled away and took refuge in Trichinopoly. Chanda Sahib was now proclaimed Nawab of Arcot, and Muzaffarjang as the Nizam of Haiderabad. But soon after this Nasir Jang the second son of the late Nizam, invaded Arcot, and called upon the English at Madras and the Raja of Mysore to join his forces. On the arrival of Nasir Jang in Arcot, the French withdrew to Pondicherry, and Chanda Sahib also took refuge there. Muzaffarjang was now compelled to submit before his uncle Nasir Jang. But soon after this the French took possession of the fort of Jinji, and when Nasir Jang tried to attack Jingi he was killed by his own feudatory, the Nawab of Cuddapah. By this sudden revolution, Muzaffarjang became the Nizam of Haiderabad, and Chanda Sahib the Nawab of Arcot. Muhammed Ali again took refuge in Trichinopoly. The French influence now became supreme in the South. The French general Bussy was now appointed Commander-in-Chief at Haiderabad. Muzaffarjang was soon displaced by his uncle Salabat Jang, the third son of the late Nizam, but the French retained their influence in Haiderabad.

11. *The Rise of Robert Clive.* During this War of Succession in Arcot, the English at Madras had taken up the side of Nasir Jang and Muhammad Ali. It was during this war that Robert Clive rose into prominence. While Chanda Sahib was besieging Trichinopoly, his capital Arcot was undefended. Clive attacked Arcot and took possession of it. This compelled Chanda Sahib to divide his forces. Eventually in 1752 Chanda Sahib surrendered, and soon after this he was put to death. But the war between the French and the English continued till 1755.

12. *The Seven Years' War and South India.* But before peace could be signed between the English and the French the Seveu Years' War broke out. After the conclusion of the war of succession in Arcot, Dupleix had been recalled, and the French had acknowledged Muhammed Ali as the Nawab of Arcot. Count Lally was now sent to India. He recalled Bussy from Haiderabad, with the result that French influence disappeared from the Nizam's State. By 1757 the English had won the battle of Plassey, and had then become supreme in Bengal. Clive who was now governor of the British possessions in Bengal, sent a Britith force under the command of Sir Eyre Coote to Madras. The French were eventually defeated in 1760 in the battle of Wandiwash. After this French influence disappeared from South India, and Muhammad Ali became practically a puppet of the British East India Company.

13. *British Settlements in Bengal.* The first British Settlement in Bengal was made at Hughly in 1634. In 1690 was founded the city of Calcutta. In 1698, the British East India Company obtained the zamindari rights of Calcutta. Later on when the Marhattas began to invade Bengal they began to fortify Fort William at Calcutta.

14. *The Black Hole at Calcutta.* In 1756, Ali Verdi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, died and was succeeded by his daughter's son Siraj-ud-daula. His sister's husband, Mir Jafar, was appointed commander-in-chief. Siraj-ud-daula soon came into conflict with the nobles at his court and the Marwari merchants in Murshidabad. One of the Marwari merchants sought refuge in Calcutta. The British authorities in Calcutta refused to hand over the refugee to the Nawab. On this the Nawab attacked Calcutta, and threw the English residents of Calcutta into a small dingy room, now known as the Black Hole. Only 23 out of 146 persons came out alive the next morning.

15. *The Battle of Plassey.* When the news of the Black Hole disaster reached Madras, it was decided to send Clive to Bengal. He

defeated the Nawab at Sealdah and Dumdum, and then took possession of Calcutta. After this Clive joined a conspiracy which was formed by the nobles at Murshidabad. Mir Jafar the Commander-in-Chief also joined in this conspiracy. Clive on the outbreak of the Seven Years' War attacked the French Settlement of Chandernagar, and the Frenchmen then sought service with the Nawab. On this Clive declared war against the Nawab. In the battle that was fought Mir Jafar held aloof, and Clive defeated his opponents at the battle of Plassey. Siraj-ud-daula was put to death by a son of Mir Jafar. After this Mir Jafar was proclaimed Nawab, and the British East India Company obtained the zamindari rights of 24 parganas.

16. *The Conquest of Bengal and Bihar.* In 1759, Bengal was invaded by Shah Alam. On this Clive was appointed Commander-in-Chief and the Nawab agreed to pay the expenses of the army raised by the English. As in paying these expenses the Nawab fell into arrears, he was in 1761 set aside, and replaced by his son-in-law Mir Qasim. But since Mir Qasim abolished all the transit duties on the internal trade, there was in 1763 a war between him and the British East India Company. He was along with his allies Shah Alam and the Nawab Vazir of Oudh defeated in 1764 at the battle of Buxar. In 1765, the British East India Company obtained the rights of Diwani in Bengal and Bihar, on the condition of paying 26 lacs of rupees yearly to Shah Alam. When in 1771 Shah Alam accepted the protection of the Marhattas, Warren Hastings stopped the payment of 26 lacs per annum. From this date the British East India Company became independent in Bengal and Bihar. After this they fought four wars against Mysore and three wars against the Marhattas. By 1805 the British East India Company became supreme throughout India. The English had lost their Empire in America in 1783, but between 1771 and 1805 they built up another empire in India.

CHAPTER XIII

THE AGE OF REASON ; ORIGINS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The Middle Ages. It has already been stated in Chapters II and III, that in the Middle Ages, the monarch was believed to derive his powers by Divine Right. He could levy arbitrarily taxes on lands, houses, and persons. In these times the barons and the clergy were the two privileged classes. Justice was administered in courts set up either by the nobles or by the Church. The general mass of the people who lived on the lands of feudal barons, had to make many payments to the lords. They had to give to the barons a share in the agricultural produce of the land they cultivated, serve in the armed forces of their lords, live in the neighbourhood of the manor, where the feudal barons lived, and pay for the use of the oven, the mill, the oil press or the grape press maintained by him and pay bridge or ferry toll to him when crossing the rivers within his territories. The cultivators of the soil, and the artisans living on the manorial estate, could not sell the lands or houses occupied by them without the consent of the lord, nor marry their children without their permission. There were no roads, and merchandise was carried from place to place on pack horses. The people had very little commercial activities, and their needs were satisfied by weekly markets, and periodic fairs which were held in different places by rotation. Money lending was looked down upon, and the

Jews who indulged in money lending were very unpopular. Such were the Middle Ages.

Causes for changes in the Old Order of Things. But things began to change after the wars of the crusades. The European people came into contact with eastern peoples and now the arts and the crafts of the east began to spread in Europe. There was after this a revival of classical learning. Europeans began to study the Greek sciences brought into Europe by the Arabs. During the wars of the crusades, the necessity was felt of making alliances with powers other than the Turks. In order to achieve this object European travellers began to undertake long journeys. Thus was ushered in the age of geographical discoveries. The outbreak of plague in the middle of the 14th century killed such a large number of people in Europe that immense areas of land were put out of cultivation. There was a great scarcity of cultivators, and so the barons were compelled to attract to their own lands cultivators from outside by offering very easy terms. That brought about the emancipation of the serfs, and substitution of rents in kind by rents in cash. The discovery of America and of the new routes to the east, poured into Europe large quantities of gold and silver. All this wealth was invested in banking houses, and since the discovery of the new world, and trade relations with the oriental countries, brought into being new industries, money lying in these banking houses, began to be borrowed for the organization of these industries. So money lending now became more popular. This financial revolution brought in the Age of Capitalism. A new *Bourgeoisie* class now came into existence. The bankers, the manufacturers, the merchants, and the shopkeepers, who had now become very wealthy, began to gather political power for their order. At this time the kings in Portugal, Spain, France, and England,

were engaged in consolidating their territories, and in reducing the powers of the feudal lords. The kings sought the co-operation of the *bourgeoisie* class against the barons. But in return for the monetary assistance the middle classes gave to the king, they obtained for themselves the right of representation in the king's councils. Thus parliaments came into existence.

The Rise of New Thought. But the capitalistic age made society more and more individualistic. On the other hand, the revival of learning brought about a great revolution in thought of the European people. The geographical discoveries had opened up the minds of the people to outside influences. The people now refused to follow the priests blindly. They began to study the scriptures independently. The Church had during the dark ages gathered many privileges for itself, and the increase of wealth in the monasteries and among the priestly classes had introduced among them corruption. Many abuses had crept into the Church. The people protested against these abuses. Thus was brought about the Protestant Revolution. Its reaction was the Catholic Counter Reformation. So we can say that the revival of Classical literature, art and learning, the progress of geographical learning, and the religious reformations were the three movements which helped to complete the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern world. All these things brought about a great amount of awakening among the European peoples.

Actual changes in the Old Order of Things. While the wars of religion were being fought on the European soil, and the western powers like those of Portugal, Spain, France, Holland, and England were engaged in building up colonial empires beyond the seas, European thinkers became engaged in solving the

new social problems the new world was fast raising. It was now felt that some of the old ideas and customs, which may have been useful in the olden times, had become out of date, and it was necessary to discard them. It was realised that the chief obstacle in the way of progress was ignorance, prejudice, and blind faith in things of the past. It was felt that in order to meet the needs of the times, it was necessary to create more rational and enlightened institutions. It thus appears that the thinkers were imbued with a strong reforming spirit. Many of the old institutions which flourished in the Middle Ages, had during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries decayed. The Divine Right of Kings had begun to be questioned. Serfdom had decayed in western Europe. The rise of Capitalism had caused the decay of the Guild System of industry and commerce. The Reformation had in the greater part of north western Europe destroyed monasticism. But in the 18th century the monarchy, though enlightened despotism, was still in most of the countries absolute. The feudal aristocracies, thoroughly subdued by the kings, were still in possession of a very large number of special rights, privileges, and honours. The mass of the people were still excluded from any part in the government of their country, and they were still heavily burdened with taxes and feudal dues. It is no doubt true that the absolutism of Peter the Great introduced civilization into Russia, but it cannot at the same time be denied that the wars of Louis XV plunged France into financial difficulties, and economic troubles. European thinkers began gradually to realise that it was unreasonable that a single individual should have the power to make the laws, impose the taxes, spend the revenues, declare war, and conclude peace, according to his own sweet will. There arose in the 17th century a number of political philosophers, who began to speculate on the origin of the State.

Thomas Hobbes 1588-1679. One of the earliest of these political philosophers was Thomas Hobbes, who was born in England. He was for some time tutor to king Charles II. It was he who first started the Theory of Social Contract for the origin of the State. He thought that originally when man was in a state of nature, each individual fought against the other. Under such a state of affairs the weaker always suffered. So man was driven by necessity to combine with others under some common authority. It was thought that submission to any form of control however, despotic was preferable to the constant warfare under which man in a state of nature lived. In the contract which men thus made among themselves all agreed to submit to a single authority of a king or absolute sovereign. But the latter though benefited by the contract was not a party to it. This contract was according to Hobbes irrevocably binding on all the members of the community of a perpetual social bond. An exposition of this theory of Social Contract was given in *Leviathan* which was published by Hobbes in 1651. This theory was used in defence of the absolute despotism of the Stuart kings.

John Locke 1632-1704. But this theory of social contract was presented in a very different light by John Locke who was a contemporary of Thomas Hobbes. He too was an Englishman. He wrote his *Treatise on Government* in 1690. He held that in this Social Contract the king was also a party to the contract. The people according to his views were under an obligation to obey the king only so long as the king gave protection to the people and did not act tyrannically towards them. He held that if the king broke the contract, then the people were justified in rising against the king, and in setting him aside in favour of somebody else, who agreed to protect the people. This form of the theory of

Social Contract was made the basis of a system of Limited Monarchy, and it was used to justify the English Revolution of 1688.

Montesquieu 1689-1755. Montesquieu was a Frenchman. He had visited England, and he was greatly impressed by the English Constitutional system. He examined every form of government in order to find good and bad points in each. It seemed to him that the English constitution was the best, for in it according to him were combined the virtues of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. The chief point in the *Esprit des Lois*, which he published in 1748, is the emphasis he lays on the separation of the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial functions. He believed that if these three functions of the state were combined in a single authority, the government was bound to be tyrannical, and oppressive. This theory of the separation of powers had a great influence on the framers of the American constitution, and the revolutionaries of France. The same views regarding the separation of powers were expressed by the English jurist Blackstone (1723-1780), who wrote his Commentaries on the Laws of England in 1765.

The Rise of Liberal movements. The Liberal movement in religion first began in England, when the Society of Friends, or Quakers, as they were commonly called, was formed. This movement was started by John Fox (1624-1691) who began to preach in 1647. The 'Friends' as the members of his society were called, were distinguished by their simplicity of life and dress, and their rejection of all ceremonials and sacraments including even the Lord's Supper. The Quakers were the first religious sect to denounce war, and they condemned slavery. Another great leader of the liberal movement in England was John Wesley (1703-1791), who had established a religious society

among his fellow students in Oxford. The piety and regularity of habits of the members of the society founded by him earned for them the nickname of "Methodists." These liberal movements had influenced very much the contemporary political philosophers of England.

Voltaire 1694-1778. But the greatest opponent of religion was Voltaire, who was deeply impressed by the teachings of the Quakers. He admired the English liberty of speech and writing. The writings of Voltaire consist of a series of Essays in which he gave his impressions of England. These letters on the English were condemned by the High Court of Justice at Paris, and publicly burned because they were considered to be scandalous and lacking in the respect due to kings and governments. But this did not discourage Voltaire, and he continued throughout his life to be the chief advocate of Rationalism. Voltaire encouraged not only free criticism in general, but he also furiously attacked the Roman Catholic Church. He believed that the Church was opposed to a free exercise of reason, and hostile to reform, and he held that it interfered with human progress. He ridiculed religious ideas, and religious discussions, and the censorship of the press. But it must be remembered that Voltaire was very often superficial in his judgments, and very hasty in coming to unwarranted conclusions. He saw only evil in the Church, and it seems he was incapable of understanding all that it had done for mankind during all the bygone ages.

Diderot 1713-1784. Voltaire had many admirers. But the most important of them was Denis Diderot. He and his friends prepared articles for a new Encyclopædia, which was intended to spread scientific knowledge among a wide circle of intelligent readers and rouse among them enthusiasm for reform and progress. Diderot and his

fellow workers did not want to rouse opposition against them They respected the prevailing prejudices and gave space in their articles to ideas and opinions which they themselves did not share. But they furnished sufficient material for refuting what they believed to be mistaken ideas. The first two volumes of his Encyclopædia were published in 1752. But the ministers of king Louis XV of France suppressed them, as they were supposed to contain principles hostile to royal authority and religion. But in spite of these obstacles all the 12 volumes of the Encyclopædia were issued. This work, attacked temperately but effectively religious intolerance, oppressive taxes, slave trade, and severity of criminal law. According to Diderot the church and the Bible were not a sufficient authority. He wanted to turn the minds of the people to Natural Science, and Rationalism. He believed that Commerce was a new bond among men, and that in the modern world every nation had an interest in the preservation by every other nation of its wealth, its industry, its banks, and its agriculture.

Rousseau 1712-1778. Another great contemporary of Voltaire was Jean Jacques Rousseau. Unlike Voltaire and Diderot, Rousseau believed that men should rely not so much on head as on heart. In his opinion reason cannot be so sufficient a guide as natural feelings and sentiments. He thought that the civilization of Europe was too artificial, and that it was necessary for men to return to nature and simplicity. His first essay was written in 1750, in which he tried to prove that the developments of the arts and sciences had demoralised mankind in as much as they had promoted luxury, insincerity, and arrogance. He admired the rude vigour of Sparta and condemned the refined and degenerate life of the Athenians. Rousseau's plea for the simple life was liked by all those who were sick of artificiality. His firm belief was in the natural equality of mankind and the

right of every man to have a voice in the government. His celebrated work, the *Social Contract* was published in 1762. In this book he questioned the right of one man to rule over others. He said "Man is born free and yet is now everywhere in chains. One man believes himself the master of others and yet is after all more of a slave than they." Rousseau declared that it was the will of the people that could render government legitimate. In his opinion the real sovereign were the people. Although the people might appoint a single man such as a king to rule over them, and manage the affairs of government for them, yet in his opinion the people should make the laws, for it were they who had to obey them. This theory of Social Contract in the hands of Hobbes supported absolute and despotic monarchy, in the hands of Locke it supported limited monarchy, but in the hands of Rousseau it justified a republican form of government.

Adam Smith 1723-1790. The new social science of Economics was born when in 1776, Adam Smith wrote his celebrated work, *The Wealth of Nations*. Adam Smith was a Scotch philosopher, and his *Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Wealth of Nations* has become the basis of all further progress in the science of Economics. Scholars began after the publication of this book, to investigate the sources of the nation's wealth, the manner in which commodities are produced and distributed, the laws determining demand and supply, the functions of money and credit, and their influence on commerce and industry. These Economists began to study the different methods of taxation, and many of them began to advocate the imposition of a single tax which should fall directly upon the landowner.

The Rise of New Sciences. All this new knowledge in the sphere of Politics and Economics led people to see the evils of the existing system,

and gave them new hopes for improving themselves by giving up the mistaken beliefs and defective methods. There was thus a spirit of reform abroad, which not only penetrated the king's palace, but also made the people dissatisfied with the existing order of things. This spirit of enquiry into the various social problems of the day, and the desire for reform was generated by the rise of new sciences which took place about this time. We have seen in Chapter II that it was Roger Bacon (1214-1294) who first criticized Aristotle. He for the first time held that truth could be reached a hundred times better by experiments with real things than by pouring over the writings of classical scholars. He was the first scholar who advocated that one should not rely on the authority of ancient writers unless their statements were corroborated by actual experiments. In the 13th and 14th centuries new inventions came in. In mathematics, Indian numerals were substituted for the old Roman numerals, Gunpowder was discovered, and now it was found that the earth revolved round its own axis. The independence of thought promoted by these astronomical and other discoveries, coupled with the spirit of enterprise which brought in geographical discoveries, caused the birth of new sciences. Vesalius (1514-1564), a Flemish student of Medicine, gave to Europe the first careful description of the human body, based on dissection. Vesalius may, therefore, be said to be the founder of the present day science of human Anatomy. Another Medical Man, William Hervey, (1578-1657), a native of England, making experiments on living animals discovered that blood circulated. He thus founded the modern science of Physiology. The Italian Physicist John Baptista Porta (1543-1615) invented the Camera Obscura, and the English Physicist, Sir Isaac Newton, (1642-1707) discovered the Law of Gravitation, and proved that all the planets and the stars were in their motions in the heavens governed by this universal Law

of Gravitation. The American Physicist, Benjamin Frankhin (1706-1790), proved that the lightening in the clouds was a purely electrical phenomenon. The Swedish scientist Linnæus (1707-1778) founded the science of Botany, and a French naturalist De Buffon (1707-1788) was the founder of the present day science of Zoology. Another French scientist Lavoisier (1743-1794) discovered that water was not an element as believed in by the ancients, but a compound of two elements Oxygen and Hydrogen gases. He also proved that matter is indestructible. The Italian scientist Count Volta (1745-1827) has made his name famous by producing electricity from "cells" which are now known as Voltaic cells. The French scientists invented the balloon, which made its first successful ascent in 1783. From this time started the effort to conquer the air. But the most important hypothesis in the realm of Astronomy was made by Laplace, (1749-1827) who conjectured that our own and other solar systems had been produced by the condensation of nebulous matter once diffused through space. He held that the Nebulæ were stages in the formation of stars. All these discoveries, investigations, and theories, have entirely upset old ideas about the universe, and about creation, and about the origins of life.

The New Knowledge and the New Thought. This new knowledge was bound to affect immensely the prevailing ideas about religion, government, commerce, and industry. The telescope opened out before the gaze of man the unlimited space of the starry heavens, the microscope revealed the existence of the minutest forms of life on the earth, in the water, and in the air, and the compass made travelling on the mighty oceans quite safe. Man now began to realize that by mastering the secrets of nature, it was within his power to control the forces of nature, and thus utilise them for the service of man.

If it was possible for man to conquer nature, could he not solve the social problems of the state and the church, and make this earth more comfortable for man? The theories of the French and the English political philosophers revolutionised the mind of the people which were already unhinged by the discoveries and the theories of the scientists. The ground was thus ready for a big political revolution in Europe.

The Old Regime in France. In the beginning of this chapter it has already been stated that the most important of the European institutions which had begun to be denounced were despotic kings, arbitrary imprisonment, unfair taxation, censorship of the press, serfdom, feudal dues, and the friction between the church and the state. As the spirit of reform was out in the air some of the defects had begun to be remedied by the benevolent despots like Catherine the Great of Russia, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Jesoph II of Austria. But this paternal government of these enlightened despots failed. The reason was obvious. In the first place these despots could not determine the policy of their successors. An able and liberal-minded ruler might be succeeded by a ruler who was indolent, extravagant, and unprogressive. Secondly, the despots, however enlightened, treated their subjects as children, and introduced reforms without first finding out whether the particular reform was desired by the people. The new knowledge had inculcated among the people a spirit of independence, and they wanted to determine themselves the reforms they wanted. In fact the people wanted to rule themselves. Why this political revolution first took place in France requires to be examined. The revolution started in France, not because the misery of the people there had become more intolerable than in any other country of Europe. It may readily be admitted that

the condition of the mass of the people in Germany, Austria, and Russia was much worse than what it was in France. But the speculations of the political philosophers like those of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire, had awakened the critical faculties of the French intelligentsia. Then again a powerful impulse came from across the English Channel. The spectacle of the Puritan Revolution (1648-1660) and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 both in the seventeenth century in England, had a very great influence on Frenchmen. The English people had put to death one king, and deposed another. They had established the supremacy of Parliament in the state. It was the example of parliamentary England which Montesquieu put forward before his countrymen for adoption. It was the political philosophy of an Englishman, John Locke, upon which the French political philosopher, Rousseau, built up the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. But another and a more powerful impulse came from across the Atlantic Ocean. After the close of the War of American Independence, the French soldiers together with Lafayette, and other officers, returned home, and preached republican doctrines to their countrymen. Shortly after the Independence of America was acnowledged in 1783, by England, a French nobleman translated and published the constitutions of all the 13 American states. Benjamin Franklin the American ambassador in France did much to spread the ideas of freedom and liberty among Frenchmen. The ground was, therefore, ready for the outbreak of revolution in France.

Immediate cause of the French Revolution. But the immediate cause of the Revolution was the financial difficulties of the French government. We must remember that France took a prominent part in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Then again France had to fight sa many as five wars in the reign of Louis XIV. During the

reign of Louis XV, France again fought in the War of Austrian Succession, and in the Seven Years' War. In the Seven Years' War France suffered very heavy losses. French armies were repeatedly defeated on the battlefields of Europe and French fleets were swept away from the high seas. When this war was concluded by the peace of Paris in 1763, French flag ceased to fly in North America, and the dreams of a French empire in India vanished altogether. Although Lorraine was annexed to France in 1766, and Corsica was added to France in 1768, yet they were no compensation for the heavy loss of the colonial empire. These military failures of the reign of Louis XV were a source of great humiliation to Frenchmen, and this undermined their loyalty to the king. These wars, on the other hand, increased immensely the public debt of the country. The interest charges on these debts were an ever increasing burden on the government. Another great evil from which France was suffering was the confusion which was caused by the division of the country into independent fiscal units. Although during the last one hundred years and more the king of France had consolidated his territorial possessions, and France had now reached its natural scientific frontiers, yet it could not be denied that the country was not at all homegeneous. A long line of kings had by adding bits by bits, patched up a mass of territory, but all these different territories maintained their separate individuality. Some of the districts which were under the sway of the French kings were as was the case with Languedoc, Provence, Brittany, and Dauphiny, considerable states in themselves. They had their own laws, customs, and system of government. When these provinces were annexed by the kings of France, they had uot changad their laws so as to make them correspond with those of his other dominions. The kings of France were satisfied if a new province added to the!r dominions paid its due share of taxes. and treated his officers with respect.

In some cases the provinces retained their local assemblies, and controlled to a certain extent their own affairs. The provinces into which France was divided were not merely artificial divisions created for the purposes of administrative convenience, but represented real historical differences. While in a considerable portion of southern France, the Roman Law still prevailed, in the central parts and in the west and the north, there were no less than two hundred and eighty five different local codes of law in force. One of the heaviest taxes was that on salt. This varied from province to province. The result was that in order to prevent smuggling the government had to undergo a very great expense in guarding the boundary lines between the various districts and provinces. These internal customs barriers must have restricted very much, trade and commerce within the country. But in addition to these fiscal troubles, the society too in these days was not homegeneous in France. The class differences caused a great amount of discontent. All Frenchmen did not enjoy the same rights as citizens. The nobility and the clergy, who formed a very small community in the population, were treated differently by the state from the rest of the people. They did not have to pay one of the heaviest and the most unpopular of the taxes, the *taillie*. In the case of the other taxes too the members of these privileged classes escaped taxation on one ground or another. Then again the members of these privileged classes were not required to serve in the militia. They were not required to give help in the construction of roads. The Church too at this time performed many important functions. It was in charge of education, and it supervised the relief of the sick and the poor. The church was very wealthy and was supposed to possess the fifth of all the land in France. The priests claimed that their property being dedicated to God was not subject to taxation. They however made

free contributions to the king for the expenses of the country. The church was even in these days very independent. It collected its tithes directly from the people, and its vast possessions made it self-dependent. But here again a large part of this enormous income of the church went to the higher clergy, that is to say to the bishops, the archbishops, and abbots. Since these higher clergy were appointed by the king, mostly from among the courtiers, they usually neglected their duties as officers of the church. They acted as big lords, and spent most of their time at the court. The ecclesiastical functions were really performed by the lower clergy, who hardly received enough to keep their body and soul together. The sympathies of the lower clergy were, therefore, with the ordinary mass of the people.

The Feudal Dues. All these privileges of the nobles, and of the clergy really originated in the middle ages. A study of their rights and privileges would show that they were in reality survivals of the institutions which had prevailed in pre-crusades times, when the great majority of the people were serfs living on the manorial estates of their lords. Although in France serfdom had now disappeared, and the peasants were now free men who owned their lands, still in theory the French Law held that there was "no land without its lord." The result was that the lords were still able to collect a large number of ancient feudal dues from the inhabitants living within the limits of the old manorial estates. The privileges and feudal dues varied from place to place. The nobles had a right to a certain portion of the peasant's crops. He sometimes collected a toll on the sheep and cattle that were driven past his house. He sometimes claimed a right to exact one fifth of the price, whenever the peasant sold his land. Then again the peasants enjoyed the exclusive right of hunting. The game which they preserved for their amusement

did great damage to the crops of the peasants, who were forbidden to interfere with hares and deer. Many of the manors had great pigeon-houses, in which thousands of pigeons were kept. These pigeons usually spread themselves over the fields of the peasants, and devoured the newly sown seed. These dovecots really constituted one of the chief grievances of the peasants.

The Social Divisions. When we come to the public services, we find that at this time all higher offices in the army were reserved for the nobles, so were the easier and the most lucrative posts in the church reserved for the nobility. All others who did not belong to these two privileged orders of the Nobility and the Clergy constituted the Third Estate. A great part of this Third Estate lived in the villages and tilled the soil. It were these people who paid the taxes. It were they who paid a large number of irritating dues to the lords. Whenever any public works, like roads, were required to be constructed in any locality, it were these people who were required to do forced labour, called *corvee*. They frequently suffered from local famines. All these were no doubt great disabilities for the mass of the people. But it must be remembered the condition of the people in other countries was much worse. It was really the speculations of the political philosophers which made the people discontented in France.

The Parlement of Paris. The *Parlement* of Paris, in reality a judicial body, first helped to prepare the way for the Revolution. Although the French king possessed unlimited powers, and he had no legislature containing the representatives of the people, to control his actions, yet it is true that the so-called *Parlement* did to some extent possess the power of hampering the king. They were not parliaments like the English parliament, but were in reality High Courts of Justice.

They claimed that whenever the king decided to make a new law he must send it to them for registration. They acknowledged the right of the king to make laws, but they claimed the right to protest against any particular measure whenever they disapproved of it. They usually urged that the ministers had abused their powers in advising the king. Whenever the *Parlement* protested they very often went to the length of having their protest printed and sold in the streets, so that the people might know that the *Parlement* was defending the nation against the oppressive measures of the king's ministers. Whenever the king received such a protest, he either recalled the distasteful decree, or amended it in accordance with the wishes of the *Parlement.* But it was also open to the king to summon the *Parlement* in his presence, in a solemn session, and command it with his own mouth to register the law in its records. The *Parlement* was in that case compelled to obey. But later on the *parlement* began to claim that a decree registered against its will was not valid. In the 18th century there were frequent struggles between the king and the *Parlement* of Paris. They prepared the way for Revolution, first by bringing important questions to the notice of the people, and secondly, by criticising the measures of the king and his ministers, and thus pointing out to the people that the king was really not free to alter the "fundamental laws" of the state. In this way they claimed to be the guardians of the unwritten constitution of the country. This helped to promote the growing discontent against the government. An attempt was made to check the public opinion created and moulded by the political philosophers, but it was all in vain.

Louis XVI 1774-1792. It was under this intellectual ferment, and political discontent that in 1774, Louis XVI ascended the French throne. The wars of his predecessor, Louis XV, had brought France to the

verge of bankruptcy. Although the taxes were so oppressive as to arouse universal discontent, yet the government was facing every year a huge deficit. The personal conduct of Louis XV was scandalous. He allowed his mistresses and courtiers to meddle in public affairs and plunder the royal treasury. The new king Louis XVI was only twenty years old, when he ascended the throne. He was ill educated, indolent, unsociable, and very fond of hunting. He was a good-natured young man and free from the vices of his grandfather, Louis XV. His wife Marie Antoinette was a daughter of the celebrated Maria Theresa, the empress of Austria. This marriage had been arranged in 1770, with a view to maintain the Franco-Austrian alliance formed in 1756. Marie Antoinette was a light-hearted woman, bent on pleasure. She despised her husband, and she did not hesitate to interfere in the business of the government whenever she wished to help one of her favourites or injure some of those she disliked.

Turgot 1774-1776. At the very start of his reign, Louis XVI took his duties rather seriously. He appointed Turgot, the ablest of all the French Economists, as Controller General of Finances. The greatest need of the hour was economy, for in that way alone could the government be saved from bankruptcy. Turgot felt that the vast amount spent in maintaining the luxury of the royal court should be reduced. Then again the French king had long been accustomed to grant " pensions " to his favourites rather recklessly. That also cost a good deal. But any attempt to reduce the amount of these pensions was bound to arouse the strong opposition of the courtiers. Turgot's position was, therefore, a very difficult one. He could neither reduce the expenses of the court at Versailles, nor reduce the pensions of the courtiers. He was appointed Controller General in 1774,

but was dismissed in 1776. He had, however, succeeded in inducing the king to abolish the guilds and the forced labour on the roads, but these decrees were revoked after the dismissal of Turgot.

Necker 1776-1783. Turgot was succeeded by Necker. It was impossible for him to affect economies in the administration, so he borrowed vast sums of money in order to carry on the war which France as the ally of the United States of America, had undertaken against England. These loans helped to produce the financial crisis which was the immediate cause of the Revolution. Necker was also the first minister who allowed the people at large to know what the exact financial situation in the country was. He presented to the king in February 1781, a report on the financial condition of the kingdom. The report showed how the funds at the disposal of the government were spent. This Report was printed, and it was very widely read. The people could now see for the first time how much the hated *taille* and the unpopular salt tax took from the people, and how much the king spent on himself and his favourites.

Calonne 1783-1787. Necker was soon dismissed, and he was now followed as Controller General by Calonne who remained in office from 1783 to 1787. Calonne was at first very popular with the king and the courtiers, for he spent the public revenues more recklessly than his predecessors. But he soon found himself in a position when he could obtain no more loans. The *Parlement* of Paris could consent to no more loans in a time of peace. At last Calonne was compelled to inform the king that the State was on the verge of bankreptcy and that in order to save the country from the impending financial ruin, a radical reformation of the entire constitution was necessary. He advised that the Estates-General which had never been summoned by the king since 1614,

should now be summoned. This report of Calonne may be taken as the beginning of the French Revolution. The Estates General were summoned in 1789.

Summary

1. *The Middle Ages.* In the middle ages the king was believed to derive his powers by divine right. He could levy arbitrary taxes on lands, houses, and persons. Justice was administered in the courts set up by the nobles and the church. The mass of the people had to pay. many dues to the nobles and the clergy. The cultivators were attached to the soil. They could not sell their lands or marry their children without the permission of their lords. There was very little commerce and trade, and the needs of the people were satisfied by weekly markets and periodical fairs. Money lending was looked down upon.

2. *Causes for the changes in the old order of things.* Things began to change after the wars of the Crusades. When Europeans came into contact with the Oriental peoples, Oriental learning began to revive. These wars induced Europeans to seek alliances with non-Turkish peoples. This ushered in the Age of Geographical Discoveries. When in the 14th century the plague killed a very large proportion of the population, and extensive areas of land went out of cultivation, the demand for agricultural labour began to be very great. That brought about the emancipation of the serfs. Rents in kind began to be substituted for rents in cash. The discovery of America and the discovery of the new sea routes to India poured into Europe huge quantities of gold and silver. This led to the establishment of banking houses, and thus was brought in the Age of Capitalism. A new middle class consisting of the bankers, the manufacturers, the merchants. and the shop-keepers, now began to gather political power into its hands. At this time the kings in Portugal, Spain, France, and England, were engaged in consolidating the royal power. They made an alliance with the middle classes, and thereby reduced the powers of the feudal lords. Parliamentary bodies now came into existence.

3. *The Rise of New Thought.* The revival in learning brought about a revolution in thought. The geographical discoveries opened up the minds of the Europeans to outside influences. Blind faith in the priests was now shaken. This led to the Protestant Revolution

and the Catholic Counter Revolution. We can say that the revival of Learning, the progress of geographical discoveries, and the religious reformation were the three movements which helped to complete the transition from the middle ages to the modern world.

4. *Actual Changes in the Old Order of Things.* While religious wars were being fought on the soil of Europe, Portugal, Spain, France, Holland, and England were engaged in building up colonial empires beyond the seas. European thinkers became engaged in solving the new social problems, that were fast rising. It was considered desirable to reform the old practices and institutions. The divine right of the kings began to be questioned. Serfdom had decayed in western Europe. The rise of Capitalism caused the decay of the guild system of commerce and industry. Religious Reformation destroyed Monasticism. Feudal aristocracies were subdued by the kings. But the mass of the people were still excluded from any part in the government of their country. Gradually it began to be realized that it was unreasonable for one individual to have the power of making the laws, imposing the taxes, spending the revenues, declaring wars, and concluding peace according to his own sweet will. In the 17th century people began to speculate on the origin of the state.

5. *Thomas Hobbes, 1588-1679.* He believed that man in a state of nature fought against one another. Under these conditions the weaker suffered. This in his opinion led man to accept the protection of some strong individual, whom he agreed to obey. This agreement to obey the protector or the king was called by the name of Social Contract. All these views he expressed in his book, *Leviathan*, published in 1651, wherein he justified the absolute despotism of Stuart kings.

6. *John Locke, 1632-1704.* He wrote his *Treatise on Government* in 1690. He held that in the Social Contract the king was also a party to the contract, and that if the king ceased to give protection to the people, the latter had the right to rise against him and set him aside. He really speaking justified the Revolution of 1688.

7. *Montesquieu, 1689-1755.* He was a great admirer of the English Constitutional system. In his opinion in the English constitution were combined the virtues of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. In his *Esprit de Lois*, published in 1748, he lays great emphasis on the separation of the Executive, the Legislature, and the judiciary.

This theory of the separation of powers had a great influence on the framers of the American Constitution, and the Revolutionaries of France.

8. *The Rise of Liberal Movements*. Liberal movement first began in England when John Fox (1624-1691) first formed the Society of Friends, or Quakers, as they were called. They were distinguished for simplicity of life and dress, and rejection of all ceremonials, and sacraments. They were the first people to denounce war, and slavery. Another great Liberal leader was John Wesley (1707-1793), who was the founder of the Methodist movement. These liberal movememts had a great influence on the minds of the contemporary political philosophers.

9. *Voltaire, 1694-1778*. He was deeply impressed by the teachings of the Quakers. He admired the English liberty of speech and writing. He encouraged not only free criticism in general, but he also furiously attacked the Roman Catholic Church. He believed that the church was opposed to a free exercise of reason, and hostile to reform, and he held that it interfered with human progress. But his criticism was very often superficial, and he ignored the services the church had rendered to society in the bygone ages.

10. *Diderot, 1713-1784*. He was a follower of Voltaire. His idea was to spread scientific knowledge among a wide circle of intelligent readers and rouse among them enthusiasm for reform and progress. He attacked temperately but effectively religious intolerance, opressive taxes, slave trade, and severity of criminal law. The Church and the Bible were in his opinion not a sufficient authority. He wanted to turn the minds of the people to Natural Science and Rationalism.

11. *Rousseau, 1712-1778*. Unlike Voltaire and Diderot, Rousseau believed that man should rely not so much on head as on heart. In his opinion reason cannot be so sufficient a guide as natural feelings and sentiments. He thought that the civilization of Europe was too artificial and that it was necessary to return to nature and simplicity. He held that art and sciences had demoralized mankind, inasmuch as they had promoted luxury, insincerity, and arrogance. He admired the rude vigour of Sparta, and condemned the refined and degenerate life of the Athenians. He had a firm belief in the natural equality of mankind, and the right of every man to have a voice in the government. His celebrated book, the *Social Contract* was published in 1762. In this book he declared that it was the will of the people which made govern-

ment legitimate. In his opinion the theory of the social contract justi. fied a republican form of government.

12. *Adam Smith, 1723-1790.* His well known book *The Wealth of Nations* was published in 1776. He is the founder of the present day science of Economics. After him people began to investigate the sources of the nation's wealth, the manner in which commodities are produced and distributed, the laws determining demand and supply, the function of money and credit, and their influence on commerce and industry. These Economists studied the different methods of taxation, and advocated the imposition of a single tax which should fall directly on the landowner.

13. *The Rise of New Sciences.* Scientific spirit was first roused in Europe by Roger Bacon (1214-1294) who criticized Aristotle, and who was the first scholar to advocate that one should not rely on the authority of ancient writers unless their statements were corroborated by actual experiments. In the 13th and 14th centuries many new inventions were made. In Arithmetic, Indian Numerals were substituted for Roman Numerals, Gunpowder was discovered, and later on it was found that the earth revolved round its own axis. Vesalius (1514-1564) founded the science of Anatomy, William Hervey, (1578-1657), founded the science of Physiology, Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1707) discovered the Law of Gravitation, and proved that all the planets and stars were in their motions governed by this universal law. Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) proved that lightening in the clouds was an electrical phenomenon. Linnœus (1707-1778) founded the science of Botany, and de Buffon (1707-1788) founded the science of Zoology. Lavoisier (1743-1794) proved that water was not an element but a compound of oxygen and hydrogen. and he also showed that matter was indestructible. Count Volta (1745-1827) invented cells for the generation of electicity. Laplace (1749-1827) started the theory that Nebulæ were a stage in the formation of stars. All these discoveries, investigations, and theories, entirely upset old ideas about the universe and about creation, and about the origins of life.

14. *The New Knowledge and the New Thought.* This now knowledge had a great influence on the prevailing ideas about religion, government, commerce, and industry. The Telescope and the Microscope revolutionised all ideas about the universe and life. Man now began to realise that by mastering the secrets of nature, it was within his power to control the forces of nature and utilise them for the

service of man. The political theories of French and English thinkers revolutionised the minds of the people which were already unhinged by scientific discoveries. The ground was therefore ready for a big political revolution.

15. *The Old Regime in France.* In the 17th and 18th centuries the absolute monarchs had exercised enlightened and benevolent despotism. But it failed, because an able ruler was not succeeded necessarily by another able ruler, and secondly under all kinds of despotism the people were treated as children. The new knowledge had made people more independent. They wanted self-government. The revolution started in France not because the people there were more miserable but because they had on account of the teachings of the political philosophers become more critical of the existing order. The Puritan Revolution of England (1648—1660), the Glorious Revolution of England 1688, and the American War of Independence (1776—1783) had a very great influence on the minds of Frenchmen.

16. *Immediate Causes of the French Revolution.* The wars of Louis XIV and Louis XV had exhausted France. The public debt of the country increased enormously. That caused financial difficulties.

17. *Fiscal and Territorial Divisions.* Although the French kings had consolidated their territorial possessions, yet the different parts of the country continued to have different laws, different taxation systems, and different representative assemblies. The internal customs barriers restricted very much trade and commerce,

18. *The Privileges of the Nobles.* The nobles were exempted from the payment of taxation, but they monopolised all services and were not required to serve in the militia, or to help in the construction of roads.

19. *The Privileges of the Church.* The church performed the most important function of controlling education and of distributing relief to the sick and the poor. The church was very rich and the property held by it was exempt from the payment of taxation. The higher clergy being appointed by the crown lived at court, and the lower clergy sympathised with the mass of the people.

20. *The Feudal Dues.* In the 18th century France, although serfdom had disappeared, the lords still collected a large number of dues from the peasants. The lord had a right to a share in the produce of land, he levied tolls on sheep and cattle, he could claim a share in the price of the land the peasant sold. He exercised exclusive rights

of hunting, and the game preserved for the amusement of the nobles did a great amount of damage to the crops of the peasants.

21. *The Social Divisions.* All the higher posts in the army, the church, and the public services were reserved for the nobility. The mass of the people who constituted the Third Estate, tilled the soil, paid the taxes to the crown, paid feudal dues to the lords, did forced labour on the roads, and were compelled to serve in the army, It is they who suffered from famines, But such was the condition of the masses in every other country in Europe. The French people were discontented because they were awakened by the criticisms of the political philosophers.

22. *The Parlement of Paris.* The *Parlement* of Paris was not a representative assembly like the British House of Commons, but a High Court of Justice. All new laws and decrees passed by the King had to be registered with the *Parlement* of Paris, who claimed the right to protest if they disapproved any such law or decree. These protests were printed, published, and sold to the public. Later they began to claim that the laws and decrees of the Crown disapproved by the *Parlement* were invalid. The frequent quarrels between the king of France, and the *Parlement* of Paris promoted discontent among the people, and prepared the way for revolution. This discontent was further intensified by the writings of political philosophers.

23. *Louis XVI, 1774—1792.* When Louis XVI ascended the French throne, France was thoroughly exhausted by the wars of Louis XIV and Louis XV. The personal conduct of Louis XV had been scandalous. The new king Louis XVI was ill-educated, indolent, unsociable and fond of hunting. His wife Marie Antoinette was a light-hearted woman bent on pleasure. She despised her husband, and interfered in the affairs of the State, in order to help her favourites, or injure her enemies.

24. *Turgot, 1774—1776.* Immediately after ascending the throne, Louis XVI appointed Turgot as the Controller General of Finances. He wanted to cut down the expenses of the court, and reduce the pensions of the courtiers, He had, therefore, to meet very great opposition. He was dismissed in 1776.

25. *Necker, 1776—1783.* Turgot was succeeded by Necker. During the American War of Independence, in which France fought against England, vast sums of money were borrowed. By submitting a report on the finances of the country he was the first minister to let the people

know what were the revenues of Government, andhow much out of this was spent on the court and the courtiers.

26. *Calonne, 1783—1787.* He was very popular both with the king as well as the courtiers, because he met the expenses of the court and the pensions of the courtiers by borrowing money. The *Parlement* of Paris protested against the contraction of heavy loans even in peace time. At length Calonne was unable to get any more loans. He now advised the king to summon the Estates General which had never been summoned since 1614. The Estates General was summoned in 1789, and that was the beginning of the French Revolution.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The Assembly of Notables 1789. When Calonne could no more raise loans from the public, he confessed the truth to the king, and advised a radical reform in the financial system of the country. He proposed a reduction in the *taille*, and a reform in the salt tax. He wanted to do away with the internal customs barriers, and to correct the abuses in the guilds. But the greatest reform he wanted was to do away with the privileges of the nobility and the clergy, who enjoyed large exemptions from taxation. So he proposed to the king that he should summon an assembly of prominent persons in the church as well as the nobility, and obtain their consent for such changes in the financial administration as might increase the prosperity of the country, and at the same time give enough money to the state treasury. This summoning of an assembly of *Notables* was practically a confession to the effect that the king and his government could not any more carry on the administration without the assistance of the people. It is true the Notables who were selected to meet in the assembly were bishops, archbishops, dukes, judges, and high state officials, who were all members of the privileged classes, but it cannot be denied that they were outside the circle of the ordinary courtiers of the king. This Assembly of Notables was summoned in 1786. Before this Assembly, Calonne explained his difficulties. He pointed out

that the chief abuses in the existing system of financial administration were heavy taxation burdens on the labouring classes, fiscal privileges enjoyed by the nobility and the clergy, and unjust exemption from taxation of the privileged classes, which imposed unequal taxation burdens on the different sections of the population. Calonne wanted to remove all these abuses. But the Notables had no confidence in him and they refused to confirm his programme of reform. On this Calonne was dismissed. Shortly after this the Notables were also sent back to their homes. They were able to do nothing. After this Louis XVI attempted to carry through the most pressing financial reforms in the usual way by sending them to the *Parlements* for registration.

Parlement of Paris. But the *Parlement of Paris* as usual created trouble for the King's ministry. It not only refused to register the new taxation measures desired by the king, but asserted that it was "only the nation assembled in the Estates General that can give the consent necessary to the establishment of a permanent tax." They said that only the nation, after it has learnt the true state of the finances can destroy the great abuses and open up important resources. This declaration of the *Parlement of Paris* was followed in a few days by the humble request that the king should assemble the Estates General of his kingdom. The Estates were accordingly summoned to meet on 1st May, 1789. The public naturally became very much interested in the summoning of this Estates General, for its activities were likely to touch them most closely. But the last time the Estates General had met in France was in 1614. After this for 175 years it had never met. So very few people in France knew anything about it. In the Middle Ages the Estates-General consisted of three chambers. The First Chamber consisted of the Clergy, the second of the Nobility, and the third of the middle class people,

the traders and the merchants. All these three Estates of the Realm—the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate—were in the middle ages accustomed to send an *equal* number of representatives. The representatives of the three estates, who separately represented the interests of their own order, and not of the nation as a whole, did not sit together, and vote in a single chamber. To the Frenchmen of 1788 this old system of the delegates of the three estates sitting in separate chambers was completely out of date. If the Estates met in separate chambers, the two privileged classes, the clergy and the nobility obtained two votes against one of the third estate. So there was a good deal of public discussion in connection with the Estates-General. Pamphlets began to appear in large numbers, and they were eagerly read by the people. The common people wanted that the Estates-General should be organised as a single chamber House, in which the members should vote not as representatives of the three different interests but as individuals. Necker had again been recalled by the king, with the hope that he might succeed in adjusting the finances. He advised that the third Estate might have as many deputies as both the other Houses put together. But the demand for the three estates to meet in one chamber was not conceded. Another great problem that was discussed in connection with the Estates General was what Reforms the Estates would undertake. So when the elections to the Estates General were being held, the electors and the general mass of the people expressed their opinion in the form of lists of grievances. In this connection each village and town in France had an opportunity to say exactly what it wanted the Estates General to do. These lists of grievances were called *Cahiers*. A study of these *Cahiers* shows that the people were ready for a revolutionary change in the system of government. It was clear the people were against the continuance of an absolute and despotic form of monarchy. They wanted a constitution

which could define the rights of all, and provide the laws to maintain them. The people were determined to change completely the existing order of things. It was under these ideas that the Estates-General assembled in Versailles on 5th May 1789.

The Estates General 1789. But in spite of the king's commands the representatives of the third estate refused to sit in a separate chamber. They requested the representatives of the Clergy and the Nobility to join the people's representatives and hold deliberations in common. At length on 17th June, the deputies of the third estate on the motion of Sieyas (1748-1836), declared themselves a "National Assembly." They argued that since they represented at least ninety-six per cent of the nation, the deputies of the privileged classes might be neglected altogether. In the Estates General the Chamber of the Clergy consisted of 290 members, the Chamber of Nobles of 270 members, and the House of Commons of 576 delegates. It was therefore clear that in a joint meeting of the three chambers the Commons could out-vote the other two chambers combined. Under the influence of his courtiers the king tried to restore the old system by arranging a solemn joint session of the three orders, at which he presided in person. In this joint session he presented to the delegates an exhaustive programme of reforms, and then commanded the Estates to sit in separate chambers according to the old custom. But the Commons refused to sit in a separate chamber. On this the king posted troops at the doors of the hall which had been set apart in the palace of Versailles for the third Estate. Finding their entrance barred, the Commoners adjourned to a building near by, which had been used as a tennis court. Here on the 20th June they took the famous "tennis court oath", to come together wherever circumstances may dictate, until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established. When the

Master of the Ceremonies repeated the king's commands, and required the Third Estate, and the representatives of the lower clergy who were sitting with the Commoners, to sit in separate chambers, Mirabeau, (1759—1794), the leader of the Commons, said "We are assembled by the national will; force alone will disperse us." King Louis XVI did not dare to use force, for even many of the nobles under the leadership of Marquis de Lafayette (1757—1834) had joined the Commoners. The king now gave way and requested the rest of the clerical and the noble representatives to unite with the Third Estate in the National Assembly.

Outbreak of the French Revolution. But hardly had the National Assembly begun the great task of preparing a constitution, when its work was interrupted by the new developments that took place in the city of Paris. The king had been advised by his courtiers to gather together the Swiss and German troops who formed the royal guard. He was also induced to dismiss Necker who was at this time very popular among the people. When the people of Paris heard about these things, there was great excitement in the city. There were also some disturbances in Paris. On the 14th of July crowds of people assembled together, procured arms to protect themselves, and one of these bands, led by the old Parisian guards, turned to the ancient fortress of the Bastille, in the eastern quarters of the city, on the parapets of which guns had been mounted. The castle had long had a bad reputation as a place of confinement for those who were imprisoned by *letters de cachet*. When the mob demanded admission into the castle it was refused. They were fired upon, and about a hundred people were killed. On this the mob attacked the fort. After a brief courageous assault the place was taken, and the mob now rushed into the building. There were at the time only seven

prisoners in the fortress. They were set free, and thereafter the people soon began to demolish the walls of the fort. The anniversary of the fall of the Bastille is still celebrated as the great national holiday of France. The disturbances caused by the people in the city, led the well-to-do citizens of Paris to take steps for security and good government of the Capital. They formed a municipal council, or commune, made up of representatives elected from the different wards of the city. A militia force made up of volunteers, and called the National Guard, was also organised, and the popular Marquis de Lafayette was put in command of this force. Seeing all this King Louis XVI also submitted. He withdrew the troops, dismissed the reactionary ministers, and paid a visit of reconciliation to Paris. In token of his good intentions he put on a red, blue, and white cockade. Red and blue were the colours of Paris, and white that of the Bourbons. This was to be the new tri-colour national emblem of France. The example set by Paris, was soon followed by the provinces. Many cities and towns set up Communes and formed national guards. In the rural areas the peasants plundered and burned the local forts and castles and took particular care to burn and destroy all those legal documents by which the nobles exercised their manorial rights. Monasteries too did not escape pillage. The government found itself unable to maintain peace and tranquillity, or to protect person and property. Even the troops in the garrison towns refused to obey their officers and fraternized with the people. Government servants deserted their posts. Courts of Law ceased to work. Public works were stopped, and the collection of taxes became quite impossible. It appeared that the entire structure of government had collapsed. What was the National Assembly under the circumstances to do ?

Abolition of the Feudal System. When in the Assembly the question came up for the restoration of peace and quiet in the country, a nobleman, a relation of

Lafayette, urged that the feudal burdens still resting on the peasantry should be abolished. On this almost every one proposed equality of taxation, the repeal of the game laws, the emancipation of serfs, and the extinction of all other ancient privileges. Within the next few days the National Assembly passed a decree "abolishing the feudal system" and it was signed by the king. The reforms which Turgot laboured in vain to secure thus easily became accomplished facts. The French Society was now reorganised on modern lines, and the French System of taxation now pressed equally on all sections of the population.

The Declaration of Rights. It has already been stated that many of the *cahiers* had suggested that the Estates General should draw up a clear statement of the rights of the individual citizens. The National Assembly now began to prepare such a declaration of rights. This was completed on the 26th of August and it is one of the most noble documents in the history of Europe. When it was published, it not only aroused a general enthusiasm, but it appeared over and over again, in a modified form, in the succeeding French constitutions down to 1848, and has been the model for similar declarations in many of the other countries in Europe. This declaration was a dignified repudiation of the abuses from which the country suffered. It declared that "Men are born and remain equal in rights. Social distinctions can only be founded upon the general good." "Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally or through his representative, in its formation. It must be the same for all." "No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law." "No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided that their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law." " The free

communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man." Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, being responsible, however, for, such abuses of his freedom as shall be defined by law." "All citizens have a right to decide, either personally or by their representatives as to the necessity of the public contribution, to grant this freely, to know to what uses it is put, and to fix the proportion, the mode of assessment and of collection, and the duration of taxes." "Society has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration." Such was the Declaration of the Rights of Man made by the National Assembly.

The Paris mob invades the king's Palace. But the king hesitated to ratify this Declaration of the Rights of Man, and about the first of October it began to be rumoured about that the king, influenced as he was by the courtiers, was calling together troops and preparing for another attempt to put an end to the revolution. It was said that the new national colours——red, blue, and white——had been trampled under foot at a banquet at Versailles. Just about this moment times were hard in Paris. Employment was scarce, and food was dear. Rumour accused the court and the aristocrats of deliberately causing famine, and of plotting to overturn the revolution by force. When a newspaper published the false news that the new national colours had been trampled under foot, the people became furious. On the 5th of October a mob of hungry women, armed with all kinds of arms and weapons, started for Versailles to demand bread of the king. On the morning of the 6th some of the women made their way into the palace, and killed the sentinels, and entered the rooms of the queen, Marie Antoinette, who was able to escape with great difficulty. It was only the arrival of the Marquis de Lafayette, at the head of the National

Guard, that prevented fresh rioting and bloodshed. The women were finally pacified by the king's promise to shift with his wife and children to Paris. The royal family now came to Paris, and the mob shouted that "We are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little son." After this Louis XVI lived practically a prisoner in the palace of the Tuileries. The National Assembly also followed the king to Paris, and began to hold its sittings in a school near the Tuileries. But Paris was full of disorderly elements, and the Government was now placed at its mercy. After its arrival in Paris the National Assembly remained in session for two years. One of its most important doings was the reform of local government. During the eight centuries of the French monarchy, the kingdom of France had been gradually built up by the welding together of a number of principalities which varied greatly in size. The provinces into which each of these territories were formed had their own separate customs and laws. The National Assembly abolished all these old provinces, and divided the whole country into eighty-three departments approximately uniform in size and in population, and named them after some river, mountain, or other natural feature. The National Assembly next undertook a reorganization of the church. It ordered that all church lands should be declared national property. It was broken up into small lots, and sold to the peasants at a low price. By way of compensation for the loss the clergy suffered, it was agreed that they should in future be paid fixed salaries by government. We have already seen that the writings of the French philosopher, Voltaire, in which the Roman Catholic church was furiously attacked, had become very popular in France. All those who sympathised with the views of Voltaire were delighted to see their old enemy, the Church, deprived of its independence and made subservient to the state. The tithes had been abolished in August, along with the abolition of the feudal system.

That had inflicted on the church a loss of about three crores of rupees per annum. Now on the second of November 1789, a decree was passed providing that "All the ecclesiastical possessions are at the disposal of the nation on condition that it provides properly for the expenses of maintaining religious services, for the support of those who conduct them, and for the succour of the poor." This decree deprived the bishops and priests of their endowments and made them dependent on salaries paid by the state. The monks, the monasteries, and the convents, also lost their property.

The Assignats, or Paper Money. In order to get over the financial difficulties of government, the National Assembly now decided to issue a paper currency for which the newly acquired church lands were to serve as a security. In order to emphasise the fact that the paper money was backed by some security, these currency notes were given the name of "Assignats." But since a very large area of land had been thrown on the market for sale, its value rapidly fell. With the fall in price of land, the value of the security for the *assignats* also fell. On the other hand, the issue of *assignats* was not restricted. The result was that the continued needs of the treasury led to an enormous increase in the issue of this paper money. Consequently gold and silver disappeared from circulation, and the prices rose so high that the value of these currency notes fell very low. The *assignats* eventually became practically worthless. The finances of government, instead of being bettered by the issue of paper money, were put in a condition worse than before.

The Reorganization of the Church. Having confiscated church property, the National Assembly began to reorganise completely the church. There were at that time 134 bishoprics. Some of them were so ancient that they even dated back to the times of the

Roman Empire. All these old bishoprics were now abolished. There was now to be a bishop for each department into which the whole of the country had recently been divided. This bishop was now to be looked upon as an officer of the state. It was decided that he should in future be elected by the people. The Parish priests too were to be now elected by the people. In this way the clerical establishment became independent of the Pope. The salaries of these lower clergy were increased. But this reorganisation of the church brought about serious trouble for the National Assembly. Thousands of those people who had so far enthusiastically applauded the great reforms which the National Assembly had made, were now alienated. The king was forced much against his will to give assent to these revolutionary changes. All those who were devoted Catholics, and who were faithful to the Pope, became now antagonistic to the new order of things. There now developed in France a serious conflict between the Church and the National Assembly. The Pope protested against the confiscation of Church property, and the expulsion of the monks. He condemned the civil constitution of the clergy, and forbade the Catholic priests from taking the oath of allegiance to this new constitution. Those clergymen who took the oath were excommunicated by the Pope. On the other hand, those clergymen who refused to take the oath were deprived of their salaries by the National Assembly, and were threatened with imprisonment. Up to this time a large number of Parish priests who were poor, had sympathised with the Revolution, but now their conscience forbade them to approve the anti-Catholic policy of the National Assembly. Only a very small minority of the clergy accepted the new constitution. The majority of them refused to accept it, and preferred persecution by the State.

The Constitution of 1791. While the National Assembly was carrying through these revolutionary changes, it continued to be engaged in the task of framing a new constitution for the country. This was finally completed in 1791. This new Constitution established a legislative assembly of a single chamber with wide powers over every branch of the administration. The hereditary monarchy was retained, but the king could not dissolve the legislature, and he had only a "suspensive veto" over the measures passed by it. A bill passed by three successive legislatures became a law even without the consent of the king. The franchise for election to the National Assembly was given only to those who paid taxes equivalent to at least three days' wages. Almost one half of the citizens were thus excluded from the franchise. Count Mirabeau who was the most eloquent and the most energetic member of the National Assembly, wanted to give more powers to the king, and he was also in favour of establishing a bi-cameral legislature in France, but his advice was not taken by the radical members of the Assembly. Could Count Mirabeau have his way, he would have established in France a system of government very much similiar to what at that time existed in Great Britain. But he died in the spring of 1791, and so the English form of limited monarchy could not be introduced in France. Under the new constitution, framed by the National Assembly, the Legislature consisted of only one House, called the "Legislative Assembly." In this constitution no provision was made for a cabinet government, for the ministers of the king were not allowed to sit in the legislative assembly. The king and his ministers were deprived of all control over the army and the navy, over the Church establishment, and over the local governments. The framers of this new constitution were very much influenced by the ideas of separation of powers advocated by the French political

philosopher, Montesquieu (1689-1755). Not only was the Executive deprived of all share in the legislative work of the state, but even the judicial system was completely overhauled. The old *Parlement of Paris* was abolished. The administration of criminal and civil justice was reorganized, but it was provided that the judges should be elected by the people.

The Flight of the king. So far the progress of revolution was peaceful. During the two years, 1789 to 1791, autocracy had been replaced by a limited and constitutional monarchy. Serfdom and Feudalism had disappeared. Privileges of all kinds had been swept away, and a modern democratic society had come into existence. With the exception of some riots in the summer of 1789 there had so far been no violence or bloodshed. But things soon began to change. The new order of things was not at all liked by the nobility. In August 1789 the nobles had agreed to the idea of on equality of taxation burdens on all classes of the people. But soon after they began to make attempts to secure compensation for what they had surrendered. They also tried to prevent further social legislation. The nobility tried to incite a general revolt, but here too they failed. At length a large number of them emigrated from the country. Again when the National Assembly reorganised the Church many of the priests left France. These nobles and clergy were called the *emigres*. These *emigres* were anxious to regain their lost privileges and property, and now from their foreign place of residence, they started a persistent agitation against the new order of things. By means of pamphlets and intrigues, they tried on the one hand to stir up civil war in France, and on the other hand to induce foreign monarchs to intervene. The royal family of France sympathised with the *emigres*. In fact the two younger brothers of Louis XVI, Duke of Provence, and Count Artois actually left the country, and

took charge of counter-rovolutionary propaganda. In June 1791, Louis XVI himself and Queen Marie Antoinette escaped from Paris and fled towards the north-eastern frontier. They were however recognised at Varennes, and brought back to Paris. After this the King was practically a prisoner. The flight of the king showed conclusively that he was in league with the *emigres* and in opposition to the bulk of the people.

Foreign Intervention. The new Legislative Assembly elected under the new constitution met on 1st October, 1791. At this time the country was passing through a very critical period. There were the emigrant nobles carrying on agitation against the new order of things. At home the non-juring clergy who naturally commanded great influence with the rural masses were a source of great danger to the state. At the top of this all it was suspected that even the king was in secret correspondence with foreign powers, with the hope of securing their aid. When the news of the arrest of the King and the Queen at Varennes reached the ears of King Leopold of Austria, who was brother of Marie Antoinette, he declared that the violent arrest of the king had "compromised directly the honour of all the sovereigns and the security of every government." He therefore proposed to the rulers of Russia, England, Prussia. Spain, Naples, and Sardinia, that they should come to some understanding among themselves as to how they might "re-establish the liberty and honour of the most Christian king and his family, and place a check upon the dangerous excesses of the French Revolution, the fatal example of which it behoves every government to repress." On 27th August 1791, Leopold had issued in conjunction with the king of Prussia, the well known Declaration of Pillnitz. In this the two sovereigns stated that in accordance with the wishes of the king's brothers, the Duke of Provence, and the Count of Artois, they are ready to join other European rulers in an attempt

to place the king of France in a position to establish a form of government "that shall be once more in harmony with the rights of sovereigns and promote the welfare of the French nation." In the mean time they promised to prepare their troops for active service. This declaration proved that the foreign monarchs were ready to help the seditious French nobles in re-establishing the old regime. The newspapers now began to demand deposition of the king.

The Legislative Assembly. During the revolution there had sprung up in the city of Paris a large number of political clubs. When the Assembly moved into Paris, some of the members of the Third Estate rented a large room in the monastery of the Jacobin monks, not far from the place where the National Assembly met. The aim of these political clubs was to discuss questions which were about to come before the National Assembly. The Club of the members formed at the monastery of the Jacobin monks decided beforehand what should be the policy of its members and how they should vote. In this way they successfully combined to counteract the schemes of the aristocratic party in the Assembly. This club rapidly grew and soon admitted to its meetings even men who were not members of the Third Estate. In October, 1791, the club decided to permit the public to attend its discussions. Gradually similar clubs and societies were formed in the provinces. All these clubs and societies affiliated themselves with the "mother" society at Paris, and kept themselves in constant touch with it. In this way the Jacobins of Paris stimulated and controlled public opinion throughout France. When the Legislative Assembly met on 1st October, 1791, the Jacobins had not as yet become republicans, but they believed that the king should have very little power. The first business towards which the Legislative Assembly turned its attention was the emigrant nobles and the non-juring

clergy. It was declared that if the Frenchmen, assembled on the Frontier, did not return to France by the 1st of January, 1792, they were to be regarded as convicted traitors, and they were to be punished, if caught, with death, and their property was to be confiscated. The action the Legislative Assembly took against the non-juring clergy was equally drastic. Those who refused to take the oath to support the Civil Constitution of the clergy were commanded to do so within a week on penalty of losing their income from the state and being watched as suspects. As the clergy failed to take the required oath within the time fixed, the Assembly ordered later on in May 1792 the deportation from the country of all those who refused to comply with the orders of the Government. In this way the Assembly aroused the active hostility of a great part of the most conscientious among the lower clergy, who had loyally supported the Third Estate in their fight against the privileged orders. By this action the assembly lost also the confidence of the great mass of the Roman Catholic people, who had gladly accepted the abolition of the old regime abuses.

Outbreak of Foreign War. In the meantime in pursuance of the Declaration of Pillnitz, Austrian troops were collected on the frontier. The French people at once realized that foreign intervention, if successful, would undo the work of the Revolution. The masses—the peasantry and the bourgeoise—had profited very much from the abolition of privileges, and they had no desire to come under the old order of things again. So the threat of foreign intervention strengthened the sentiment of national patriotism in France. The threat of foreign intervention also increased the opposition to Louis XVI and his wife Marie Antoinette. A number of radical politicians now began openly to advocate a complete abolition of monarchy, and the establishment of a Republic. Most of these early Republicans were Girondists, so called

because their leaders had come from the department of Gironde. The Girondists welcomed the idea of foreign intervention, for they argued that the resulting war would enable them to get rid of the king, who they believed was bound to take the side of foreign invaders. On the other hand, the supporters of the constitution of 1791, were also in favour of war, for they felt it would consolidate the new order of things. Their chief leader Marquis de Lafayette was also ambitious for military glory. So he too was in favour of war. The only persons who were against war were men like Murat and Robespierre, who believed that war would bring into existence a military dictator, and then there would be no democratic form of government in the country. The majority of the people in the Legislative Assembly wanted war. They called upon Leopold II of Austria to withdraw his troops from the frontier, and to expel the *emigres* from his territories. When he refused to do so, France in April 1792 declared war against Austria and Prussia. The French people entered upon the war with great enthusiasm. They believed they were entering upon a patriotic war for the sake of liberty and equality. Marquis de Lafayette was appointed commander-in-chief of the French forces. But Louis XVI secretly helped the enemy. The Duke of Brunswick, commanding the allied Austrian and Prussian armies, invaded France from the East, and issued a solemn proclamation to the French people. He declared it his purpose 'to put an end to the anarchy in the interior of France, to check the attacks upon the throne and the altar, to re-establish the legal power, to restore to the king the security and liberty of which he is now deprived, to place him in a position to exercise once more the legitimate authority which belongs to him'. This proclamation also stated that the French soldiers who might be captured "shall be treated as enemies and punished as rebels against their king and as disturbers of the public peace." The Duke of Brunswick also threatened to destroy the city

of Paris. His aim really was to over-awe the French and to induce them to overthrow the constitutional system of government, and to restore the old benevolent despotism of the king.

The Second Revolution. But this proclamation had quite a different effect on the French people. They began to suspect king Louis XVI of treachery. Angered by the Declaration made by the Duke of Brunswick, and aroused by the danger by which they were threatened, the inhabitants of Paris invaded on the 10th of August 1792 the royal palace of the Tuileries. The king was compelled to take refuge in the building in which the Legislative Assembly was holding its session. It seemed the people of Paris had now made up their mind to do away with monarchy, and establish a republican form of government in the country. A group of men belonging to the Jacobin Club took possession of the city Hall, and pushed aside from their seats the old members of the municipal council. These people also compelled the Legislative Assembly to imprison the king and to order the immediate election, by universal manhood suffrage, of a National Convention, which was to prepare a new Republican Constitution for France. When this was done the officials of the Limited Monarchy ceased to work, and the administration was taken over by Danton (1759-1794) the leader of the Jacobins, and now the head of the new Commune of France. Marquis de Lafayette protested against the overthrow of the constitution of 1791, and when his protests remained unheeded, he surrendered to the foreign invaders. The Austrians and the Prussians, on the other hand, continued their invasion of France. When in September 1792, it was heard that Verdun was besieged by the foreign invaders, there was a general massacre of royalist prisoners in Paris. Men, women, and children, nobles, and magistrates, priests, and bishops

—all who were suspected of royalist sympathies—were put to a cruel death. But Danton soon controlled the situation. He appointed Dumouries, a Girondist, as commander-in-chief in place of Lafayette. He infused a new life into the French armies, and on 20th of September, 1792, the Revolutionary troops won their first victory against the invaders at Valmy.

Establishment of the First French Republic. On the same day when the news of the French victory at Valmy reached Paris, the National Convention met. On the 22nd of September 1792, it decreed unanimously "that royalty is abolished in France." After this at the instance of the Jacobins Louis XVI was in December 1792 brought to trial before the National Convention. He was after a short trial condemned to death by a vote of 387 to 334. He was beheaded on the 21st of January 1793. At the same time the National Convention decreed the perpetual banishment of the *emigres* and proclaimed that the French people would "treat as enemies every people who, refusing liberty and equality, or renouncing them, may wish to maintain, recall, or negotiate with a prince, and the privileged classes." Thus the threat of foreign powers to suppress Revolution in France was countered by a threat of France to spread revolution throughout Europe.

Conduct of Foreign War. The monarchs and the privileged classes outside France were now alarmed. Shortly after the execution of Louis XVI, they formed a Grand Coalition against the French Republic. England, Holland, Spain, and Sardinia, also joined Austria and Prussia who were already in the field against France. Dumouries, the French general, had in the meantime advanced into the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium). But since France after the execution of Louis XVI was compelled to fight against all her neighbours, the

French were soon driven out of the Netherlands. Within the country the new Republic was confronted with Civil War. The peasants in the Western Provinces of France, inspired by foreign propaganda in favour of the monarchy and swayed by their own devotion to the Roman Catholic Church revolted against the National convention. To add to the difficulties of the new government, Dumouries the Cammander in Chief of the French forces also became disgusted by the failure of the National Convention to support him. The Girondist also did not like the execution of the King. So with the soldiers who still consented to follow him, Dumouries went over to the side of the enemy.

The Committee of Public Safety, 1793-1795. The loss of tbe Austrian Netherlands, and the desertion of their best generals Lafayatte and Dumouries, and revolt within the country itself made a deep impression upon the minds of the members of the National Convention. So far Gircndists commanded the majority in the National Convention but now the Jacobins began to lead the majority. It was realised that if the French Republic was to defend itself against the foreign invaders, and its internal enemies, then it must act quickly, and not wait for the Convention to draw up a permanent constitution. So under the leadership of the Jacobins, it was decided to devise immediately an efficient machinery of government which could command the loyalty of the nation to the Republic, and which could also raise and equip armies and direct their commanders. In April 1793, the National Convention put the government of the country into the hands of a small committee, consisting originally of nine, but later on of twelve members. This committee was called by the name of the Committee of Public Safety. This small committee which included the most prominent of Jacobin

leaders, directed the national administration, appointed local officers, and guided and controlled the armies.

The Reign of Terror, 1793-1794. For full one year the policy of the Committee of Public Safety was a policy of Terrorism. The Jacobin leaders thought that the only way in which France could present a united front to the world was by striking terror into the hearts of the domestic foes of the new order of things. The chief agencies of the Committee of Public Safety in conducting terrorism were the Committee of General Security and the Revolutionary Tribunal. The former was given police powers in order to enforce obedience throughout the country. The latter was charged with trying and sentencing any person suspected of disloyalty to the Republic. The members of both these bodies were responsible to the Committee of Public Safety. A decree of the National Convention, called the Law of Suspects, made every man who was of noble birth, or who had held office before the Revolution, or who had any relation with an *emigree*, liable to arbitrary arrest. Any one who could not produce a signed certificate of republican citizenship was also liable to be arrested. In this way domestic insurrection was put down. It is estimated that about 10,000 persons were put under the guillotine. The queen, Marie Antoinette, the sister of Louis XVI, and the principal Girondist leaders were some of the earliest victims of the Reign of Terror. Danton the president of the Paris Commune, and Robespierre were the most important members of the Committee of Public Safety. At length Danton was tired of bloodshed, and he now counselled moderation. On this he was suspected of treachery, and put to death. After the death of Danton, Robespierre became the dictator of France. He continued the policy of Terrorism for a few months more, when his enemies obtained the upper hand in

the National Convention. Then it was the turn of Robespierre to be put to death. On his death in July 1794, the Reign of Terror ended. Within a few months of his death the Jacobin Club was closed and the Paris Commune was also suppressed.

France against all western Europe. When Marquis de Lafayette and General Dumouries went over to the enemies, and in April 1793, the govern ment of France was put into the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, it proceeded to enforce a general conscription, which enabled it to raise three quarters of a million men for the defence of the country. Carnot, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, was put in charge of the military department. While Danton and Robespierre were enforcing a policy of reign of terror within France, Carnot was raising troops, drilling them and sending them to the front for the defence of France against its foreign invaders. The work of Carnot was supplemented by the activities of the "deputies on mission" who worked as agents of the Committee of Public Safety, and kept themselves in close touch with the French armies, and were authorised to send to the guillotine any suspected or unsuccessful general. In this way did the Republic meet the armed coalition against her. The country was cleared of all foreign enemies, and the war was now carried into their own territories in Belgium, in Rhinelands, in Savoy, and in Spain across the Pyrenees. The mercenary troops of old Europe could not resist the French citizen soldiers, who proved victorious at every front. The Grand Coalition was soon dissolved, and the territories of the French Republic were expanded by the addition of Belgium (Austrian Netherlands) and that part of Germany which lay on the western or left bank of the Rhine. Even Holland was overrun by the French troops.

The Constitution of year III (1795). It has been stated that on the execution of Robespierre in July 1794, the Reign of Terror ended. Soon after this the Bourgeoisie gained control of the National Convention, and the task of framing a new Constitution was now resumed. The new constitution which was put into force in 1795, the year III of the Republic, entrusted the legislative power to a parliament consisting of two chambers. The lower House was to consist of 500 members and the upper House called the Council of Ancients, of 250 members. Both these Houses were to be chosen by Indirect Election, and their function was to examine and enact the laws proposed by the Executive. The right of voting was given only to those taxpayers who lived at least a year in one place. The Executive power was vested in a Board of Five members, called the Directors. They were to be elected by the Legislature. The Board of Directors, or "Directory," was to enforce the laws and appoint the ministers who were to be responsible to it. Most of the powers of the Committee of Public Safety were now vested in the Directory.

Dissolution of the National Convention. In October 1795, the Convention finally dissolved itself. Although the National Convention was responsible for the horrors of the Reign of Terror, its Committee of Public Safety had carried France successfully through the terrible crisis of 1793. The civil war within the country had been brought to a speedy end, and the coalition of foreign powers had been defeated and dissolved. By the treaty of Basle signed in 1795, Spain, Prussia, and Holland withdrew from the Grand Coalition, and after this Sardinia and England too carried on the war half-heartedly. It was only Austria that continued to carry on the contest. The National Convention had also tried to better the system of education, which had been taken by the state out of the hands of the clergy.

Progress had also been made in the direction of evolving a single system of Law for the entire country. The Convention was also responsible for the introduction of a metric system of weights and measures, which has been later on adopted by most of the European countries, and is now used by men of Science even in England and America. Its new calender however, did not survive many years. But on the other hand the Reign of Terror, the depreciated paper currency, and many hasty and unwise laws, passed by the National Convention produced all sorts of disorders and disturbances in the country. The bulk of the people were not really loyal to the Republic. The Middle classes thought it too weak to guarantee to them permanent possession of what they had gained from the Revolution. The working men of the towns complained that the new constitution denied them political rights and social benefits. The peasants were quite indifferent to the form of government that prevailed in the country. But although the French Revolution had not as yet planted the seed of Republicanism in the hearts of the French people, it had certainly caused the birth of patriotic feelings in their minds. The Revolution, as soon as it embroiled France in Foreign War, developed a strong sense of national patriotism. So far patriotism in France meant popular loyalty to the king, but now it meant loyalty to the nation at large. The nation at-once became the basis and the object of patriotic devotion. We have already seen how the nation responded to the call to arms and how the revolutionary soldiers defeated and broke up the grand European Coalition. As the patriotism of the revolutionary soldiers saved France from foreign invasion, so the patriotism of the French people now meant the exaltation of the French Army. There might be differences among Frenchmen regarding their loyalty to the Directory, but all were united in their admiration for the army. Before the constitution of 1795 came into force, Paris became the

scene of another mob outburst. Royalists and radicals joined forces and advanced to make an attack on the Tuileries, where the National Convention was at that time holding its sessions. But here the rioters met such a cannonade of grape shot that they fled precipitately, leaving many of their number dead in the streets. The man who distinguished himself most, as the defender of law and order was the young artillery general Nepoleon Bonaparte. Thus the new constitution was saved, and the Directory was established in power.

Summary

1. **The Assembly of Notables.** When Calonne could not raise any more loans, he advised the king to summon an assembly of prominent men in the church as well as the state, and obtain their consent for the changes he wanted in the financial administration. The Assembly of Notables was summoned in 1786, but this assembly refused to accept the financial reforms proposed by Calonne. On this Calonne resigned in 1787.

2. **The Parlement of Paris.** After Calonne was dismissed, and the Notables were sent back to their homes, Louis XVI attempted to carry through the most pressing financial reforms by sending them to the *Parlement of Paris* for registration. But they refused to register them, and they advised the king to summon the Estates General, which had not been summoned since 1614. The Estates General of olden times consisted of three chambers, of the clergy, the nobility, and the middle class people. All these three classes of people sent equal number of representatives, and they met separately. In this way the two upper classes had two votes against one of the middle classes. But the Frenchmen of the times of Louis XVI did not like this idea. They wanted the Estates General to meet in a single chamber. Necker who had been recalled, advised that the middle class people might have double the representation of each of the other two classes. There was at this time a great amount of discussion as to what should be the nature of the reforms to be undertaken by the Estates-General. During the election of the Estates-General a large number of lists of grievances. called *cahiers* were issued. From a study of these *cahiers* it became clear that the people did not want the existing despotic form of monarchy. They wanted the establishment of a constitutional system of government in the country.

3. *The Estates General.* The Estates General met in May 1789. In June 1789 the Third Estate declared themselves a 'National Assembly' : As the king did not permit the Commons to sit jointly with other orders, they met in an adjoining building which was used as a tennis court. Here on the 20th July the Commoners in combination with those clergy and nobles who had joined them, took the famous 'tennis court oath'' to continue to meet together till a proper constitution was framed. Since the king could not use force all the three orders were allowed to meet together in a National Assembly.

4. *Outbreak of the French Revolutton.* Soon after the National Assembly began to meet, the king under the advice of his courtiers, began to collect troops. He also dismissed Necker who was at this time very popular with the people. When the people heard about it, there was a great excitement in Paris. On the 14th of July, 1789, crowds assembled together, and marched eastwards towards the ancient fortress of the Bastille, which was used for the confinement of state prisoners. The fortress was attacked, and taken after a short resistance. There were at the time only seven prisoners in the fort. They were set free. These disturbances led the well-to-do citizens of Paris to form a municipal council or Commune for the administration of local affairs, and to organize a national guard for their security. After this the king gave way. The example of Paris was followed in all the provincial towns. The local forts were plundered and burned, and the legal documents containing the manorial rights of the nobility were destroyed. Under these circumstances troops refused to obey the orders ef their officers, courts of law ceased to work, Public Works were stopped, and the collection of taxes became almost impossible.

5. *Abolition of Feudal System.* When the National Assembly met, taxation burdens on all classes of people were equalised, game laws which pressed very heavily on the cultivators were repealed, serfs were emancipated, and all other privileges of the nobles were abolished. The king gave his consent to the abolition of all these privileges, and in this way French society was organized on modern lines.

6. *The Declaration of Rights.* On the 26th of August 1789 the National Assembly completed its task of framing a statement of the rights of the individual citizens. It declared that (1) men are born and remain equal in rights, (2) Social distinctions can be founded upon the general good, (3) Law is the expression of the general will, (4) Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in the formation of law, (5) No one should be penalised

for his views provided their manifestation does not disturb public peace, and (6) Every person has a right to decide either personally or through his representatives the level of taxation, and the manner of public expenditure. These were the main principles of the Declaration of Rights and it was later on adopted by all democratic constitutions in Europe and elsewere,

7. *The Paris Mob invades the king's Palace.* When it was found that the king hesitated to sign the above mentioned Declaration of Rights, and when it was rumoured that the king was again collecting troops, the people of Paris got excited, and on the 5th of October 1789 a mob of hungry women and children, armed with all kinds of weapons started for Versailles, the royal palace, and after killing the sentinels entered the rooms. At length the king agreed to shift along with the members of his family to the city. The king after his arrival in Paris was practically a prisoner in the Tuileries The National Assembly now turned its attention towards the task of reforming the administration. The old provincial boundaries, were abolished, and the entire country was divided into 83 *departments*, approximately uniform in size, and in population, and named after some river, mountain, or other natural feature. The National Assembly then re-organized the church. All church property was confiscat ed, it was broken up into small lots, and sold to the peasants at a low price. It was now decided to pay the clergy regular salaries from the funds of the state. The church tithes were abolished in August 1789, and all church properties were abolished. The priests were thus turned into government servants.

8. *The Assignats or Paper Money.* In order to get over its financial difficulties the National Assembly issued Paper Money on the security of the Church property held by the state. Since a very large area of land was thrown on the market for sale, the price of land fell. There was also unrestricted issue of paper money. The result was that the *Assignats* became worthless.

9. *The Conflict between the Church and the State.* Before the outbreak of the revolution there were 134 bishoprics in France. They were all abolished and in their place, one bishop was appointed for each *department*. This departmental bishop was to be elected by the people. In this way the whole of the church establishment became independent of the Pope. This re-organisation of the church not only antagonised the Pope, but it also alienated a large number of the people who had so far been sympathetic towards the Revolution. The

Pope condemned the new civil constitution of the clergy, and the majority of the priests refused to take the oath of allegiance, to this new constitution.

10. *The Constitution of 1791.* The new Constitution established a legislative assembly of a single chamber with wide power over every branch of the administration. The hereditary monarchy was retained, but the king could not dissolve the legislature, and he had only a suspensive veto over the measures passed by it. The franchise for the election to the Legislative Assembly was given only to those who paid taxes equivalent to at least three day's wages. In this constitution no provision was made for a Cabinet System of government. The ministers of the king were not allowed to sit in the Legislative Assembly. The king and his ministers were deprived of all control over the army, the navy, the church, and over local governments. The framers of this constitution were influenced very much by the theory of separation of powers. The judicial system of the country was also overhauled. The old *Parlement of Paris* was abolished, and the administration of criminal and civil justice was re-organized, but it was provided that the judges should be elected by the people.

11. *The Flight of the King.* But all these Reforms made by the National Assembly were not liked by the Nobility. Although in August 1789 the Nobles had agreed to the idea of an equality in taxation burdens on all classes of the people, they soon began to make attempts to secure compensation for what they had surrendered. They tried to prevent further reforms, and even tried to incite a revolt against the new regime. But they failed in all these attempts, and then they emigrated from the country. The re-organisation of the clergy caused the emigration of many priests. These nobles and clergymen were anxious to regain their lost privileges, and they started agitation against the new regime from across the borders. The royal family of France sympathised with the *emigres*. In June 1791, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette escaped from Paris, but were arrested at Varonnes, and brought back to the capital. After this the king was practically a prisoner.

12. *Foreign Intervention.* The new Legislative Assembly elected under the new constitution of 1791, met in October 1791. But the flight and arrest of the king and the queen agitated the mind of king Leopold of Austria very much, for he was a brother of Queen Marie Antoinette. He called upon the rulers of Prussia, Holland, England, Spain, Sardinia, Naples, and Russia, to join together, and place the king of France in a position to establish a government "that shall

be once more in harmony with the rights of sovereigns and promote the welfare of the French nation."

13. *The Legislative Assembly.* During the Revolution a large number of political clubs had risen in Paris. One of these Clubs had been formed by the members of the National Assembly at the monastery of the Jacobin monks. The business of the Assembly was controlled mostly by the members of this Jacobin Club. The first thing towards which the Legislative Assembly turned its attention was the question of the *emigres*. It was declared that if these *emigres* did not return to France before the 1st of January 1792, they were to be regarded as convicted traitors. The Assembly also took a drastic action against those clergymen who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The result was that the new government lost the support of a large number of Roman Catholics.

14. *Outbreak of Foreign War.* In the meantime Austrian troops were collected on the frontiers of France. The threat of foreign intervention strengthened the sentiment of patriotism among Frenchmen. It also increased opposition to the king and the queen. Radical politicians now began to advocate a complete abolition of monarchy, and the establishment of a Republic. Most of these early Republicans were Girondists, because their leaders had come from the department of Gironde. These Girondists and the supporters of the new Constitution of 1791 both welcomed foreign war, though for different reasons. They called upon Leopold II to withdraw his troops from the frontier, and to expel the *emigres* from his territories. On his refusal to do so, France declared war against Austria and Prussia in April 1792. Marquis de Lafayette was appointed commander-in-chief of the French forces. But Louis XVI secretly helped the enemy. Angered by the invasion of the country by foreign troops, and alarmed by the suspected treachery of the king, the inhabitants of Paris invaded the royal palace of the Tuileries on the 10th of August 1792. The king was taken prisoner, an immediate election of a National Convention, elected by universal manhood franchise was ordered, for the purpose of preparing a new Republican constitution. On this the officials of the Limited Monarchy Constitution of 1791, ceased to work, and the administration was taken over by Danton, the head of the Commune of Paris. Marquis de Lafayette protested against the overthrow of the Constitution of 1791, and when his protests remained unheeded, he surrendered to the foreign invaders. The Austrians and Prussians continued to advance into French territory. When it was heard that the invaders had captured

Verdun, there was a general massacre of the royalist prisoners in Paris. Danton now appointed Dumouries a Girondist as commander-in-chief of the French forces. Under his command the French army won its first victory at Valmy on the 20th of September 1792.

15. *Establishment of the First Republic.* After the news of the French Victory at Valmy reached Paris, the National Convention decided on the 22nd September 1792, to abolish monarchy. In December 1792, Louis XVI was brought to trial before the National Convention. He was found guilty of treason and beheaded on 21st January 1793. A decree of perpetual banishment was passed against the *emigres*. France now threatened to spread revolution throughout Europe. Shortly after the execution of Louis XVI, the foreign monarchs formed a Grand Alliance against France. England, Holland, Spain, and Sardinia, now joined Austria and Prussia. But the French general, Dumouries, who had by this time advanced into Belgium was displeased with the execution of the king. He was also being hard pressed by the allied forces, and he did not get sufficient support from the National Convention. So he too went over to the enemy.

16. *The Committee of Public Safety.* The defeat of the French forces in Belgium, and the desertion of Marquis de Lafeyette and Dumouries, made a deep impression, on the minds of the members of the National Convention. It was realised that in order to defend France against foreign invaders, and against its internal enemies, it was necessary to act quickly, and not to wait for the Convention to draw up a permanent constitution. So it was decided to devise immediately an efficient machinery of government, which could act quickly. In April 1793, the National Convention put the government of the country into the hands of a small committee eventually consisting of 12 members. This Committee of Public Safety, as it was called, included as its members the most prominent of the Jacobin leaders.

17. *The Reign of Terror, 1793-94.* For more than one year the policy of the Committee of Public Safety was a policy of Terrorism. The chief agencies of the Committee of Public Safety in conducting Terrorism were the Committee of General Security, and the Revolutionary Tribunal. The former was given police powers in order to enforce obedience throughout the country, and the latter was charged with trying and sentencing any person suspected of disloyalty to the Republic. The members of both these bodies were responsible to the Committee of Public Safety. Under the regime of this Committee of Public Safety more than 10,000 people were put to the Guillotine. Danton, the president of the Paris Commune, and Robespierre were the most

important members of the Committee of Public Safety. But atlength Danton himself, when he began to show a spirit of moderation. was put to death, and soon after that in July 1794 Robespierre was executed. On his death the Reign of Terror ended. Within a few months of his death the Jacobin Club was closed, and the Paris Commune was suppressed.

18. *France against all Western Europe.* Immediately after the government of France was put into the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, a general conscription was enforced. Carnot was put in charge of the military department. Soon after the country was cleared of all foreign enemies, and the war was even carried into the countries of the invaders. The mercenary troops of old Europe could not resist the French citizen soldiers, who proved victorious at every front. The Coalition was dissolved and the territories of the French Republic were expanded by the addition of Belgium (Austrian Netherlands) and that part of Germany which lay on the western banks of the Rhine. Even Holland was overrun by the French.

19. *The Constitution of the Year III (1795).* When the Reign of Terror ended in 1794, the *Bourgeoisie* gained control of the National Convention. They framed a Constitution which came into force in 1795. The legislative authority was entrusted to a parliament of two chambers. The lower house was to consist of 500, and the upper house of 250 members. Both these houses were to be elected by a system of *Indirect Election* Their function was to examine and enact laws proposed by the executive. The right of voting was given only to those taxpayers who .lived at least a year at one place The Executive power was vested in a Board of Five members, called the Directory. They were to be elected by the Legislature. The Directory was to enforce laws and appoint ministers, who were to be responsible to it. Most of the powers of the Committee of Public Safety were vested in the Directory.

20. *Dissolution of the National Convention.* The National Convention finally dissolved itself in October 1795. Although it was responsible for the horrors of the Reign of Terror, and for the passage of some hasty and unwise laws, it carried France successfully through the civil war within the country, and the foreign wars against ontside invaders. The National Convention also tried to improve the system of education, which was taken out of the hands of the clergy. Something was also done in the direction of evolving a single system of laws. The Convention was also responsible for the introduction of

the matric system in weights and measures. But its new calendar did not survive long. The bulk of the people, however, were not loyal to the Committee of Public Safety. The middle classes considered it too weak to guarantee the preservation of what they had gained from the Revolution, and the working men complained that the new constitution had not given them equal rights. The peasants were quite indifferent as to what form of government prevailed in the country. But although the people had not yet become loyal to a republication form of government, yet the revolution caused the birth of patriotic feelings for their country among the masses. The foreign intervention strengthened the idea of national patriotism. As France was saved from foreign intervention by the Army, the people became loyal to the Army. Before the Constitution of 1795 was put into force, Paris again became a scene of mob outburst. The Tuileries where the National Convention held its sittings was attacked. But the rioters were dispersed by the firing of the troops commanded by Napoleon Bonaparte. It was through him that the new constitution was saved and the Directory was established.

CHAPTER XV

EUROPE AND NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

Napoleon Bonaparte Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajjacio, in Corsica, on the 15th of August 1769. The island of Corsica had been added to France in 1768, only a year before the birth of Napoleon. He was the second son of an Italian lawyer, who belonged to an old but decayed aristocratic family. His ancestors had come and settled in Corsica in the sixteenth century. The mother tongue of Napoleon Bonaparte was Italian, and he was never able to master the French language well. When he was ten years old, he was taken by his father to France and admitted to a preparatory school. Here he went through the ordinary curriculum with credit, showed great proficiency in mathematics, and devoted much of his leisure time to reading history. But he had little taste for a purely literary education. His ambition was to become a soldier, So as soon as he was able to learn a little of the French language, he was put into a military school. Here he remained for six years. In this school he came into contact with the sons of the French aristocrats, whom he soon began to hate thoroughly. It was about this time that he developed the ambition of freeing his little island country from French control. After finishing his course in this school, he went to Paris, where he had a brief military training. He then entered an artillery regiment and was made a second lieutenant.

Napoleon as a second Lieutenant. But poor and without influence, Napoleon Bonaparte had little hope of any considerable advance in the French army. So he now went to Corsica with the object of playing

a political role there. Moreover his father had by this time died, and his family was now in straitened circumstances. That was another reason why he went home, for there he could help his family. But he soon got himself involved in a series of intrigues. His aim was to get a control over the military forces in Corsica. Eventually he came into conflict with the local authorities, and he and his family were deported from Corsica. They now came to France, in 1793. But soon after the Revolutionary regime in France gave Napoleon an opportunity to show himself. Just about this time France was at war with England. The British naval forces had taken possession of Toulon, a French port in the south. Napoleon who commanded the French artillery, compelled the British forces to evacuate the town. We have already seen that two years later in 1795 he gave considerable assistance to the National Convention in defending itself against the Parisian mob.

Character of Napoleon Bonaparte

As a student in the French schools, Napoleon took a keen interest in the Reform movement then agitating France. He became a devoted admirer of Rousseau's philosophy. He hated all privileges, condemned aristocracy, and for some time he even became a Jacobin, in politics. While talking about the French aristocrats, he wrote to his father "I am tired of exposing my poverty and seeing these shameless boys laughing over it, who are superior to me only in their wealth but infinitely beneath me in noble sentiments." Bonaparte was a short man, at this time extremely thin, but his striking features, quick, searching eye, abrupt animated gestures, and rapid speech, made an impression upon those who came into contact with him. He possessed, in a supreme degree, two qualities which are ordinarily irreconcilable. He was an idealist, and at the same time a

man who possessed the skill of so mastering the details, that he could soon put his ideas into a practical shape. He was capable of putting in an huge amount of work. But in order to achieve his objects he had no scruples in the adoption of means.

Italian Campaign 1796-97 It has already been seen that in 1795, the Committee of Public Safety had succeeded in driving the foreign invaders out of the country, and that after this, France had occupied Belgium (Austrian Netherlands) and that portion of Germany which lay on the western banks of the Rhine. Austria and Prussia now became busy with the final partition of Poland. As Prussia had little real interest in the war with France, she soon concluded in April 1795, peace with the French Republic. Spain followed her example, and thus England, Austria and Sardinia were left to carry on the war. Carnot, who now recognized the talents of the young artillery commander Napoleon, entrusted him with the command of the French army in Italy. When the Directory assumed office, France had to fight against three enemies, England, Austria, and Sardinia. Great Britain could not be attacked, because the French Navy was weak. But against Austria, French armies could move, either through Germany or through Italy. It was the task of Napoleon to drive the Austrians from their strong positions in Lombardy in Italy. When Napoleon Bonaparte marched his armies into Italy, in the beginning of 1796, this country was divided into a dozen separate states with little or nothing in common between them. Austrian influence was supreme in northern Italy. The Hapsburgs ruled in (Milan) Lombardy, and in the duchies of Tuscany, Modena, and Mantua. The two Sicilies and the Duchy of Parma were in the possession of the Spanish Bourbons. Venice, Genoa, Lucca, and San Marino retained republican forms of government. The House of Savoy ruled as kings of

Sardinia, over that island as well as Savoy and Piedmont. On the other hand, the whole of central Italy was ruled by the Pope of Rome. As an Italian, Napoleon Bonaparte sincerely entertained the sentiment of United Italy. When Napoleon invaded Italy in the beginning of 1796, he had to face the combined armies of Austria and Sardinia. He first came to Nice. From there he advanced towards Savona, and then marching northwards, he succeeded in separating the Austrians from the Sardinians. He compelled the Sardinian troops to fall back on their capital, Turin. The king of Sardinia was forced to conclude a peace with France. Having disposed off Sardinia, Napoleon could now move against the Austrians. He outflanked their forces, and compelled them to retreat. He then entered Milan on the 15th of May 1796. The Austrian commander then shut himself up in the impregnable fortress of Mantua, where he was promptly besieged by Napoleon. The Austrians tried four times to relieve Mantua, but all these attempts were defeated by Napoleon. At length Mantua was forced to surrender in February 1797. Having secured himself from all dangers in the rear, the young French general now advanced towards Vienna, the Austrian capital. The Austrians were now compelled to sue for peace. Peace was signed on the 17th of October 1797, by the treaty of Campo-Formio. By this treaty Austria ceded to France the Austrian Netherlands, (Belgium), and secretly agreed to use her good offices in securing for France a great part of the western banks of the Rhine. Austria also recognized the Cis-Alpine Republic, which Napoleon Bonaparte created out of the smaller state of northern Italy. This Republic was to be under the protection of France, and was to include in it the territories of Milan (Lombardy), Modena, a part of the republic of Venice, and some of the papal dominions. The rest of the Venetian Republic was to be annexed to Austria. Thus passed away

the venerable republic of Venice which held such a prominent position in the Middle Ages. After this peace Great Britain was the only country which remained at war with France.

His Egyptian Campaign 1798-1799 After arranging the peace of Campo-Formio, General Bonaparte returned to Paris. But he could not remain idle. His active mind soon conceived a plan, which he thought would forward his interests. France was still at war with Great Britain. Bonaparte convinced the Directory that England could best be ruined if Egypt could be siezed, for then it would be possible to threaten her commerce through the Mediterranean. He thought it was perhaps possible to attack English possessions in India as well by marching from Egypt overland. He had another reason for undertaking this expedition. He knew France was on the eve of another war with the European powers. Napoleon foresaw that if he could withdraw with him some of the best officers of France, the Directory might soon find itself so embarrassed that he could return as a national saviour. The French Fleet left Toulon on the 19th of May 1798. It was fortunate enough to escape the English squadron under Nelson. Napoleon reached Alexandria on Ist July, and soon after he defeated the Turkish troops, in the famous battle of the Pyramids. Meanwhile Nelson who did not know the destination of the enemy's fleet, returned from the Syrian coast, and discovered French ships in the harbour of Alexandria. He destroyed the French fleet in the first battle of the Nile fought on the Ist of August 1798. The French troops were now completely cut off from Europe. On this the Turkish Government declared war against France. Napoleon now resolved to attack Turkey by land. He accordingly marched into Syria, in the beginning of 1799, but was repulsed at Acre, where the Turkish forces were aided by the English fleet. After suffering terrible losses through pestilence Napoleon returned back to

Cairo in June 1799. There he defeated and destroyed another Turkish army which had landed at Alexandria. But now news reached him from Europe, which convinced him that time for his return to France had arrived. Northern Italy which he had conquered, had been lost. The European powers were up in arms again, and were preparing to invade France. The Directory was unable to do anything. So Napoleon secretly left Egypt on the 25th of August 1799, and again evading the British fleet in the Mediterranean Sea he reached Paris on the 16th of October.

Overthrow of the Directory During the absence of Napoleon Bonaparte, affairs in Europe had taken a bad turn for France. Great Britain, Austria, and Russia, formed another coalition against the French Republic. They put large armies into the field, and drove the French out of Italy. This misfortune naturally sapped the authority of the Directory, and turned the eyes of a very large number of Frenchmen towards Napoleon Bonaparte. People began to believe that he was the one man who could guarantee victory abroad and peace and tranquillity at home. The Directory proved to be one of the most corrupt and inefficient bodies. Bribery was rampant and finances were in a chaotic condition. It had been thoroughly discredited. So it was easy for Napoleon to induce others to join him in overthrowing it. A *coup d'etat* (in French a "stroke of the State") was planned in consultation with Sieyes, and other politicians. The conspirators had a large number of friends in the two chambers of the Legislature. But still it was found necessary by Napoleon to order his soldiers to invade the Hall in which the Assembly of the Five Hundred was holding its session, and disperse his opponents, before he could achieve his object. Three of the five Directors were induced to resign, and the other two were placed under military custody.

After this a chosen few were assembled under the presidency of Lucien Bonaparte, one of Napoleon's brothers, who was a member of the assembly. They voted to put the government in the hands of General Bonaparte and two others to be called *Consuls*. These three were to proceed, with the assistance of a Commission and the upper chamber of the Legislature, to draw up a new constitution. The new constitution that was framed was a very complex one. It placed the Executive power in the hands of three Consuls, appointed for ten years. The First Consul (Napoleon himself) was really the supreme authority. To him belonged the command of the army, and the navy, the right of appointing and dismissing all the important officials in the state, and the initiation of all laws. It provided for no less than four assemblies, one to propose laws, one to consider them, one to vote upon them, and one to decide on their constitutionality. Under this new constitution the entire power was concentrated in the hands of the First Consul. Napoleon submitted this Constitution to the people for ratification. The popular vote, known as the *plebiscite* showed an overwhelming majority in favour of the new system of government.

The Second Coalition against France. On becoming first Consul, Napoleon Bonaparte found France at war with England, Russia, Austria, Turkey, Naples, and Portugal. The reason why all these powers combined against France was quite clear. During the republican rule of the Committee of Public safety and the Directory, the French army had became powerful and influential. During this period not only had France attained her " natural boundaries " of the Rhine and the Alps, but it had also succeeded in surrounding itself with a string of dependent republics. Holland was transformed into the "Batavian Republic", and Switzerland into the "Helvetic Republic". There was brought into existence

another republic in Italy, called the "Cis-Alpine Republic". The political institutions of several states in Italy were revolutionised. The autocratic monarchs of Europe realised that the French Republic had become more dangerous to their security, for the revolutionary ideas were now propagated by a victorious army. It was, therefore, quite easy under the circumstances, for England to persuade other European powers to combine and join her in a second coalition against the French Republic. The second coalition was formed in 1798, when Napoleon was absent in Egypt. In conducting the campaign against this second coalition the Directory had proved itself thoroughly incompetent. That explains why Napoleon on his return from Egypt overthrew the Directory so very easily, and why his constitutional proposals which concentrated all power in his own hands were passed with such an overwhelming majority. In September 1799, Russia was defeated and driven out of the coalition. Early in the year 1800, Napoleon began secretly to collect his army near Dijon. He proposed to lead his army against the Austrians, who were at this time besieging the French in Genoa. Instead of marching straight into Italy, he decided to take the Austrian forces in the rear. He marched his troops over the Alpine pass of the Great St. Bernard, and dragging his cannon over the rugged mountain sides, he suddenly arrived in Milan in June 1800. The Austrians were completely taken by surprise. Napoleon now moved westward and defeated the Austrians in the famous battle of Marengo, on the 14th of June. The Austrians then retreated, and French influence was restored in Lombardy. The Cis-Alpine Repulic was re-established, and it was required to pay a monthly tax of 15 lakhs of rupees for the support of the French army. A few months later in December 1800, the French general Moreau, who had led another army against Austria through Germany, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrians at Hohenlinden, in Bavaria.

These reverses brought the Hapsburg emperor to his knees, and he now sued for peace, The treaty of Luneville signed in February 1801 restored peace between Austria and France. This treaty confirmed the treaty of Campo Formio. Soon after this, treaties of peace were concluded with other powers as well. Ferdinand of Naples agreed to exclude British ships from his harbours, and ceded to Napoleon the maritime districts of Tuscany. During the same year Spain ceded Louisiana to France in exchange for certain advantages in Italy.

Reorganization of Germany. But the most important result of the war against the second coalition was the reorganization of Germany. By the treaty of Luneville signed in February 1801, the Austrian emperor agreed on his part, and on the part of the Holy Roman Empire, that the French Republic should thereafter possess in full sovereignty the territories lying on the left bank of the Rhine which belonged to the Holy Roman Empire, and that thereafter the Rhine should form the boundary of France from the point where it left Switzerland to where it flowed into Dutch territory. As a natural consequence of this cession, various princes and states of the empire found themselves dispossessed, of their lands either wholly or in part. The empire bound itself to furnish the hereditary princes who had lost possession on the left bank of the Rhine with 'an indemnity within the empire '. This provision in the treaty of Luneville meant really a transformation of the old Empire, for up to this time the Holy Roman Empire consisted of more than three hundred states which differed greatly from one another in size and character. If one state was ruled by a duke, another was ruled be a count. There were some ecclesiastical states ruled by bishops, archbishops. or abbots. There were also free cities like Nuremberg Frankfurt, and Cologne, which were as

independent as the great duchies of Bavaria, Wurttemberg, and Saxony. Lastly there were the knights whose possessions, might consist of only a single castle surrounded by the lands of a small miserable village. From this it becomes evident that the ecclesiastical states and the free cities were not ruled by hereditary princes. As the churchmen, who ruled over ecclesiastical states were forbidden by the rules of the church, to marry, they could have no heirs. Should an ecclesiastical ruler be deprived of his territories, he could without any injustice being done to heirs, be indemnified by the grant of a pension for life. These ecclesiastical territories could thus be given to lay or hereditary princes. Such a transfer was called *secularisation*. The free cities which were so very powerful in the middle ages, had also lost much of their influence. So in 1803 an Imperial decree was issued by means of which territories were redistributed in such a manner as to indemnify those hereditary princes who had been disposssesed of their lands on the left bank of the Rhine. All the ecclesiastical states, except the Electorate of Mainz were handed over to hereditary princes. Out of the forty-eight imperial cities, only six were allowed to continue their separate existence. The Knights who had lost their lands on the left bank of the Rhine were not indemnified. The territories of the knights on the right bank of the river were also in the next few years absorbed by the states within whose boundaries they lay. The result was that the hundreds of practically independent states were consolidated into a few well-organised monarchies. That made the task of the future unification of Germany easier. But it is remarkable that these first steps in the direction of the unification of Germany were due to the victories of a foreign conqueror.

Peace of Amiens. The treaties of 1801 put France in possession of the Austrian Netherlands, and the left bank of the Rhine. To this were soon added the territories

of Piedmont, consisting of Savoy and Nice, There was now left only one power with which France was at war, and that was England. The Czar Paul of Russia was a great admirer of Napoleon. He was induced to revive in December 1800, the Armed Neutrality—a combination between Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, which was directed against the sea power of England. But the assassination of the Czar and the brilliant naval victory won by Nelson at Copenhagen on the 2nd of April 1801, combined to break up this league. In September 1801 the French agreed to evacuate Egypt, and in March 1802, England and France concluded the Treaty of Amiens. Out of her conquests England retained Ceylon and Trinidad. In this way was the second coalition broken up. After this, Revolutionary France was at peace with the entire world.

The Third Coalition against France. The Peace of Amiens proved only to be a truce. It lasted a little more than a year. There were many reasons why the peace between England and France was broken. It had become clear that it was the intention of Napoleon to bring as much of Europe under his control as he could. The imposition of high customs duties on English goods in the territories he already controlled, filled commercial and industrial England with apprehensions. The continuance of peace, therefore, meant for England a war on her commerce. She, therefore, became convinced that the renewal of war against Napoleon was necessary. By the treaty of Amiens, England had agreed to evacuate the island of Malta, which she had recently occupied. But she had failed to do so. On the other hand, Napoleon also realised that war was necessary. In his address to the Council of State in the summer of 1802, he said, "If the European states intend ever to renew the war, the sooner it comes the better. Every day the remembrance of their defeats grows dimmer the prestige of our victories

pales. France needs glorious deeds, and hence war. She must be the first among the states, or she is lost." It was the dream of Napoleon to become the emperor of the whole of Europe. It was his dream to reduce the kings of the different European countries to the position of provincial governors. So both England as well as France were ready for the renewal of war. Since England made delay in evacuating Malta, war again broke out in 1803 between these two countries. Napoleon at once occupied Hanover, which at that time was ruled by king George III of England. At the same time he declared that the entire coast line from Hanover to Otranto in Italy was blockaded. Holland, Spain, Portugal and the Ligurian Republic (Genoa) were induced to furnish their contingent of men and money to the French army, and to exclude English goods from their ports. Over and above all this, Napoleon threatened to invade England. He collected a large army at Boulogne just across the English channel. But the transportation of a large body of troops across the English Channel was a very hazardous affair, for the English people were supreme at sea. This large collection of troops on the other side of the channel, however, terrified England. The Czar Alexander I of Russia, had in August 1803 submitted a plan for the reconciliation of France and England. This plan was rejected by Napoleon, who, on the other hand, wanted to include the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea in his sphere of influence. So it was easier for Russia to join a new combination against France. In the mean time England was busy forming another coalition. Certain other developments in France gave bitter offence to both Austria and Prussia. The break up of the second coalition had made Napoleon immensely popular in France. In 1802 by another plebiscite he was made Consul of the French Republic for life. By still another popular vote given in 1804, his office was rendered hereditary, and he now assumed in December 1804, the title of Emperor.

Shortly after this in May 1805 Napoleon assumed the crown of Italy (consisting of the old Trans-Alpine Republic). So Pitt the English Prime Minister was able in 1805 to bring both Austria and Russia into the Third Coalition which England was forming. Gustavus IV of Swedon also joined it.

The defeat of Austria at Ulm, and Austerlitz.

The moment Napoleon heard of the formation of this new coalition, he broke up his camp at Boulogne and moved swiftly into Germany. Before the allies got ready to strike a blow at Napoleon, they found their enemy fast advancing against them. He declared war against Austria on the 23rd of August 1806, and soon after he captured the entire Austrian army at Ulm, where the Austrian general was compelled to make a complete surrender on the 20th of October. Napoleon then marched down the Danube with very little opposition, and before the middle of November he was in occupation of Vienna. After this he led his forces northwards to meet the allied forces of Austria and Russia. He gave them a crushing defeat on the 2nd of December at the battle of Austerlitz. Russia then withdrew and signed an armistice. Austria was again compelled to sue for peace, and the Austrian emperor was compelled to sign a humiliating peace by the treaty of Pressburg. By this treaty Austria recognised all the changes Napoleon had made in Italy, and also ceded to him that portion of Venetia which she had obtained in 1797 by the Treaty of Campo Formio. In addition to this she ceded Tyrol to Bavaria, which was friendly to Napoleon, and some districts to Wurttemberg and Baden which were alse friendly to the French Emperor. By this treaty Austria recognised the title of king recently assumed by the rulers of Saxony, Bavaria and Wurttemberg. As under this treaty some of the most important states in Germany were made entirely independent of the emperor it was no longer possible for the Holy Roman Empire to remain in

existence. So Emperor Francis II abdicated on the 6th of August 1806, and the Holy Roman Empire was thus dissolved. After this, Francis II assumed the title of Emperor of Austria. Napoleon was now in a position to reorganise central and western Europe. He organised the southern German states into a union called the Confederation of the Rhine, and he himself became its "Protector." This meant the creation of another series of dependent states, this time Confederation of the Rhine, and he himself became its "Pretector." Immediately after the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon proclaimed that the king of Naples, who had allied himself with the English, had ceased to reign, and French Generals were ordered to occupy Naples. In March 1806, he made his brother Joseph king of Naples and Sicily, his brother Louis, king of Holland, and his brother Murat, duke of Cleves and Berg. In this way the French Empire was much enlarged.

Defeat of Prussia at Jena and of Russia at Friedland. From the wars of the second and third coalitions it would be seen that during both these wars Prussia had taken no part. After Prussia had concluded peace with Revolutionary France at Basle in 1795, she had maintained strict neutrality. But now it seemed it was the turn of Prussia to feel the iron hand of Napoleon. It has already been seen that on the fresh outbreak of war between France and England in 1803, Napoleon had occupied Hanover. When Napoleon moved against Austria in 1805, Frederick William of Prussia agreed to hold the Electorate of Hanover provisionally. Frederick William was anxious to get possession of the Electorate, for it lay in between his own territories and the districts he obtained under the territorial redistribution schemes of 1803. But then all of a sudden Napoleon offered to restore Hanover to king George III. Relying on the

assistance of Saxony and Russia, Frederick William decided to declare war against Napoleon. War broke out on the Ist of October 1806. But a single defeat at the battle of Jena fought on the 14th of October, destroyed the Prussian army. Napoleon triumphantly entered Berlin on the 27th of October. He took away from Prussia her western districts, and adding them to Hanover and some other German States taken by him he created the new kingdom of Westphalia. This he put under his own brother Jerome. From Berlin he marched into Poland, where he was enthusiastically acclaimed as the liberator of the country. From Warsaw he now proceeded against Russia. After a severe defeat at the battle of Friedland fought on the 14th of June, the Czar Alexander asked for an armistice. Napoleon granted it, and on the 25th of June the two sovereigns met in a floating pavilion in the middle of the Niemen, and there the bargain was struck. By the treaty of Tilsit signed on the 7th of July 1807, Russia agreed to recognize the kingdoms of Naples, Holland, and Westphalia, and the Confederation of the Rhine, formed by Napoleon. He also recognized the Grand Duchy of Warsaw which was constituted, under the king of Saxony. Under this treaty Prussia was to be deprived of her Polish acquisitions made since 1772. and all her provinces west of the Elbe. Russia was in return to obtain Finland from Sweden, and Moldavia and Wallachia from Turkey.

Napoleon at the Height of his Power. After the treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon was at the zenith of his power. He was emperor of France, king of Italy, virtually emperor of Germany, and he had now a large number of vassal states subordinate to him. His brother Joseph reigned at Naples. The Batāvian Republic had been transformed into the kingdom of Holland, under another of his brothers, Louis. A new kingdom of Westphalia had been carved out of the territories

taken from Prussia after the battle of Jena, and the Electorate of Hanover, and was put under the rule of Jerome, a third brother of Napoleon. Belgium, western Rhineland, Savoy, and Nice, had long since been annexed to France. Switzerland was a vassal republic ruled by Napoleon with the title of of mediator. Polish territories which had been taken by Prussia and Austria in 1793, were constituted into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and put under Napoleon's friend the king of Saxony. The Confederation of the Rhine consisted of Bavaria, Baden, Wurttemberg, and later on in fact of all other Germen states except Austria and Prussia. Under the title of the Protector of the Confederation, the Emperor Napoleon disposed of its military forces, and conducted its foreign relations. Other European states not directly dependent on him, were allied with him. They included Spain, Denmark, Norway, Prussia, and Austria. Soon after the Spanish peninsula was brought more completely under his control. Napoleon in 1808 induced both the king and the crown prince of Spain to meet him at Bayonne. Here he was able to persuade both of them to surrender their rights to the throne. On the 6th of June he appointed his brother Joseph king of Spain, making Murat king of Naples in his stead. Thus Napoleon was Emperor of the whole of western and Central Europe. All his enemies had been crushed, but England alone continued to carry on the fight.

Great Britain and the Continental Blockade.

It has been stated that on the renewal of war in 1803, Napoleon collected an army at Boulogne. His object was to cross the English Channel, invade England, and dictate his terms of peace in London. But the formation of the third coalition by Pitt on the continent, and the battle of Trafalgar fought in October 1805, wherein the combined naval fleets of Spain and France were destroyed by Nelson, frustrated all his dreams for the

invasion of England. This naval victory established the complete ascendancy of Great Britain at sea. Napoleon was now compelled to try the policy of shutting out all British goods from the continent, and thus by ruining her trade and commerce bring England to her knees. He thought the destruction of English commerce and trade would bring about unemployment in England which would compel the people to rise against their government. But in order to achieve this object it was necessary first to control Europe. The victories of Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, made Napoleon practically master of Europe. On the 21st of October 1806, Napoleon issued from Berlin, the first of a series of Decress, establishing a Continental Blockade against Great Britain. He declared an absolute boycott of English goods throughout the Continent. Every port in Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea, was to be completely closed against the import of British goods. But to make this Blockade effective, it was necessary to obtain control of the navies of such countries as Denmark in the north and Portugal in the south west. But the British Government forestalled Napoleon. An English fleet was sent to Copenhagen to demand the surrender of the Danish fleet. This was refused. On this Copenhagen was bombarded. and the Danish ships were seized by England by force. Then again in order to make the blockade quite effective, Napoleon required Portugal to adhere to his Continental System. He required the king of Portugal to imprison all English subjects, confiscate all English property in Portugal, and to declare war on England. Portugal hesitated to comply with this request, Junot was sent at the head of a French army, to enforce the orders of Napoleon. The royal family, under the protection of an English fleet escaped on the 30th of November 1807 to Brazil. Shortly after this Junot entered Lisbon, and proclaimed that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign in Portugal. The Portuguese fleet had escaped and was thus saved.

But the occupation of Portugal by French troops, and the establishment of Napoleon's brother Joseph as king of Spain, created quite a new situation. The Spanish people were inspired by an intense feeling of patriotism. The Spaniards rose in revolt in every province. England promptly took advantage of this situation. She sent an expeditionary force to Spain under the command of Sir John Moore, but in the spring of 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley, of Indian fame, was put in command of the British forces in Spain. Thus began the Peninsular War, which lasted for six years.

Peninsular War 1809-1815. Joseph Bonaparte entered Madrid in July 1808. He proposed to introduce extensive constitutional reforms in the country. But immediately after his arrival in the country there broke out a general rebellion in favour of the Crown prince. The Roman Catholic monks stirred up the people against Napoleon, on the ground that he was oppressing the Pope and depriving him of his dominions. Before the end of July, Joseph and the French troops were compelled to retreat behind the Ebro. In November the French Emperor himself led a magnificent army into Spain. The Spaniards were defeated and Madrid surrendered on the 4th of December 1808. Immediately after this Napoleon abolished the Inquisition, the Feudal dues, the internal customs barriers, and suppressed a very large number of the cloisters. But as another war with Austria soon broke out, Napoleon had to return back to Paris, leaving his brother Joseph on an insecure throne. Soon after the departure of Napoleon from Spain, the Spaniards started a guerrilla warfare against the French, and it was soon discovered that against this kind of warfare, even the best troops and the most distinguished generals were helpless. The English army under the command of Arthur Wellesley, who was now made Duke of Wellington, proved very useful to the Spaniards, and the French were slowly but surely driven out of Spain across

the Pyrenees. The ultimate downfall of Napoleon was to a great extent due to the Peninsular War. Expulsion of the national kings from Portugal and Spain roused a strong national feeling in the entire Iberian Peninsula, and the Spanish soldiers imbued with this national feeling were succesful in driving the French out of the country. This was a lesson not lost on the rest of Europe. National and patriotic feelings began to rise elsewhere also. Austria was the first to rise.

The Austrian Revolt, 1809. Ever since the humiliating peace of Pressburg had been signed in 1805, Austria, had heen waiting for an opportunity to take revenge. When most of the French soldiers were engaged in Spain and Portugal, and when it was known that England was always ready to help any country, which proposed to fight against Napoleon, Austria thought that that was the opportunity to shake off the domination of the "enemy of Europe" as the French Emperor was now called. A new national spirit had also by this time been born in Germany. An appeal was made to the patriotism of the Austrian people. Austria declared war on the 15th of April 1809. The Tyrolese peasants fought with great courage, but the military strategy of the Austrian generals was no match for that of Napoleon, and in less than a month Napoleon was again in occupation of Vienna. But on this occasion he experienced a great amount of resistance. At length on the 6th of July 1809 he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrians at Wagram. The Austrian Emperor was again compelled to sign a humiliating peace. He had to surrender western Galicia to the new Grand Duchy of Warsaw, Eastern Galicia to Russia, and Trieste, and the Illyrian provinces on the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea to Napoleon himself. Large slices of territories including Tyrol had been given to the king of Bavaria. Austria was now required to pay a large indemnity, and promise a strict adherence to the Continental Blockade

against England. On this occasion Napoleon also received Princess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria, in marriage. Austria's object had been to destroy Napoleon's system of dependencies and "to restore to their rightful possessors all those lands belonging to them respectively, before the Napoleonic usurpations." Instead of achieving this object she was compelled to suffer more humiliations. After this Napoleon was encouraged to continue in the policy of annexing to France more territories, and to add to his empire more dependent states. He incorporated into France the kingdom of Etruria and the Papal states, in 1809, and he now also abolished the kingdom of Holland, and annexed it to France. He also annexed in 1810 to his dominions in France some of the German districts lying towards the north of Holland, as well as the Hanseatic towns. So in 1810 France stretched from the confines of Naples in the south, to the Baltic Sea in the north. One could travel from Lubeck to Rome without leaving the territories of Napoleon. His new wife Maria Louisa bore him a son, who was given the title of the king of Rome. After this the European continent with the exception of Spain and Portugal, enjoyed peace for two years.

War with Russia 1812. It has been stated that by the treaty of Tilsit signed in 1807, peace had heen signed between Emperor Napoleon and Czar Alexander. But there were many reasons for misunderstandings arising between these two monarchs. Napoleon was suspected of secretly opposing the addition of Finland, Moldavia, and Wallachia to the dominions of Czar Alexander. Then again there was always the possibility of the re-establishment of Poland as a national kingdom, which might prove a source of danger to Russia. Thirdly, as the continental blockade against England was getting more and more strict, it pressed with special severity upon Russia, an agricultural country, needing large

imports of British manufactures. The Czar at length decided to break away from Napoleon, and restore trade relations between England and Russia. But in order to fight successfully it was necessary for Russia to secure her flanks. At this time one of Napoleon's favourite generals, Bernadotte, was ruling Sweden. But he too was getting restless under the continental blockade. He was forced by Napoleon to fight against England. He did so half-heartedly, and at length in 1812, he made peace with England, and the ports of Sweden were opened to British goods. In April 1812, Bernadotte concluded a treaty with Russia, by which in return for the co-operation of a Swedish force in north Germany, Sweden was on the conclusion of a general peace to obtain Norway. In this way Russia secured her right flank. In order to secure her left flank, Alexander concluded an agreement with Turkey. By the treaty of Bukharest, signed in 1812, he agreed to evacuate the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and to remain content with Bessarabia alone. Seeing this, Napoleon also began to prepare for war. He secured the co-operation of his father-in-law, the emperor of Austria, by the restoration to him of Galicia. He also entered into a treaty with Prussia. Having thus got ready, Napoleon declared war on Russia on the 12th of April 1812, and on the 24th of June he crossed the Niemen at the head of an army of 600,000 men. The Russians did not offer him any serious battle. but retreated before him, devastating their own country and burning their towns. They offered to the invaders a battle at Borodino, a short distance in front of Moscow, on the 7th of September 1812. Here they were defeated by Napoleon. After this the Russians again retreated, and allowed the French to reach Moscow the ancient capital of Russia. But when the French entered the city of Moscow they found that it had also been set on fire. Barracks and foodstuffs were all destroyed, and the

burning of Moscow became the signal for a general rising of the Russian peasants against the French. Unable to procure supplies, Napoleon was compelled to evacuate Moscow, and retrace his steps towards Germany. Napoleon remained a month in Moscow, believing that Alexander would open negotiations for peace. But he heard nothing from the Czar. At length the French Emperor gave orders for retreat. Napoleon at first proposed to return by southern route, but he found it to be blocked. He was compelled to return by the same route he had entered Russia. But on his way back too, he could get no supplies. Famine, intense Russian cold, desertions, and the constant raids of the Cossacks thinned the ranks of the Grand French army. At last only 20,000 broken fugitives out of the Grand Army of 600,000 men re-crossed the Niemen. The Grand Army was thus destroyed. But the loss of this great army did not shake the determination of Napoleon. Within three months he raised another big army. France remained loyal to him, and so did the Confederation of the Rhine. In January 1813, Czar Alaxander crossed the Niemen, and on the 28th of February he concluded with Prussia at Calisch a treaty, by which he promised not to lay down arms until Prussia was restored, as regards area and population to the position she had occupied before the treaty of Tilsit. That treaty was the undoing of Napoleon, and the making of Prussia. This alliance between Russia and Prussia was brought about by the exertions of Baron vom Stein the maker of new Prussia.

The War of German Liberation. After the defeat of Prussia at the battle of Jena in 1806, this kingdom was practically reduced to half its previous size. Its Polish acquisitions had been taken away to constitute the new Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Its western districts had been included in the new kingdom of Westphalia. Her

army was limited to a force of only 42,000 soldiers. So these times marked for Prussia the nadir of degradation, but they also proved to be the beginning of regeneration. While the French troops were still in Berlin some German statesmen realised that the degradation of Germany was due to her social condition. Up to the defeat of Jena, Prussia was far more backward in its social organization than France had been before 1789. The agricultural cultivators, were mere serfs, who were bound to the land and were compelled to work a certain number of days in the week for the lord without any payment. The entire population was divided into separate social classes, No individual in any of these classes could alienate his land to an individual in another class. The crushing defeat of Prussia at Jena, and the humiliating provisions for Prussia in the treaty of Tilsit, forced the leaders of this old-fashioned Prussian society to consider whether their weakness was not to some extent due to their Mediæval social institutions. Moreover it has been seen that after the defeat of Austria at Austerlitz in 1805, and the treaty of Pressburg signed in 1806, Confederation of the Rhine had been established in southern and western Germany. The social reforms of the French Revolution were introduced into the states forming this confederation. The principles and provision of the "Code Napoleon" were put into force in these states. Feudalism and serfdom were abolished and religious toleration was decreed. The equality of all citizens before the law was recognized, and southern and western Germany through contact with France was also revolutionised politically and socially. Prussia could not escape the infection of these influences. German leaders of thought began to argue that the explanation of French patriotism was to be found in the social reforms of the French Revolution, and that in order to develop popular patriotism in Prussia it was necessary to undertake radical reforms in Prussia. The first step was

taken in October 1807, when by the advice of Baron vom Stein, a royal decree was issued by means of which serfdom was abolished and the old class system done away with. No restriction was now put on the alienation of land. This has helped in the abolition of agricultural landlordism, but it has not to any great extent touched manorial landlords, usually called by the name of *Junkers*, who continue to be rich and influential, and still imbued with the ideas of military power and kingship by the grace of God. Then again the old army of Prussia had been completely discredited by the defeats it suffered. A few days after the treaty of Tilsit was signed, a commission for military reorganization was appointed by Scharnhorst, the minister of war. The object of the reformers was to introduce universal military service. Napoleon had permitted Prussia to maintain only a small force of not more than 42,000 men, but the reformers reduced the period of service to a very short one, and recruited fresh men to take the place of those who retired from their short period of active service in the army. This arrangement kept the size of the army the same as was fixed by Napoleon, but before long there were now in Prussia 150,000 men sufficiently trained to fight whenever necessary. While serfdom and the old system of social classes were being abolished in Prussia, attempts were also made to rouse the national spirit of the Germans and to prepare them to fight against the French conquerors. The well-known German philosopher Fichte, arranged just after the defeat at Jena, a course of pubiic lectures in Berlin, in which he laid the foundations of modern German nationalism, and confidence in Germany's great destiny. He tried to impress upon his people, that the Germans were the one really superior people in the whole world. German writers followed the lead of Fichte in cultivating German patriotism and in fostering a popular belief in the importance of the role which Germany was destined to

play in the history of the world. These ideas of Fichte were put into practical shape by Humboldt, who reorganized the whole scheme of Prussian education from elementary school right up to the university. It was this new Prussia, which Napoleon had to face. Napoleon had now to fight not the mercenaries of a despotic monarch, but an entire nation in arms, filled with ideas of freeing their country from foreign domination. Russia, Prussia, and Sweden were combined. The campaign which followed is known in Prussia as the War of Liberation. The king of Saxony was, however, loyal to Napoleon. When after his recent retreat from Moscow, Napoleon gathered together another big army, he established himself in Dresden the capital of Saxony. From here as a base he inflicted some losses on his enemies. Prussia declared war against Napoleon on the 17th of March 1813. Napoleon defeated the allies on the 27th of August at the battle of Dresden, but now since his enemies had learnt to co-operate with one another, they tried to cut his communications with France. This compelled Napoleon to retreat, but he was now surrounded by his enemies. Austria too had once again joined his enemies. He was defeated at the battle of Leipzig fought in October 1813. As the defeated emperor crossed the Rhine with the remnants of his army the whole edifice of his political structure in Germany and Holland crumbled into pieces. The members of the Confederation of the Rhine joined the allies. Jerome Bonaparte fled from his kingdom of Westphalia, and the Dutch drove the French out of Holland. By 1813 the Spaniards too had with the assistance of the British army, under the Duke of Wellington cleared their country of the French. But in spite of these disasters Napoleon refused the offers of peace made on the condition that he would content himself in future with his dominion over France, with its frontiers up to the natural boundaries of the Rhine and the Alps. The allies consequently

marched into France, and they occupied Paris on the 31st of March 1814. Napoleon was forced to abdicate on the 13th of April 1814, and instead of France was now given the little island of Elba to rule. The Bourbons once again ruled in France and Louis XVIII, younger brother of Louis XVI, entered Paris on the 3rd of May. But within a year, encouraged by the dissensions of the allies, and the unpopularity within France of the Bourbons, he made his escape from Elba, and landed in France on the Ist of March 1815. He was received with enthusiasm by the French army. The Allies, on the other hand, were completely united in their policy so far as Napoleon was concerned. They solemnly proclaimed him an outlaw. Learning that the English troops under the Duke of Wellington, the hero of the Peninsular War, and the Prussian army under Blucher, the hero of the German War of Liberation, had arrived in the Netherlands, Napoleon decided to attack with such troops as he had already collected. In the first encounter he defeated and drove the Prussians. He then advanced against Wellington who had stationed himself south of Waterloo. Here he met considerable amount of resistance, and before he could dislodge Wellington from his position, Blucher had reformed his army, and had come and joined his forces with the English. Napoleon was finally defeated on the 18th of June 1815. After this he surrendered himself before the British authorities. He was deported now to St. Helena, a distant island in the South Atlantic Ocean. Here he died in 1821.

The Reforms and Administration of Napoleon Bonaparte

Napoleon was not only a great general but a very able administrator as well. It has already been seen that he became First Consul in 1799. But immediately after this he was called upon to fight the Austrians, and the second coalition organized against him, by England. Peace was signed with England by the Treaty

of Amiens in 1802. It enabled Napoleon to drop the sword for some time, and take up the task of improving the administration.

Local Government. One of the first things he turned his attention to, was Local Government. Napoleon thought that the National Assembly had committed a serious mistake when it provided for popular election of all local officials—judges, priests, and heads of departments This system permitted too much independence to the local administration, which it was considered was not good for a continental ·country like France, surrounded on all sides by strong military powers. He, therefore, decided that all important local officials should be appointed by and be responsible to himself, the central authcrity, in the country. Napoleon's idea was to set up a highly centralised state in France. At the head of each *Department* (district), he put an officer, called a *prefect*, and in each subdivision of a *department*, he appointed a *sub-prefect*. These, together with the mayors and police commissioners, of the towns were all appointed by the First Consul. These local and district officers had powers very much similar to those which were possessed by the *Intendents* in the old regime, of the time of Louis XIV.

The Church. Having centralised the administration, Napoleon turned his attention to the Church. In has been seen that the National Assembly has antagonized the Church. He thought here again a mistake had been committed by the Revolutionary Government. He recognised that at heart the majority of Frenchmen were devoted Roman Catholics. He also knew that their religion was closely associated with their patriotism. Though he was quite at one with the Revolutionary Government in the confiscation of Church property by the State, and he was not prepared to release this property, he made a treaty of Con-

cordat with the Pope in 1801. By this Concordat, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was set aside. It was now agreed that the lower clergy were in future to be appointed by the bishops as was the custom under the old regime. It was also decided that the bishops should be appointed by the Pope, but he was to appoint only such persons as bishops who were recommended by the French Government. The State was to continue to pay the salaries of all clergymen in France. This Concordat made by Napoleon in 1808, regulated the relations of the church and the state in France right up to 1905.

Financial Reform Napoleon then turned his attention towards the financial affairs of the country. The Revolution had not properly solved the financial problems. There was a good deal of leakage in the collection of revenue. He increased the national income by more careful collection of taxes. At the same time he reduced the public expenditure by strict economy, by the severe punishment of corrupt officials, and by the practice of compelling foreign peoples, whose territories he invaded, to support his armies. He recalled paper money, and levied high protective customs duties on the import of foreign goods. The most important thing he did in this connection was the establishment of the Bank of France, which was founded in 1800. From this time this bank has controlled the financial transactions of the French nation.

Educational Reforms. It has been seen that the National Convention had taken education out of the hands of the Clergy. Napoleon completed the reforms begun by the Revolutionary Government. He developed a system of public schools, of all grades, primary schools, grammar schools, high schools, technical schools, and normal schools. At the top he established the "University of France", which supervised the whole system. University officials were

all appointed by the State. This system of state-controlled popular education was not fully carried into effect in the time of Napoleon, since adequate funds wore not forthcoming. But this system of education achieved one thing marvellously. It did wonders in promoting patriotism, and the promotion of patriotism has throughout the 19th century been the goal of educational progress in France.

Legal Reforms. But the most important of the Reforms undertaken by Napoleon, were in connection with the Codification of Laws. Surrounding himself with expert legal advisers, whom he compelled to work very hard, Napoleon completed and published great Codes of Civil Law, Criminal Law, and Judicial Procedure Law. These Codes reduced the many and very often conflicting laws of the country to a clear, and a simple system. Now every one who could read was able to know what was legal and what was not legal. These Codes at the same time embodied most important social measures so far put into force by the Revolution, such as equality of all individuals before law, religious toleration, equality of inheritance, and abolition of serfdom and feudalism. Under these reforms all multiplicity of laws disappeared. This codification of all civil law—the Code Napoleon—prevails to-day not only in France, but also in Belgium, Holland, Italy, Rhenish Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, and even in the American state of Louisiana, in effect everywhere where Napoleon's rule extended.

Public Works of Napoleon. Napoleon also proved himself a great builder. Like the Roman Emperors, he constructed a system of military highways, radiating from the capital city, to the remotest departments (districts) within the country. In addition to this he constructed two big hill roads, connecting France with Italy. By the construction of these roads he not only improved the military

defence of the country, but by promoting thereby facilities for travel, increased enormously trade and commerce within the country. This certainly improved very much the economic welfare of large sections of the people. He also did much to improve and beautify Paris. He laid out broad avenues, and adorned the city with beautiful works of art, which he had brought into France as a result of his military victories, from Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands.

While engaged in these reforms, Napoleon did not forget the *Emigres*. A law was passed whereby amnesty was extended to the nobles who had fled from France. It is estimated that more than forty thousand families returned to France. After this the Emperor again set up at the Tuileries the etiquette and ceremonial of the old regime. He established the Legion of Honour to reward those who served him most industriously. He created an imperial nobility. His relatives and ministers became princes, dukes, and counts ; and his ablest generals became marshals of France. But all these honours and titles could be won through one's own efforts. Everything depended on merit. There was no hereditary nobility. But at the same time Napoleon maintained a strict censorship on the press. His police furnished news to the newspapers. Nothing could appear in the press which was displeasing to the emperor. France intoxicated with the glory of military victories abroad and enjoying perfect peace and tranquillity within the country, forgot that she was being ruled by a despotic monarch. Napoleon was careful enough to incorparate in his policy the main reforms brought about by the Revolution, but he permitted as little popular control over his government as did Louis XIV. He attempted to build up a colonial empire also. In fact he obtained in 1800 Louisiana in North America, lying west of the Mississippi river, from Spain. But war within England and lack of naval strength of France, prevented the restoration of its colonial empire. The manifold achievemennts of Napoleon

within France, enlisted the support of many sections of French population. The business interests, the bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and the sincere Roman Catholics, all were loyal to the Emperor. He was able to build up and exercise an enlighten-despotism, more despotic than that of Louis XIV, or Frederick the Great, or Catherine the Great. If Napoleon had been content to complete and consolidate the social achievements of the Revolution within France, and not entered upon a programme of building up for himself a universal empire throughout Europe, he might have reigned many years in peace and handed over to other members of the Bonaparte family a French monarchy which would have contrasted most favourably with the old time autocracy of the Bourbons. But before Napoleon appeared on the scene, the French Revolutionaries had already proclaimed it their policy to overthrow autocracy and privilege throughout Europe even by force, if it was necessary to do so. Napoleon adopted this policy wholeheartedly. The dictatorship of Napoleon therefore meant war for the rest of Europe. Although Napoleon was very popular in France he antagonised the whole of Europe That was responsible not only for the fall of Napoleon, but for the humiliation of France.

Summary.

1. *Napoleon Bonaparte* was born at Ajjacio in Corsica, on the 15th of August 1769. He was the son of a lawyer who belonged to a decayed aristocractic family of Italy. At the age of ten he was taken to school in France, where he spent six years. He entered an artillery regiment as a second lieutenant.

2. *Napoleon as a second Lieutenant* had little hope of any great advance in the French army. So he now went to Corsica. Here he soon got himself involved in a series of intrigues. He and his family were banished from Corsica in 1793. They now came to France. Here under the Revolutionary government he got an opportunity to show himself. He compelled the English to evacuate the Port of Toulon which they had taken. In 1795 he saved the Directory against the Parisian mob.

3. *Character of Napoleon Bonaparte.* While a student at school Napoleon took a keen interest in the Reform movement then stirring France. He became an admirer of Rousseau. He even became a Jacobin in politics. He hated class privileges and distinctions. He was an idealist, but at the same time he knew how to put his ideas into practice. In trying to achieve his objects he had no scruples to adopt any means.

4. *Italian Campaign, 1796-97.* Carnot the military member of the Directory put Napoleon in charge of the French army which was in 1796 to move against Italy. At that time Italy was divided into a dozen separate states. The Hapsburgs ruled in Lombardy, and in the duchies of Tuscany, Modena, and Mantua. The two Sicilies and the duchy of Parma were under the Spanish Bourbons. Venice, Genoa Lucca and San Marino were republics. The House of Savoy ruled in Savoy, Piedmont, and the island of Sardinia. The whole of Central Italy was ruled by the Pope. It was the task of Napoleon to drive the Austrians out of Northern Italy. He had to fight against Austria and Sardinia. At first he defeated the Sardinian armies and compelled them to make peace. He then moved against the Austrians. He outflanked their forces end entered Milan in May 1796. He took Mantua in Fabruary 1797, and then compelled the Austrian Emperor to sue for peace, which was concluded by the treaty of Campo Formio signed in October 1797. By this treaty Austria ceded to France Belgium, and lands on the western banks of the Rhine. Austria also recognised the independence of the Cis-Alpine Repubiic which Napoleon had created out of the smaller states of northern Italy. This new republic included Lombardy, Modena, and parts of Venetia and the Papal states. The rest of Venetia was handed over to Austria.

5. *The Egyptian Campaign of Napoleon, 1798-99.* After the conclusion of the Italian campaign, Napoleon conceived the idea of taking an expeditionary force to Egypt. He convinced the Directory that by so doing it would be possible to threaten British Commerce in the Mediterranian Sea, and to attack the possessions of England in India, by marching overland from Egypt. He left Toulon in May 1798, and having landed at Alexandria, he soon defeated Turkish armies at the battle of the Pyramids He then invaded Syria, but here he was checked at Acre by the Turks who were aided by the English. But while Napoleon was thus engaged, the French fleet at Alexandria was destroyed by the British Admiral Nelson. Napoleon returned to Cairo in June 1799. Here he destroyed another Turkish army, but soon

after hearing that the Directory was hard pressed by the continental powers in Europe, he returned to France, and reached Paris in October 1799.

6. *Overthrow of the Directory*. During the absence of Napoleon in Egypt, Great Britain, Austria, and Russia, had formed another alliance against France. The Directory was not able to meet the coalition. So when Napoleon returned home, he along with some of his friends decided to overthrow the Directory. The Hall where the Assembly was meeting was invaded, and those who were opposed to him were driven out. Three out of the five Directors were induced to resign and the remaining two were taken into custody. After this the government of the country was put in charge of a Consulate consisting of Napoleon and two others, appointed for ten years. Napoleon as the First Consul, was put in charge of the Army, and the Navy, and he was given the authority to appoint and dismiss all important officials in the state. The legislature consisted of four assemblies. This constitution under which all power was concentrated in the hands of Napoleon, was submitted to popular vote, and it was approved by an overwhelming majority.

7. *The Second Coalition against France*. The Continental powers were alarmed by the establishment of a large number of Republics on the borders of France. There was the Cis-Alpine Republic in northern Italy, the Helvetic Republic in Switzerland, and the Batavian Republic in Holland. The political institutions of several states in Italy were revolutionised. The autocratic monarchs in Europe did not like this spread of revolutionary ideas outside France. So a second Coalition was formed against her. After overthrowing the Directory, Napoleon turned his attention towards this Coalition. He defeated Russia in September 1799, and drove her out of the coalition. He then crossed the Alps, and descending suddenly into the plains of northern Italy, arrived in Milan, and thus took the Austrians in the rear, who were then besieging the French in Genoa. The Austrians were taken by surprise. He defeated them at the battle of Marengo in June 1800. The Austrians now retreated, and the Cis-Alpine Republic was restored. In December the Austrians were defeated by another French general Moreau, at the battle of Hohenlinden, in Bavaria. After this, peace was signed between France and Austria by the treaty of Luneville, in February 1801. This treaty cenfirmed the treaty of Campo Formio After this, peace was made by Naples, and Spain as well.

8. *Re-organization of Germany*. As a result of the treaty of Luneville, signed in 1801 the Rhine became the boundary of France.

The different princes and states of Germany on the left bank of the Rhine lost all their possessions. In 1803, these princes and states were compensated by the grant of territory on the right bank of the Rhine. At that time there were in Germany a very large number of states, ruled by Dukes, Counts, knights, and bishops and archibishops. Since the laws of the church did not permit the priests to marry, ecclesiastical rulers had no heirs. So it was easy to pension them off, and hand over their territories to those princes who had lost lands on the left bank of the Rhine. The knights were not compensated at all, and their lands were absorbed in the territories of the neighbouring states. In this way hundreds of states disappeared, and in place of a large number of states there were now in Germany a few well-organized monarchies. This simplified the future task of the unification of Germany.

9. *The Peace of Amiens.* After the treaty of Luneville there was left only one enemy of France, and that was England. But in September 1801 the French agreed to evacuate Egypt, and the English offered to evacuate Malta. On this basis a treaty of Peace was signed at Amiens in March 1802. On the conlusion of this treaty France was at peace with the entire world.

10. *The Third Coalition against France.* The Peace of Amiens proved only a truce. The protective policy of Napoleon raised huge tariff walls against the import of foreign goods in all those countries which had come under his influence. This policy inflicted a very heavy loss on the trade and commerce of England. The extension of Napoleonic empire on the continent of Europe was, therefore, very injurious to the interests of England. Napoleon also realised that in order to maintain his position it was necessary to continue a policy of war. So both sides began to prepare for war. Since the English people had failed to evacuate Malta, war broke out between England and France in 1803. Napoleon at once occupied Hanover, which was at that time ruled by King George III of England. He also proclaimed the entire coast line of Europe from Hanover in Germany to Toranto in Italy blockaded against England. Holland, Spain, Portugal, and Genoa, were induced to furnish their contingents of men and money to the French army, and to exclude English goods from their ports. He also threatened to invade England. So England organized a new coalition against France. She was able to obtain the co-operation of Russia, Austria, and Sweden.

11. *The Defeat of Austria at Ulm and Austerlitz.* On the formation of this new coalition against him, Napoleon broke up his camp

at Boulogne, and gave up the idea of invading England. He now advanced against his continental enemies. He suddenly attacked the Austrians, and captured their entire army at Ulm in October 1806. He then inflicted another defeat on the Austrians at Austerlitz. Russia was compelled to withdraw from the coalition, and Austria also sued for peace, which was signed at Pressburg. By this treaty Austria recognized all the changes Napoleon had made in Italy, and she also ceded to Napoleon her recent acquisition, Venetia. She also ceded Tyrol to Bavaria, and some districts to Wurttemberg and Baden. Austria also recognized the titles of king which the rulers of Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurttemberg had recently assumed. As now most of the important states in Germany were reorganized as independent states, Emperor Francis II renounced his title of the Holy Roman Emperor of Germany, and assumed the humbler rank of the Emperor of Austria. After this Napoleon organized the southern German states into a union, called the Confederation of the Rhine, and he himself became its " Protector ". Thus another dependent state was added to the empire of Napoleon.

12. *Defeat of Prussia at Jena and of Russia at Friedland.* So far Prussia had not taken any part in the second or the third coalitions against France. But when after occupying Hanover, Napoleon moved in 1805 against Austria, he asked king Frederick William of Prussia to hold Hanover for him. Now it was the wish of Frederick William to get permanent possession of Hanover, for it lay in between Prussia, and his possessions on the banks of the Rhine. But Napoleon decided to restore Hanover to king George III of England. So relying on the assistance of Saxony and Russia, Frederick William decided to declare war against Napoleon. War broke out in October 1806. But the army of Prussia was destroyed at the single battle fought at Jena. After this Napoleon took away from Prussia, her western districts, and adding them to Hanover, he created a new kingdom of Westphalia. This he put in charge of his brother Jerome. Then from Berlin, Napoleon marched into Poland, where he was acclaimed as a liberator. From Warsaw he marched against the Russians, who were defeated at the battle of Friedland, in June 1807. The Czar now sued for peace. A treaty of peace was signed between the Czar Alexander and Napoleon in July 1807 at Tilsit. By this treaty the Czar recognised the kingdom of Italy, Holland, Westphalia, and the Confederation of the Rhine, created by Napoleon. He also recognised the Grand Duchy of Warsaw which was constituted by Napoleon and handed over to the king of Saxony. Under this treaty Prussia was to be deprived of all her Polish

territories, and Russia was to obtain Finland, from Sweden, and Moldavia and Wallachia from Turkey.

13. *Napoleon at the height of his Power..* After the treaty of Tilsit Napoleon was at the zenith of his power. He was emperor of France, king of Italy, and practically emperor of Germany. He had a number of dependent kingdoms under him. Other European states not directly dependent on him were allied with him. They included Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, Prussia, and Austria. Soon after even Spain and Portugal were also brought under his control. He appointed his brother Joseph as king of Spain. Thus Napoleon became master practically of the whole of western and central Europe. All his enemies were crushed. It was only England that continued to fight.

14. *Great Britain and the Continental Blockade.* On the renewal of war in 1803, Napoleon had intended to invade England. But the formation of the third Coalition by Pitt against him, and the destruction of the combined fleets of France and Spain at the battle of Trafalger in October 1805, frustrated all his hopes of invading England. Napoleon was now compelled to shut out all British goods from the continent. He now hoped that by ruining the trade of England unemployment would be caused in England, and that would make the people rise against the British Government. So after defeating the Austrians and the Prussians, Napoleon began to issue a series of decrees by means of which he proclaimed an absolute boycott of English goods. To make the Blockade effective, he proposed to take possession of the Danish fleet. But the British people forestalled him. Copenhagen was bombarded, and the Danish ships were taken by England by force. Then again in order to make the blockade effective, Napoleon wanted his allies, and dependents to declare war on England, boycott the import of British goods into their country, and confiscate British property in their territories. Portugal was required to do the same. As Portugal hesitated Junot was sent with a large army against her. The royal family under the protection of the British fleet, escaped to Brazil, and Napoleon declared that the House of Braganza had ceased to rule in Portugal. But the occupation of Portugal by the French forces, and the appointment of Napoleon's brother Joseph as king of Spain created a new situation in the Iberian peninsula. The people inspired by an intense feeling of patriotism rose against the French. The English people took advantage of this and began to help the Spaniards. Thus began the Peninsular War, which lasted from 1809 to 1813.

15. *The Peninsular War.* Joseph Bonaparte had become king of Spain in 1808. It was his intention to introduce a constitutional system of government in Spain. But since the people rose against him, and since the Roman Catholics were also against him, he was compelled to withdraw from Madrid. Napoleon came with a big army and defeated the Spaniards, but since another coalition had been formed against him in Central Europe, he had to return back, leaving the charge of the campaign in the hands of his generals. The Spaniards now started a guerrilla warfare against the French. The French soon found themselves helpless against this kind of warfare. The English sent an expeditionary force to Spain under the command of Arther Wellesley, later on known as the Duke of Wellington. He was of very great help to the Spaniards. The French were slowly driven across the Pyrennees. This Peninsular War was to some extent the cause of the downfall of Napoleon. Expulsion of the national kings from Portugal and Spain, roused patriotic feelings in the entire Iberian Peninsula, and the Spaniards succeeded in driving the French out of the country. This was a lesson not lost on the rest of Europe Patriotic feelings were roused in other countries as well. Austria was the first to rise.

16. *The Austrian Revolt, 1809.* Ever since the humiliating peace of Pressberg, Austria had been waiting for an opportunity. So when French soldiers were engaged in Spain and when it was known that England would help any power which rose against Napoleon, the Austrians once again decided to fight against him. War was declared in 1809. The Tyrolese peasants fought with great courage. But Napoleon was once again victorious. He defeated Austria at the battle of Wagram. The Austrian emperor was compelled to surrender western Galicia to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, Eastern Galicia to Russia, and Trieste and Illyria to Napoleon. Some districts of Tyrol had to be given to Bavaria. The Austrian princess Maria Louisa had to be given in marriage to Napoleon. He now promised to maintain the blockade against England more strictly. After this Napoleon added to his empire the Papal States and also Etruria. He abolished the kingdom of Holland and annexed its territories to France.

17. *War with Russia, 1812.* Although peace had been made between the Czar Alexander and Napoleon by the treaty of Tilsit, they continued to be suspicious of each other. Napoleon was suspected of secretly opposing the addition of Finland, Moldavia and

Wallachia to Russia. There was also a possibility of Poland being set up as a separate and independent kingdom. Further more the continental blockade was pressing Russia with great severity. The Czar at length decided to break away from Napoleon. In order to prepare himself for the coming contest he concluded an agreement with Bernadotte of Sweden. He also relinquished his hold on Moldavia and Wallachia, and came to an understanding with Turkey. Seeing this, Napoleon also began to prepare. He secured the co-operation of Austria, by the offer of Galicia. He also entered into a treaty with Prussia. Having thus secured his flanks, Napoleon declared war on Russia, and in April 1812 marched at the head of 600,000 soldiers into Russia. The Czar Alexander did not offer him any effective resistance, and allowed him to advance into Russia. A short battle was fought at Borodino near Moscow, in which Napoleon proved victorious. After this he entered Moscow, but the Russians before leaving the city had set it on fire. The entire countryside was denuded of all food supplies. The mass of the people now rose against the French. Unable to procure any supplies, Napoleon was compelled to evacuate Moscow and order retreat. On his way back famine and the cold climate killed almost the whole of his army. He re-crossed the Russian frontier with only 20,000 soldiers. Napoleon raised another army, but in January 1813 Czar Alexander crossed the frontier, and concluded an agreement with Prussia. Soon after Austria also joined Prussia and Russia.

18. *The War of German Liberation.* After the defeat of Prussia at the battle of Jena in 1806, its size was very much reduced. Her army was limited to 42,000 soldiers, and Prussia reached the nadir of her degradation. Up to this time Prussia had been backward. The peasants were mere serfs. The entire population was divided into separate social classes. The defeat of Prussia at Jena compelled her public men to realise that her humiliation was due to her backward social position. So social reforms of the French Revolution which were introduced into the Confederation of the Rhine, and in Westphalia, began to be introduced into the rest of Germany. In 1807 a royal decree was issued by means of which serfdom was abolished. Then again the army was reorganised. Universal military service was introduced, and although the size of the army was not increased, a short military service in the regular army enabled the country to give military training to a very large number of people. Furthermore to infuse patriotic feelings among the people the entire educational system was overhauled. Fitche and Humboldt did a lot in reorganising the

educational system of the country. The result was that in 1813 Napoleon had to fight not the mercenary troops of the king of Prussia, but the entire people in arms. Russia, Prussia and Sweden were now combined. Napoleon met them at Dresden, and defeated them. But the allies now tried to cut the communications of Napoleon. This compelled Napoleon to retreat, but he was surrounded by his enemies, and defeated in October 1813 at the battle of Leipzig. After this defeat the members of the Confederation of the Rhine, joined the allies. The kingdom of Westphalia collapsed, and the Dutch drove the French out of Holland. By this time the Spaniards too had driven the French out of Spain. But still Napoleon refused to accept the terms that were offered to him. The Allies advanced into France and, occupied Paris on the 31st of March 1814. Napoleon was forced to abdicate, and the Bourbon King Louis XVIII, younger brother of Louis XVI, was restored to the throne. But shortly after this Napoleon again escaped from Elba. He was again defeated at Waterloo, and he was then deported to the distant island of St. Helena, where he died in 1821.

19. *Administrative Reforms of Napoleon.* The National Assembly had provided for popular election of all important officials, such as judges, priests, and Heads of departments. Napoleon thought this was a mistake. He decided that each *department* (District) should be in charge of a prefect appointed by the First Consul. The Mayors and Police Commissioners, together with the sub-prefect were also appointed by him. In this way the whole administration was centralised.

20. *His Church Reforms.* Napoleon was quite at one with the National Assembly in the confiscation of church property, but he did not agree with the civil constitution of the clergy. He decided that the lower clergy were to be appointed by the bishops, as was done in olden times, but the bishops were to be appointed by the Pope of Rome, in consultation with the Head of the Government in France, This new arrangement was known by the name of Concordat which was signed by Napoleon with the Pope in 1801. This Concordat remained in force right up to 1905.

21. *His Financial Reforms.* Under the Revolutionary government there was a good deal of leakage in the collection of revenues, He improved the revenues by more careful collection, and he reduced expenditure by strict economy. He supported his armies by contributions from the people whose territories he invaded. He recalled paper money and imposed heavy customs duties on the import of foreign goods. In 1800 he established the Bank of France. From this time this bank began to control all financial transactions of the French nation.

22. *His Educational Reforms.* The National Convention had taken education out of the hands of the clergy. Napoleon developed a system of public schools of all grades. from the primary school to the university. All university officials were to be appointed by the state. This system of education did much to promote patriotic feelings among the people.

23. *His Legal Reforms.* The most important of the Reforms undertaken by Napoleon were the Legal Reforms. He codified civil law, criminal law, and laws of judicial procedure. The social reforms of the Revolution were incorporated in these codes. These codes established the equality of all individuals before law, abolished serfdom and feudalism, and decided in favour of equality in inheritance. This Code Napoleon as it is called prevails to-day not only in France, but also in Belgium, Holland, Italy, Rhenish Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, and even in the American state of Louisiana.

24. *The Public Works of Napoleon.* Like the Roman Emperors he constructed a system af military roads, radiating from the capital to all parts of the empire. He also constructed two important hill roads connecting France with Italy. This not only provided for the military defence of the country, but also helped its trade and commerce. He also did much to beautify Paris.

25. *Miscellaneous Reforms of Napoleon.* He granted a general amnesty to all emigrés. This enabled thousands of French exiles to return to the country. He established the Legion of Honour to reward those who served him most industriously. Honours and titles were distributed mainly on merit. He was in favour of hereditary noblity. But he kept a strict censorship on the Press. The French people became intoxicated by the military victories of Napoleon. They consequently permitted him to rule despotically. He also attempted to build up a colonial empire, but the supremacy of England on the sea did not permit him to do so. Within the country, the business interests, the bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and the sincere Roman Catholics all were loyal to Napoleon. He was popular, and he would have succeeded in founding a stable dynasty in France, if he had not attempted the conquest of Europe.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SETTLEMENT OF 1815

The Condition of Europe after the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte Although Napoleon was overthrown yet the new conditions brought about by him in Europe could not be overthrown. The French Revolution had destroyed the old regime in France, and Napoleon Bonaparte had given new boundaries and new rulers to every continental country except Russia and Turkey. The French Revolution did much to develop the modern sentiment of nationalism. When an attempt was made to crush the revolution, all Frenchmen rose as one man and drove the foreign invaders from the "sacred soil" of France. Since the rest of Europe had attempted to interfere in the affairs of France, they now in their turn started the work of spreading revolutionary ideas in countries other than France. The Frenchmen started as liberators of the oppressed humanity in Europe, but they soon proved to be subjugators of the foreign peoples. This roused the sentiment of nationalism in other countries as well. The sentiment of nationalism, which had saved republican France, now inspired the English people in their long contest against the French Emperor, spurred the Portuguese and the Spaniards to revolt against him, and strengthened the will of the Austrians, the Prussians and the Russians, never to accept foreign domination. The patriotic feelings so deeply stirred during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, put renewed emphasis on the rights of nationalities. Patriots in every country now declared that no nation, however small or weak, should be governed by foreigners. It began now to be recognized that it was the right

of every nation to be free to choose its own form of government, and manage its own affairs. This principle had been grossly violated in connection with the partition of Poland, and it was treated with contempt in the Congress of Vienna.

The Congress of Vienna The Congress of Vienna began its sessions on the 1st of November 1814. Since Napoleon had been overthrown by the combined efforts of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England, it was natural that the final decision in all questions lay with these four powers. The first question for decision was the determination of the future status of France. The form of her future Government, the extent of her future boundaries, and the measure of punishment to be meted out to her. All these questions were to be considered. The first question to come up was the form of government. The question that agitated the allies most was, who should in future be the ruler of France. Should Napoleon, if he gave sufficient guarantees for good behaviour be allowed to rule ? The allies had presented to him certain conditions after his defeat at Leipzig, but these conditions were rejected by him. After this the Allies decided to have done with him for ever. The second alternative was to recognise the little son of Napoleon, the king of Rome, as the king of France, and set up a Regency during the period of his minority. But the establishment of a Regency would have naturally given an undue influence to Austria, for Emperor Francis I was the maternal grandfather, of this little boy, the king of Rome. This was not liked by powers other than Austria. The third alternative was to appoint Bernadotte, the successful French general, who had now become master of Sweden, king of France. But Bernadotte on the throne of France meant an undue influence of Russia in the affairs of France, for the Czar Alexander was the patron of Bernadotte. This was not liked by powers other than Russia. The fourth alternative

was to leave the whole matter to the French people, or to the legislative chambers then sitting in Paris. But an appeal to the French people, or to their representatives in the Legislature meant the letting loose the Revolution again, the very thing it was agreed should be put a stop to. The fifth and the last alternative was to restore the Bourbons to the throne of France. Gradually it became clear that the demand of the French Royalists in favour of Lcuis XVIII, " the legitimate king " was under the circumstances the safest to accept. So it was proposed to restore him to the French throne. He was the younger brother of the late King Louis XVI. Talleyrand, the French ambassador, who was in favour of the establishment of a constitutional systemof government in France under Louis XVIII, was supported by Czar Alexander. So it was agreed that on his restoration to the throne of France king Louis XVIII should grant a charter, establishing in France a parliamentary government of the type prevailing in England. This was done. The next question to be settled was the future boundaries of France. It was agreed that she was to possess the boundaries which she had on the Ist of January 1792. She was however given in addition to this, Savoy in the south-east, and some small districts in the north-east. On the other hand, she was required to relinquish all her conquests beyond this boundary now fixed. In other words, she was to give up her extensive territories in Belgium, Holland, Italy, and in Germany. The distribution of these territories was to be left to the allies. So the distribution of these territories was to be the main work of the Congress which met at Vienna from September 1814 to June 1815.

The Battle of Waterloo and the punishment of France. The settlement of the French question, mentioned above, was embodied in a treaty which was signed at Paris on the 30th of May 1814. The

allies on the one hand and king Louis XVIII on the other hand were the parties to this treaty. When this treaty was concluded, it was realized that if it was intended to make the rule of Louis XVIII popular in France, no severe punishment should be inflicted on the country. That is the reason why her old boundaries were slightly increased. But as has been stated in the last chapter, Napoleon escaped from Elba in March 1815, and another battle had to be fought at Waterloo, before he was finally overthrown. Since the French people had gathered round his banner, it was now proved that Napoleon had at his back the full support of the French people. It was, therefore, necessary to punish the French people as well. So under the second treaty of Paris signed on the 20th of November 1815, heavy and humiliating burdens were put on the French people. French territories were now actually reduced. France was forced to cede a number of strategic posts on her northern and eastern frontiers. She was required to pay a war indemnity of 70 crores of Francs (about 52½ crores of rupees), and eighteen fortresses were to be occupied by 150,000 troops of the allies for a period of three to five years. During this period these foreign troops were to be maintained at the expense of the French.

The Congress of Vienna, and the distribution of territories.

The first principle that was accepted by the Congress was the "principle of Legitimacy." Under this principle all those monarchs who had been displaced during the Napoleonic Wars were to be restored. So William of Orange was restored to the throne of Holland, which was once again recognised as an independent kingdom. The king of Sardinia, regained his possessions in Savoy and Piedmont. Then again Sicily and Naples were once again combined to form the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and restored to their Bourbon king, Ferdinand. The Pope whom

Napoleon had deprived of all temporal power, was restored to his territories in central Italy. Hanover was restored to the king of England. Switzerland was declared independent, and so were all the Italian princes restored to the small Italian states which existed- before the wars of Napoleon. Austria received back her territories in Lombardy. But republics were now not fashionable. The republics of Venetia, Genoa, Lucca, and San Marino were not restored. Genoa was added to Piedmont, and Venetia was taken by Austria. It has also been seen that a large number of small princes had lost in 1803, their territories in Germany which lay on both sides of the Rhine. They too were not restored to their territories. King Gustavus IV of Sweden was also not restored to his throne. From this it is evident the principle of "Legitimacy" was not applied in all cases.

Then again was recognised the principle of rewards and punishments. Certain princes were to be punished, because they had been too loyal to Napoleon, even when the rest of Europe had risen against him. There were two such princes. The king of Saxony had not joined the allies against Napoleon, and so also had the king of Denmark remained faithful to the French Emperor. The French general Bernadotte, however, had rendered valuable services to the allies. So it was proposed to take off Norway from Denmark and hand it over to Sweden which was at this time ruled by Bernadotte. The territories of the King of Saxony were also now a prize for distribution. On the other hand Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England had suffered much, and done much to overthrow Napoleon. They had to be rewarded.

It were these rewards and compensations which troubled the Congress very much. Russia wanted to keep Bessarabia and Finland which she had occupied during the war She wanted to keep both these territories. Then again Czar Alexander wanted that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw which had been

created by Napoleon out of some of the Prussian and Austrian shares of Poland, should be handed over to him. It was not his intention to annex Poland to Russia, but to constitute it into a separate kingdom, under his own rule as king of Poland. He wanted to keep Poland separate from Russia, and he also proposed to grant constitutional system of government to the Poles. Prussia agreed to support Russia in this demand, provided the territories of Saxony were handed over to herself. It was argued Saxony deserved this punishment because its king had remained faithful to Napoleon, even after other members of the Confederation of the Rhine had deserted him. But Austria and England were strongly opposed to this arrangement. They neither approved the disappearance of Saxony, nor the extension of the Czar's influence westward. It was under these circumstances, when the differences among the Allies became very serious, that Talleyrand the French ambassador saw his chance. Austria and England found a welcome ally in their opposition to Prussia and Russia. In this way France which had so far stood apart for the last quarter of a century was taken back into the international brotherhood. A secret understanding was arrived at between Austria, England and France. It were these differences which encouraged Napoleon to escape from Elba, and try his luck again. The arrival of Napoleon soon compelled the allies to patch up their differences. A compromise was arrived at. The Czar Alexander was allowed to carve out a new kingdom of Poland out of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, but only half of the territories of Saxony were handed over to Prussia. In order further to compensate Frederick William III, Prussia was given a few districts on the western banks of the Rhine. The King of Denmark had also remained faithful to Napoleon. So he had also to be punished. Norway was taken away from him, and added to Sweden as a compensation for the loss of Pomerania handed over to Prussia, and of Finland, which was given to the Czar. England had done much for the allies. She received the islands of Heligoland in the North Sea, Malta and the Ionian islands

in the Mediterranean Sea, Ceylon in the Indian Ocean, Cape Colony in South Africa, and a very large portion of Guiana.

Having thus distributed rewards and punishments, the next work before the Congress at Vienna was to create strong buffer states on the eastern frontiers of France. It has already been seen that the Republic of Venetia was annexed to the dominions of Austria. It was found that Austria was not anxious to take back Belgium and her possessions in Southern Germany. She was content to be compensated by receiving Venetia in Italy, the province of Illyria on the Adriatic sea, and Tyrol on the Alps. Similarly it was proposed to add Belgium to Holland, so that it might become a strong buffer state in between central Europe and France. For the same reason the kingdom of Piedmont and Savoy was strengthened by the addition of the old republic of Genoa. Three cantons annexed by France during the war were restored to Switzerland.

In all these territorial adjustments the wishes of the people were not at all consulted. The wishes of the people and the sentiments of nationality were completely ignored by the statesmen assembled at Vienna. The settlement of Vienna left Italy and Germany as divided as before. Austria still remained the President of the German Confederation and Italy still remained under the domination of Austria. The new arrangements confirmed by the Congress of Vienna were so humiliating to France, that she could not be expected long to remain content with her lot. She was on the look out for the first opportunity to upset the decisions of Vienna. Belgium had not at all been consulted when she was handed over to Holland. So in 1830, she was the first to revolt against her new masters the Dutch. But it took something like half a century for Italy and Germany to shake off the new order of things sanctioned by the Congress of Vienna.

Danger of French Militarism.

In the eyes of the statesmen assembled at Vienna, there were two dangers threatening the new order of things evolved

by them ; *viz*, France as a military power, and secondly the "French ideas," which meant revolution, and the rights of the individual. Against the first danger ample precautions had been taken. France was now surrounded by a ring of buffer states, such as the Netherlands in the north east, and the kingdom of Sardinia in the south east. In the east Switzerland had also been strengthened. It was hoped that these states would be sufficiently strong in a military sense to hold France in check, if she thought of invading Germany, Austria, or Italy. As a further guarantee against aggression, many of the French frontier fortresses had been taken from her, which weakened considerably her frontiers in the east. Moreover by the treaty of 20th November 1815, France had been compelled to agree to the occupation of her territory for several years by a large army under the command of the allied powers that had defeated her. She was also obliged not only to pay for the maintenance of this army of occupation, but to also pay a heavy war indemnity. It was believed that all these things would be enough to compel France to keep the peace for several years to come.

The Holy Alliance. But the more difficult task for the statesmen assembled at Vienna was to control and check the "French ideas." The sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and Austria were anxious to prevent the spread of the French revolutionary ideas into their territories. Two schemes were put forward to achieve this object, one by Czar Alexander I, and the other by Prince Matternich, the Foreign Minister of Austria. Shortly after the general treaty of Vienna had been signed, Czar Alexander I persuaded king Frederick William III of Prussia, and emperor Francis I of Austria, to join him in signing a treaty for "Holy Alliance." It declared that the three monarchs were resolved "to take for their sole guide" the precepts of Christianity which in their opinion meant the principles of justice, charity, and

peace. Since the Holy Bible had commanded all men to consider each other as brothers, each sovereign would aid and assist the others in a spirit of brotherly love and goodwill, as befitted monarchs who were "merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of the same family." So the three monarchs commended to their subjects the practice of Christian virtues, and the "duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind." Such was the document presented by Alexander I to his brother sovereigns. The diplomats and the statesmen scoffed and jeered at this unworldly and sentimental document which was proposed should be signed by the different sovereigns as a treaty. But since just at this moment Czar Alexander I was the most powerful monarch in overthrowing, Napoleon, their common enemy, all European monarchs and statesmen treated him with consideration. In order to oblige him, not only did the monarchs of Austria and Prussia, but all the other European states joined the Holy Alliance. It was signed on the 26th of September 1815. But this Holy Alliance was never taken seriously by any monarch excepting of course Czar Alexander I. It remained a dead letter from the very start.

The Quadruple Alliance. The other scheme to check the spread of French ideas was proposed by Prince Metternich. This was more practical, but at the same time more harmful to the rights of the individual, and to the growth of the ideas of nationality. On the 20th of November 1815, a treaty of Alliance was signed at Paris. By this treaty the four powers Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain, agreed to hold frequent diplomatic conferences and bound themselves to co operate with one another in enforcing the peace terms. Metternich's aim was to use this Quadruple Alliance as an international police force for the suppression of all revolts against despotic rulers, or against the territorial settlement of 1815. When in 1818, France

also joined this alliance, the Quadruple Alliance was transformed into an alliance of Five Powers. Under this treaty the allied powers agreed to employ all their means to prevent the general tranquillity from being disturbed. They bound themselves to maintatn in full vigour, and if necessary with the whole of the forces the permanent exclusion of Napoleon and his family from the throne of France, promised to take concerted measures in case the same revolutionary principles which upheld the last criminal usurpation "should again under other forms convulse France." Expressing themselves as "uniformly disposed to adopt every salutary measure calculated to secure the tranquillity of Europe by maintaining the order of things re-established in France, they agreed in order to consolidate the connections, which at the presant moment so closely unite the four sovereigns for the happiness of the world to renew' their meetings at fixed periods either under the immediate auspices of the emperors themselves, or by their respective ministers, for the purpose of consulting upon their interests, or for the consideration of the measures which at each of these periods, shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe." This was virtually an assertion that the four great powers would henceforth control the whole of Europe in the interests of the ideas they represented. The Alliance whose object had been to overthrow Napoleon was now to be continued in the time of peace. Under this treaty there was to be peace but no liberty. During the next eight years, till England finally parted company with the three eastern despotically governed countries, there were held a series of congresses which exercised a rigid inquisition into the political movements of Europe. Such movements as appeared dangerous to the new order of things were pitilessly repressed. Metternich was the originator of this Quadruple Alliance, and

as the chief operator of this treaty he controlled the political destinies of Europe for more than thirty years.

Summary.

1. *The Condition of Europe after the Fall of Napoleon Bonaparte.* When Napoleon was overthrown the military power of France was gone, but from this it did not follow that the French ideas produced by the Revolution were suppressed. The Revolution did much to develop the modern sentiment of nationalism. The idea of nationalism was strengthened in France, when the foreign powers invaded that country. Similarly Nationalism was strengthened in Spain, Portugal, Germany, Austria, and Italy, when Napoleon attempted to maintain his iron hold over these countries. It now began to be recognised that it was the right of every nation to be free to choose its own form of government, and manage its own affairs.

2. *The Congress of Vienna.* The first and the more important point to be considered by the Congress of Vienna was to settle the question of the government of France. There were several alternatives. Firstly, the restoration of Napoleon ; secondly, the recognition of the king of Rome, son of Napoleon, as the king of France; thirdly, the appointment of the French general Bernadotte as the king of France ; fourthly, to leave the matter entirely to the French people or to their representatives in French Chambers of Deputies; and, fifthly and lastly, to restore Louis XVIII, younger brother of the late king Louis XVI, to the French throne. Napoleon could not be restored because he had refused to accept the conditions of the allies. His son could not be put on the French throne, because that meant regency, and during the period of the regency, Francis I, his maternal grand-father was bound to exercise great influence in the affairs of France. This was not liked by other powers. The elevation of Bernadotte to the French throne meant the extension of Russian influence in France, for the Czar Alexander was the patron of Bernadotte. To leave the matter to the French Chamber of Deputies was to give invitation to the forces of the Revolution, which was very undesirable. So the only safe alternative was to restore Louis XVIII to the throne. He was the legitimate king. Thus the principle of legitimacy gained a great amount of weightage,

3. *The Battle of Waterloo and the Punishment of France.* While the representatives of the different countries were still engaged in negotiations, Napoleon who had by the congress been assigned the little island of Elba, escaped, and drove Louis XVIII from Paris. This compelled the Allies, who had begun to quarrel among themselves on the

division of spoils, to unite against the common enemy. After a rule of a hundred days, Napoleon was again overthrown, in consequence of his defeat at the battle of Waterloo. But this incident showed conclusively that Napoleon had the hearty support of the French people. So in the second treaty of Paris signed on the 20th of November 1815, France as a whole was punished. Her territory was reduced, her border fortresses were occupied, foreign troops were quartered in the land, and heavy war indemnities were imposed on her.

4. *The Congress of Vienna, and the distribution of territories.* There were some few important principles which were set up in the distribution of territories, and in the restoration of princes. The first principle was that of Legitimacy, but it was not applied uniformly in all cases. The second principle that was applied was to punish those who had been faithful to Napoleon. The kings of Saxony and Denmark were punished on this account. The third principle that was recognised was to reward those who had helped in the overthrow of Napoleon. In this connection exchange of territories was also allowed. In all these territorial adjustments the wishes of the people were not at all consulted. Italy and Germany still remained hopelessly disunited. Italy was split up into as many as nine states. Austria had dominant voice in its affairs. Germany was also divided into a very large number of principalities, but it was organised on a Federal basis, under the presidency of Austria. So under the circumstances there was a wide-spread dissatisfaction against the settlement of Vienna. France was not reconciled to the fate she was assigned. She was in search of an opportunity to upset this new order of things. Belgium which had been assigned to Holland, broke away from that country in 1830. In the course of the next 50 years Italy threw off the Austrian domination, and became united under the House of Savoy. Germany too united, not under the leadership of Austria, but under the leadership of Prussia.

5. *Safeguards against French military aggression.* In the eyes of the statesmen assembled at Vienna, there were two dangers from France, *viz.*, its military power, and from the spread of its revolutionary ideas, outside its confines. Sufficient precautions had been taken so far as the military danger was concerned. Buffer states had been created on her borders, and foreign troops had been quartered within its territories. All these measures were a sufficient guarantee for peace.

6. *The Holy Alliance.* The greatest danger was the spread of revolutionary ideas in the rest of Europe. For this purpose Alexander I of Russia proposed an Holy Alliance. It was signed on the 26th of September 1815, by which the different monarchs of Europe considered

themselves to be members of a common Christian family. They agreed to help each other as brothers, and they directed their subjects to obey their rulers as good Christians. But it was a sentimental thing, and from the very start it proved to be a dead letter.

7. *The Quadruple Alliance.* The Quadruple Alliance was proposed by Prince Metternich the foreign minister of Austria. It was signed on the 20th of November 1815. By this treaty the four powers, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain, bound themselves to exclude permanently the House of Napoleon from the throne of France. They also bound themselves to prevent another revolution in France. In order to prevent the spread of French revolutionary ideas in the rest of Europe, they agreed to meet periodically in congresses. So during the next eight years Prince Metternich who was an operator of this treaty of the Quadruple Alliance exercised a rigid inquisition into the political movements in the different countries of Europe. This was virtually an assertion that the four great powers had the right to control the whole of Europe.

CHAPTER XVII

THE AGE OF METTERNICH, 1815-1848

Prince Metternich. Metternich was a nobleman by birth, he had married a wealthy Austrian countess, and had served as an Austrian ambassador in many countries. Finally he hecame a Foreign minister of Austria. For his services during the Napoleonic wars, he got the title of Prince. It was he who presided at the Peace Congress of Vienna. Prince Metternich was intensely aristocratic in temperament, and in manners he was very polished, courtly, tactful, and clever. For almost forty years, from 1809 to 1848, he was the real head of the Austrian government. After the overthrow of Napoleon, it was he who dominated European politics. That is why his period of ascendancy is known by the name of the Age of Metternich. Prince Clement Metternich was an aristocrat and a diplomat of the old type. He regarded absolutism and divine right of kings as two pillars of a stable government. To him Democracy was little short of Anarchism. Hence all demands for constitutions, parliaments, and representative institutions must consequently be stoutly opposed. He considered Liberalism to be a disease which was to be stamped out. So in order to stamp out the " disease of liberalism", he appointed a large number of spies and secret policemen. He kept the press and the platform under very hard and irksome restrictions. He kept a strict watch on the universities, so that dangerous teachings may not be given to the students. All agitators were either exiled, or imprisoned or executed. He thought in this way alone the French ideas could be stopped from spreading. Metternich employed this extremely repressive policy in Austria, and then utilized the

Quadruple Alliance to extend the same policy to other countries of Europe. He believed that the awakening of national patriotism in Germany or in Italy meant an end to the domination of Austria in those hopelessly divided countries. It was for this reason that he was not in favour of a strong federal government in Germany, and he declared that Italy was only a "geographical expression", and not a nation. He was of opinion that ideals of nationalism should not awaken a desire for independence among Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Serbians, and other peoples living within the boundaries of Austria. So under the circumstances, it was natural for him to believe, that the greatness of Austria depended on crushing out every symptom of liberalism or notional consciousness. So conservatism and the persuit of a reactionary policy could be the only effective barrie ragainst the rising tide of liberalism and democracy. This policy of Metternich was by the Germans given the name of Metternichism, and it can be studied in connection with the history of Austria, Germany, Netherlands Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, and Greece.

Austrian Empire 1815-1848. After the Napoleonic wars, Austria had emerged stronger, larger and more populous. She had relinquished Belgium in the Netherlands, and some of her districts in south western Germany but had received compensation by the annexation of Lombardy, and Venetia in Italy, Dalmatia on the Adriatic Sea, and a few districts in south eastern Germany, lands which were contiguous to her own dominions. In this way the territories of Austria attained an amount of compactness she had never known before in her history. But the Austrian empire presented just at this moment some very curious peculiarities. The empire was conspicuously lacking in unity, political, racial, or social. It was not like France, a single nation, but was composed of a number of mutually warring nations. In the west were the Austrian duchies, chiefly German in

population. They were the most ancient possessions of the House of Hapsburg. In the north lay Bohemia, an ancient kingdom, which was acquired in 1526. It was inhabited by the Czechs. In the east lay the kingdom of Hungary which in itself consisted of Transylvania in the east, and Croatia in the south. In Hungary there lived the Magyars, a people of Turanian race from Asis. Transylvania was occupied by Rumanians who are considered to be the descendants of the early Roman colonists. They speak a Latin language. In Croatia the population is mainly Serbian. In the south lay the provinces of Venetia and Lombardy, purely Italian in population. So there was in the Austrian empire an extreme diversity in race and language. Many of these constituent provinces of the empire had different forms of government, wherein the people possessed different kinds of privileges. In this hotch potch of nationalities, known by the name of the Austrian empire, the people and the provinces, had nothing in common, except this that they all owed allegiance to a common emperor, and that most of them professed the Roman Catholic faith. It was clear that if among these various peoples, there sprang up a desire for separate national life, there must be a complete disruption of the empire. But in 1815, when the settlement of Vienna was made, these differences had not yet become prominent. In this empire the Germans were the ruling race, Vienna the capital was a German city, and German was the official language. In the eighteenth century, an attempt had been made by Emperor Joseph II to Germanise all parts of the empire, but it proved a complete failure. It is obvious that the task of ruling this empire of diverse elements was a very difficult one. It is obvious the policy of Francis I (1792-1835) and his great minister Metternich was to let things remain as they were. The best thing was to make no reforms in the administration, for change was very dangerous. The Austrian empire was at this time typically a land of old regime. The people were

sharply divided into classes, each resting on a different legal basis. The highest position was occupied by the nobility. They enjoyed freedom from cumpulsory military service, large exemptions from taxation, and a practical monopoly of the best offices in the state. They possessed a large part of the land, from which they drew enormous revenues. They exercised on their estates ancient feudal rights, such as the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and administration of justice, through their own feudal courts. The condition of the peasants who formed the immense mass of the population, was deplorable. They had to give two-thirds of their crops and half of their time to their lords. They were also requirrd to do forced labour or *Corvee* as it was called. The Nobility and the Peasantry, these were the two classes into which Austrian society was divided. The Bourgeoisie, or the middle class had hardly come into existence in the Austrian empire. Throughout the empire there were various local bodies called the estates, but they had very little control over the central government. They were composed almost entirely of nobles, and their powers were very limited. In Hungary, however, the things were different. She had a central Diet or Parliament and a long established county government. But here also the central government was quite supreme. The Hungarian Diet could be summoned only by the king. It is on record that for thirteen years from 1812 to 1825, the Diet was not called. Then again it must be remembered that the Hungarian Parliament did not represent the mass of the people. It consisted mostly of the privileged classes. So in 1815, Absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for the favoured few, and oppression and misery for the masses, that was the prevailing order in the Austrian empire. This state of things continued to exist for 33 years from 1815 to 1848. Prince Metternich was the staunch upholder of this system. For the maintenance of this

system, he relied mainly on the Police. Censorship was applied to theatres, newspapers, and books. Books of a liberal character, likely to corrupt in his opinion the minds of the people were not allowed to enter the country. There were spies everywhere, in government offices, in places of amusement, and in educational institutions. A special watch was kept on the universities. A record was kept by government of the books taken out of the libraries, and text books were prescribed with the sanction of government. Foreigners could not be appointed professors, and the students were not allowed to go to foreign countries for study. It was compulsory for students to attend church, and to go to confession at the appointed times. These confession papers were required to be submitted at all public examinations. Under such circumstances, it is obvious the subjects of political science and history could not be studied. There was no freedom of teaching or of learning, and there could be no study of the Sciences. In this way Austria was hermetically sealed againt the liberal thought of Europe. But it is clear that it was difficult to maintain these artificial barriers against the spread of liberal ideas into the country. The accomplishment of this task could become easy only if the Austrian system could be applied to its neighbouring countries as well. So after this system was perfected in Austria, it became the policy of Metternich to extend this system to the neighbouring states in Germany and in Italy.

How the Policy of Metterich worked in the different provinces of the Austrian Empire.

In the Home provinces of the Austrian empire, the strict censorship of the press could not permit the growth of liberal movements. But still the lawyers and the journalists managed to express a desire for some measure of political freedom, and for the grant of a constitutional system of government. But there was during this period one significant change, which helped to bring in a modern

system of society. It was during this period that machinery, with its necesary consequence, the factory system, was introduced into the country. Its immediate result was that many labourers were thrown out of employment. Starving, and being demoralized, they wandered about the country, and then began to collect into the cities for work. In the cities these labouring classes formed a very desperate and turbulent section of the population. These people could be easily incited to deeds of violence. It were they who took a prominent part in the revolution of 1848.

In Bohemia it was during this period that the spirit of nationality was developed. Bohemia had been united with Austria since 1526. Its population consisted of a German minority, and a branch of the Slavic race called the Czechs. For more than two centuries the Germans were dominant. Their language was that of the government, of the educated people, and it was the language of literature and science. The Czechish language was considered fit only for the peasants. But after 1815, there was an awakening among the Czechs. The idea that the Czechish nationality could be revived took strong hold of the educated people. They believed that Bohemia should be freed of German control, and that the native Czech element in the population should become dominant. The movement at first was confined to university men. There arose a group of historians who by the histories of Bohemia of the period when she had been an independent kingdom inculcated the wish that she should be free and independent again. Attention of the educated Czech was drawn to the question of reviving the ancient Czech literature. It was now urged that the people should cease to use the German language, and speak and write in their own native tongue. This movement in favour of the mother tongue grew very rapidly. Although this movement accomplished very little during the period 1815-1848, yet it created a public opinion and a burning desire for national independence.

In Hungary this national and racial movement grew in a more pronounced way. In Hungary there lived people of several races, who spoke different languages and possessed different institutions. The leading races in Hungary were the Magyars, the Slavs, the Germans, the Rumanians, and the Serbians. The Magyars, who were most numerous, were the dominant race. All these different parts of Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, and Hungary, had their own separate Diets. The Hungarian constitution was a very old one, having been established in 1222. The Hungarian Diet, which used to meet at Presburg, consisted of two chambers or Tables, the Table of Magnates, and the Table of Deputies. The Chamber of Deputies was elected by the county councils and the town councils. Each county in Hungary possessed a local assembly of its own. But here in Hungary also, it were the nobility who possessed all political power. Only nobles sat in the national Diet, and only nobles were members of the county assemblies. Of all countries of Europe, Feudalism was the strongest in Hungary. The aristocracy not only filled all the seats in the national and local assemblies, but they also monopolised all offices. They enjoyed all the old feudal privileges, but they paid no taxes. Their lands could be alienated only to the members of their own class. The immense mass of the population, consisting of the peasaats and the bourgeoisie, were subjected to the most oppressive kind of serfdom. All this shows that the Hungarian constitution was not of a modern but of a mediaeval type. Modernization in Hungary began when the attention of the leading politicians was turned towards the material improvement and prosperity of the country. Marshes began te be drained, roads began to be built, and tunnels and bridges began to be constructed. The object was to indutrialise the country. In order to find money for all this programme, the nobility of its own accord began to tax itself. Thus the privilege of the

nobility in connection with their exemption from taxation was to some extent gone. Along with this material progress, came about the establishment of learned societies, the revival of national language, and the establishment of national theatre. The Magyars now began to insist that in place of Latin, which was at that time the prevailing official language, the Magyar language should be substituted. This was finally achieved in 1844. The Croatians who wished to continue the use of Latin were not permitted to do so. This meant that the rights which the Magyars were themselves anxious to win for themselves, were not to be granted to the Rumanians and the Croatians, the minority communities living in Hungary. On the other hand, it was the policy of the Magyars to completely magyarise all the different peoples living in Hungary. In this struggle over language lay the germ of a conflict of races, which was later on to prove most disastrous to the Magyars themselves. While the Magyars were anxious to assert the claims of Hungary against Austria, they paid no attention to internal reform in the country. The Magnates took care to safeguard their own privileges. But gradually there grew up a party much more radical, and democratic. The leader of this liberal party was Louis Kossuth. He had first come into prominence as the editor of a newspaper, which described in vivid and liberal vein the debates in the Diet. He was on this arrested and sent to prison. When in 1840, he was released he obtained permission to edit a daily newspaper. After this the mass of the people in Hungary, turned away from the moderate leaders, who had confined themselves to the material progress of the country, and turned towards Louis Kossuth, and his friend Francis Deak. They both believed that free political institutions contribute directly to material well-being and to civilization. Kossuth wished to remove all distinctions between the noble and the peasant, and to fuse all into a common nation. He demanded democratic reforms in every department of

national life, equal rights and burdens for all citizens, trial by jury, and reforms in the criminal code. He succeeded in creating a strong and powerful public opinion in favour of change. This vigorous agitation grew very rapidly, and in 1847, Francis Deak drew up a programme of the party. This demanded the taxation of the nobles, the control by the Diet of all national expenditure, liberty for the press, and a complete right of public meeting and association. It also demanded that Hungary should not be subordinate to the Austrian policy, and to the Austrian Home provinces. It was under such circumstances that the revolution of 1848 broke out.

In Italy the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom had been in the settlement of 1815, handed over to Austria. Since then this kingdom was governed by an Austrian Viceroy, who carried out orders received from Vienna. This kingdom paid into the Austrian treasury taxes far out of proportion to its population or its area. Here French laws were repealed, and and an attempt was made to make the people forget that they were Italians. Children were taught in their text-books of geography that Lombardy and Venetia were geographically a part of Austria, and not of Italy. Local industries were repressed in favour of Austrian manufacturers. Austrians were appointed to university professorships, and they and their students as well as other persons were watched by an army of spies. All this created a great amount of dissatisfaction against the Austrian government. The malcontents joined the *Carbonari* a secret society, which had first risen in the kingdom of Naples, and had then spread to all parts of Italy. The *Carbonari* had an elaborate and a loose and ineffective organization. Its one aim was to bring about revolution. In 1820 there broke out revolutions in Spain and in Naples. The king and the people of Piedmont took up the side of the revolutionaries in Naples. Austria crushed this revolution promptly. After the Austrian rule in Lombardy and in Venetia

became more repressive. In 1830 there was another outbreak of revolution, this time in the Papal States, and in Parma and in Modena. Austria again crushed this revolution. One thing that was significant about these revolutions in Italy was that the different parts of Italy did not come to the assistance of one another. So the one necessity of Italy during this period was to promote the feelings of national unity. It was during this period that Joseph Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour were born. People now lost all faith in the *Carbonaris*, and Mazzini started a new organization called, the Young Italy, in 1831. Liberation and unification of Italy was the one aim of this new party, the Young Italy. The members of this society mere to be under forty years in age. They were to lead a missionary life, and they were told to travel from village to village, bearing the torch of liberty and expounding its advantages to the commonest individual. These missionaries were to share the humble food of the labourer, to visit the workshop of the artisan to speak to them of their rights, of the memories of their past glories, of their former commerce and recount to them the endless oppression of which they were ignorant. In this way were the mass of the people to be roused. In 1848 revolution again broke out in Italy. The people in Lambardy and in Venetia now made up their mind to drive the Austrians out of the country. Milan rose in insurrection, and expelled the Austrian troops, which were taken by surprise. Venice threw off the Austrian allegiance and declared itself a republic once again. The other states joined in this general rising. It seemed the entire edifice so painfully constructed by Metternich was crumbling into pieces. Metternich himself was forced to resign office, and seek refuge in England.

Germany 1815-1848. It has already been stated that as a result of the treaty of Luneville, a very large number of little states in Germany ceased to exist. In

this way the knights of the empire, the ecclesiastical states, and almost all the free cities disappeared. The number of states in the whole of Germany was now reduced to 38. They included free cities, electorates, margraves, duchies. grand-duchies, and the five kingdoms of Prussia, Hanover, Saxony, Wurtemburg, and Bavaria. The last three had been raised to the regal rank by Napoleon. Right up to 1806 all these German states were bound together in a loose union called the Holy Roman Empire. When the Holy Roman Empire ceased to exist as a result of the treaty of Presburg, most of the German states were united into a confederation of the Rhine, under the protectorate of Napoleon. This confederation lasted from 1806 to 1813. With the defeat of Napoleon at the battle of Liepzig in 1813, this confederation also ceased to exist. The future organisation of these German states was discussed at the Congress of Vienna. As a result of the decisions arrived at in 1815, the Holy Roman Empire was not restored. A German confederation under the presidency of Austria now came into existence. The central organ of the government was to be a Diet, meeting at Frankfort. This Diet was to consist not of the representatives chosen by the people, but of delegates appointed by the different sovereigns, serving during their pleasure. They were to be not deputies empowered to decide questions, but simply diplomatic representatives, voting as their princes might direct. Each of the eleven larger states had one vote, while the remaining states were divided into six groups, each group having a single vote. The total number of votes was 69, divided among the different states. Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, and Wurtemburg, had each four votes, others three or two, according to the importance of the state. It was provided that each state should have at least one vote. But in the meeting of the Diet all the delegates of a state had to cast their votes together. The

powers of this Assembly were not defined, and the jurisdiction of the Diet was left to be decided by itself. The first business of the Diet was to frame the fundamental laws of the confederation and the establishment of the organic institutions. This Federal Act did not create one united Fatherland. There was under this constitution no king or emperor of Germany. There was no common German flag. There was no common citizenship of Germany, but citizens belonged to the different states. The federal government had no diplomatic representative in the other countries of Europe, but each state had its own diplomatic corps. Each state had the right to make alliances of every kind with the others, either within or without the confederation. The only limitation was that no state was to enter into any engagement which was prejudicial to the safety of the Confederation, and they were not to make war on one another, on any pretext. All inter-state disputes were to be referred to the Federal Diet. Such was the constitution of the German Confederation. But it was provided that in the adoption of a change in the fundamental laws, a unanimous vote was required. It created a system of government, in which obstruction was easy, and constructive work difficult. There was one other complication. Three foreign rulers, king of Great Britain, as king of Hanover, then king of Denmark as duke of Holstein, and lastly the king of the Netherlands, as duke of Luxemburg, were members of this German Confederation. The kings of Prussia and Austria too had many non-German interests to look after. It is clear that a Germany so organized was not a nation, but a League of Nations, set up for mutual protection. This constitution was received by German nationalists with indignation. These nationalists, had during the struggle against Napoleon, begun to demand a closer and firmer union of all the German states. All these aspirations for national unity were now dashed to the

ground. But German unity was at this moment very difficult to achieve. It involved the adjustment of many conflicting and irreconcilable interests. Each state was jealous of its own rights. Naturally the Liberals and the Nationalists of Germany, who were anxious for national unity suffered a heavy defeat at Vienna. The Liberals were eager for reforms within the states. They wanted constitutional government, parliaments with real powers, and the end of absolutism. Here again they were disappointed. The thirty eight states of the German confederation were of varying sizes, and their boundaries were intertwined and complicated. Some states were entirely surrounded by another state, having no egress to the outside world. Under such circumstances, when each state had its own separate tariff walls, and its coinage, trade and commerce could not flourish. Means of communication and transportation were also at this time in a very backward condition. Each state had its own system of government. In some prevailed pure despotism. In some the prince was assisted by an assembly nominated by the prince himself. There were still other states, where the prince had granted a written constitution, providing for an elected assembly, to which was given some control over the taxation and legislative functions of government. But in none of these systems was the principle of popular sovereignty recognized. After the congress of Vienna, the Liberals of Germany began to realize that Germany was not to have national unity. They now began to work for the political and civil liberty of the individual. In the next few years written constitutions were granted in Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Baden. But soon a reaction set in.

Metternich System in Germany. Austria having set her house in order, and having put a Chinese wall round her territories began to think of imposing the same system in

the neighbouring countries. It was the plan of Metternich to induce Germany to adopt Austrian principles of government. By 1818, the liberal sentiments of Czar Alexander I of Russia, and of Frederick William III of Prussia had been cooled down. At the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle held in 1818, the principles laid down in the treaties forming the Quadruple Alliance were elaborated. In 1820, at the Conference held at Troppau, it was laid down that since existing Europe was based on opposition to revolution, the Powers had the right to intervene and put down revolution not only in their own states, respectively, but in any state of Europe against the will of the people of that state, even against the will of the sovereign of that state, in the interests of the esablished monarchical order. According to this decision a change of government within a state was not a domestic but an international affair. This decision was arrived at when revolutions broke out in Spain and in Naples. But England protested against this view. So these decisions were agreed to by the three eastern sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Then another opportunity came in the way of Metternich. The students of Jena had, during the Napoleonic wars, founded a society, called the *Burschenschaft*, whose object was the intense inculcation of patriotism. It soon succeeded in establishing branches in sixteen universities. It was then decided to hold a meeting of the representatives of all the branches and to give it the character of a patriotic celebration. It was decided to hold the meeting on 18th October 1817 at Wartburg, a castle near Worms, and on the anniversary day of the battle of Liepzig. The meeting was attended by several thousand students. This student performance had unexpected consequences. Sometime after this a journalist and a playwright, who was considered a Russian spy was murdered, an 23rd March 1819. Later on an attempt was made to assassinate on official of Nassau state. These and some other occurrences gave a fine opportunity to Metternich. All

these crimes were ascribed to the *Burschenschaft*. Metternich nich sought an interview with Frederick William III, and received his co-operation. After this Metternich called a series of conferences of ministers of some eight of the states at Carlsbad. The decisions arrived at Carlsbad mark a landmark in the history of Germany. The decrees drawn up there, were then submitted to the Diet at Frankfort. They were hurriedly rushed through in the Diet, and thereafter they became the law of entire Germany. They were binding on each state. These decrees provided that, firstly constitutional system of government referred to in Article XIII of the German Confederation, did not mean governments of a foreign type, but of an indigenous type based on a system of Estates. Secondly, it was provided that in every university there should be a special representative of the state to watch the professors and the students. Thirdly, secret or unauthorized societies in the universities like the Burschenschaft were prohibited. Fourthly, no student expelled from one university was to be admitted to another university. Fifthly, drastic provisions were adoped for the censorship of the press, and sixthly and lastly, a special commission was created to find out all secret revolutionary societies and conspiracies that might threaten the nation. This commission was to have full powers to examine and arrest any German, no matter of what state he might be a citizen. It is evident the Carlsbad conference signalized the dominance of Metternich both in Germany as well as in Austria. Henceforth repression was the order of the day in Germany. In another conference held at Vienna in 1820, the Carlsbad decrees were made stronger still. After the revolution of 1830, additional decrees were passed in 1832 and in 1834.

The Zolleverein. The history of Germany during the period 1830-1848 is from the point of view of political progress very unimportant. But it is very important in other respects. Intellectual activity, for-

bidden to enter the political field, overflowed into others. It was a period of great and durable conquests in the domain of science, and literature. One great development that took place was in the economic field. It has been seen that the settlement of Vienna had given to Prussia large areas of land on the banks of the Rhine. The population of Prussia had been by this treaty doubled. The population, therefore, no longer remained homogeneous. The inhabitants of the Rhenish provinces in the west were strongly attached to French ideas. The Poles in the east still cherished the ideas of regaining independence. The Saxons in the south resented their annexation to Prussia. Then again it must be remembered that the territories of Prussia were divided into two great unconnected parts. The eastern parts were separated from the western by the territories of Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse-Cassel. For Prussia, therefore, the problems of administration were very difficult. To this were to be added the financial difficulties caused by the Napoleonic Wars. Prussia had a huge public debt, and constant deficits in the budget. These difficulties could not be removed till 1828. So one of the earliest problems to be tackled was the financial problem. The eastern parts of Prussia were agricultural and the western parts industrial. There was nothing like freedom of trade between the different parts. In Prussia alone there were sixty seven different tariff systems in operation. Each district had a separate tariff policy. All this meant that trade and commerce could not flourish, and industries could not expand. Under these circumstances only one industry flourished—smuggling, for it was difficult to guard a long frontier of 4000 miles. But all this was changed in 1818, by Maassen the financial reformer of Prussia. He abolished all internal customs barriers, and thus free trade was established throughout Prussia. Having done this he set up a simple tariff, covering only a few commodities, against the rest of the world. This tariff was put low enough to make smuggling unprofitable. Having established a common tariff for her own kingdom, Prussia sought to induce

other German states to enter into union with her to adopt the same tariff against other nations and free trade with each other, She offered to share the total revenues collected *pro rata* according to population. This tariff union is known by the name of Zollverein. By 1842 all German states excepting the Hanseatic towns, and Macklenburg, Hanover, and Austria had joined this Zolleverein. The advantages of this union were both economic as well as political. Industry under this system expanded very rapidly. It created a real national union in economic matters, at a time when Germany was politically hopelessly divided. It accustomed German states to co-operate with Prussia and it taught them the advantages of Prussian leadership in Germany.

Constitutional Agitation in Germany. As long as king Frederick William III lived it was recognised that no changes would be made in the political institutions of Prussia. But when he died in 1840, all eyes were turned upon his son and successor, Frederick William IV. He was a patron of learning, and he surrounded himself with scholars, artists, and writers. So, much was hoped from him. Immediately after ascending the throne, he issued an amnesty pardoning political prisoners. A little later he issued an ordinance which somewhat increased the powers of the provincial assemblies, and provided that delegates from each of these provincial assemblies should unite in Berlin. But this was not what was wanted by the political reformers. They wanted a central parliament for the entire kingdom. The politicians started a strong agitation for constitutional reforms. But the new king had no intention of yielding. Popular meetings were forbidden, and restrictions were again imposed on the press. Even the independence of the judiciary was threatend. At length on the 3rd of Febrnary 1847, the king issued Letters Patent which announced that he would summon all the provincial assemblies to meet in one general assembly or United Landtag, whenever the needs of the state should demand new

loans, the levying of new taxes, or the augmentation of those already existing. The United Landtag was to have the right of petition, and the king might consult it in regard to new legislation. There were to be two chambers, meeting apart except when considering financial questions. This Landtag was to be a parliament of a mediæval type. Its power even in financial matters was very much limited. All discussion involving the tariff was reserved for the Zolleverein. Provincial and local taxes remained to be determined absolutely by the crown. In case of war the crown possessed the power of increasing the existing taxes. The king was to receive petitions only when two-third of both the houses had agreed upon it. It is obvious such a constitution was not at all acceptable to the politicians. It was bound to bring about a conflict between the people and the king. Such was the overheated state of mind of the people when the revolution broke out in Paris in 1848.

Netherlands 1815-1830 In 1815 Belgium, which was before the outbreak of the French Revolution in possession of Austria, was handed over to Holland. This was done mainly with the object of strengthening Holland against French aggression. But it was easier to declare these two peoples united under one rule, but more difficult to make them in any real sense one country. There were many points of difference between Holland and Belgium. Holland had in 1579 won her independence. Since then she was a Republic Belgium, on the other hand, had remained a subject country, at first under Spain, and then under Austria. They were also divided in language. The Dutch spoke a Teutonic language, and the Belgians spoke either Flemish another kind of Teutonic language, or Walloon, which was allied to French. Then again they differed in religion. The Dutch were Protestants and Calvinists, and the Belgians were devoted Roman Catholics. They differed also in economic life. The Dutch were an agricultural and commercial people, and believed in

free trade. The Belgians, on the other hand, were a manufacturing people, and were inclined in favour of protection. Under these circumstances it was wrong to unite these two countries in a "close and complete" union. But in the settlement of 1815 this was done. Friction began immediately after this union. King William I had promised a constitution to his united kingdom, and he appointed a commission to draw up the new constitution. It appeared that the Dutch and the Belgians could not agree upon anything. They could not decide where the common capital should be. Then again it was proposed that the lower house should be composed of 55 Dutch and 55 Belgians. No agreement could be arrived at on this also. In matters religious it was proposed to grant equal rights for all forms of worship. But this was objected to by the Roman Catholics. Under this constitution the king possessed great powers, and the right of trial by jury which the Belgians enjoyed under French rule was not granted. The constitution was however enforced by the king. The result was that there was constant friction. All public services in the kingdom were monopolised by the Dutch. This was objected to by the Belgians. Then again it was proposed to force Dutch language into a position of undue privilege. This too was resented. The system of taxation also was not liked by the Belgians. All this shows that the union of Belgium with Holland was very unpopular with the Belgians. The evident desire of the king to fuse his two peoples into one caused constant irritation to the Belgians. So there arose in Belgium a strong movement in favour of larger liberty and self-government. Under these circumstances the July revolution of 1830, proved a spark in the midst of a powder magazine. On 15th August 1830, riots broke out in Brussels. The king attempted to put down this riot by troops, but the royal troops were driven out. On the 4th of October, the revolutionaries declared Belgium to be independent of Holland. A congress

representing the people was convened, and they decided in favour of a monarchical form of government. A constitutional system of government on the English model was set up, and with the advice of England and France, Prince Leopold of Coburg was elected king of Belgium. England and France atonce recognized the new government of Belgium. A few conferences of the powers held in London, at the close of 1830, and in 1831, accepted the separation of Belgium from Holland, guaranteed the neutrality of the kingdom, and sanctioned the choice by the Belgians of Leopold as their king. Thus one item in the settlement of Vienna was upset.

The Revolutions and the European Conferences. The Quadruple Alliance formed in 1815, had provided for the holding of periodic conferences to solve European problems. One of the earliest of these conferences was held at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818. Czar Alexander wanted all the European powers to be represented in this conference, but only five powers, Austria, Russia, Prussia Great Britain, and France, were represented in this conference. It was agreed at this conference that the combined forces of all the allies were to be used in case a revolution broke out in France. England, however, agreed to join only in case there was a revolution in France in favour of a Napoleonic restoration. But shortly after this a revolution broke out in Spain. During the Peninsular War (1809-1814) the Liberal statesmen who were carrying on the war, framed in 1812, a constitution which was thoroughly saturated with the principles of the French constitution of 1791. It asserted the sovereignty of the people, vesting the executive power in the king, and the legislative in the Cortes, or Assembly, a body consisting of a single chamber, and elected by indirect universal sufferage. When Ferdinand VII was in 1814, restored to the throne of Spain, he at once repudiated the constitution as null and void. He now entered upon a

thoroughly reactionary policy. The result was that there were insurrections not only in the colonies but also in Spain. When he attempted to put down in 1818, one of the insurrections, in Spain, he found that the army had also mutinied. At length in 1820, the revolutionaries proclaimed the constitution of 1812. The king was forced to yield, and he now promised to rule in accordance with the constitution. When the news of this successful revolution reached Italy, an insurrection broke out in Naples. King Ferdinand I of Naples belonged to the Spanish Bourbone line. His rule was intensely unpopular. It was here that the secret organization of the *Carbonaris* took its birth. On the outbreak of a military insurrection in Naples the revolutionaries here too demanded the Spanish constitution of 1812. The king was compelled to yield. He promised to rule in future in accordance with this constitution. In this way both Spain and Naples had overthrown the regime that had been restored by the settlement of Vienna. Shortly after this there was a revolution in Portugal, and another revolution in Piedmont. All these revolutionaries were filled with the French ideas of government. This was a very serious matter. The Quadruple Alliance had been formed to prevent revolution, and check the spread of French ideas outside the confines of France. In the opinion of Metternich energetic measures were necessary, for otherwise revolutions and French ideas would spread into other countries, as well. Metternich under the circumstances developed the doctrine of " right of intervention." Such was the doctrine adopted in the conference at Troppau which was held to consider the affairs of the kingdom of Naples. Austria, Russia, Prussia, England, and France were represented in this conference. There was no unanimity. The three eastern powers, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the representatives of the absolute monarchies, accepted in this conference the principle of intervention as laid down by

Metternich. They refused to recognize as legal, any changes brought about in any state by revolution, even if the king of that state himself consented. They asserted their right to intervene to overthrow any such changes, first by using conciliatory methods, then by using force. This meant an armed intervention wherever and whenever revolution might break out. From this view England strongly dissented, declaring that in her opinion the powers by the Quadruple Alliance intended to guarantee to each other only their territorial possessions not at all their form of government. Form of government was in her opinion a domestic affair. Having decided in favour of the principle of intervention, the three eastern powers decided to apply this principle to the kingdom of Naples. Austria was asked at the Congress of Laybach held in 1821, to send her troops into the kingdom. The opposition of the Neapolitans was quite ineffective, and Ferdinand I was restored to absolutism by the Austrians in 1821. Thereafter began in Naples a strongly repressive policy. But just as the revolution in Naples was being crushed a revolution broke out in Piedmont. Here also the revolutionaries, demanded the Spanish constitution of 1812, and a war against Austria, the arch enemy of Italian freedom. King Victor Emmanuel I was in a great fix. If he granted the demands of the revolutionaries, foreign intervention was certain. If he refused, even then he knew there would be a civil war in Piedmont. Under the circumstances, he in March 1821, abdicated, in favour of his brother Charles Felix. As he was not in Piedmont at the time, Charles Albert, head of a younger branch of the royal family was appointed Regent. Being a Liberal he allowed the Spanish constitution to be proclaimed. But when Charles Felix, the new king arrived, he repudiated it. Shortly after this the Austrian army invaded Piedmont. The revolutionaries were defeated at Novara, and Charles Felix, was confirmed on the throne,

as an absolutist king. Metternich had triumphed in this case also. Both the revolutions in Italy, in Naples, as well as in Piedmont, were crushed. Now remained the revolution in Spain. Here also the new principle of intervention was to be applied. This was decided at the Congress of Verona held in 1822. The Allied powers demanded from the new Spanish government the restoration of King Ferdinand VII to his full powers. The Spaniards refused to accede to these demands. So in April 1823 a French army crossed the Pyrenees, and invaded Spain. The Spanish government had no army and no money and could not oppose the advance of the invaders with any vigour. Ferdinand VII was restored to his absolute powers. Having done this the Allies now proposed to reconquer for Spain her revolted colonies in America. England had great business connections with these colonies. She could continue to have unrestricted trade with them only so long as they remained free. So England now made it clearly understood, that she would oppose any steps, the Allies might take, for the conquest of these American colonies. In this she received the hearty co-operation of President Monroe (1817-1825) of the United States of America, who in a massage to the Congress gave emphatic notice to the Holy Alliance of the attitude his government would take in case it would endeavour to win back her colonies for Spain, should Spain herself be unable to do so. President James Monroe declared. "We should consider any attempt on the part of these absolute monarchies of Europe to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, and we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing the South American States or controlling in any manner, their destinies, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." These declarations from England and the United States of America were enough to

prevent the summoning of any more congresses to consider the reconquest of American colonies of Spain. In this way the Metternich system received a very serious check. But when in July 1830 revolution broke out in France, and king Charles X was forced to seek refuge in England, and a strictly constitutional system of government was established in France under king Louis Philippe, the Metternich system received a crushing blow. After this Metternich did not attempt to intervene in the affairs of any foreign country. After this the principles of Nationalism and Liberalism, which had suffered a temporary set back by the settlement of Vienna, steadily gained ground. Great Britain had adhered to these principles throughout. France espoused these principles after 1830, and after the revolution of 1848, when the Metternich system was finally overthrown, the triumph of these principles was quite assured.

The July Revolution of 1830 in Europe

The July revolution of 1830 in France had widespread reactions in other parts of Europe. It has already been seen that one of the direct results of the Revolution in France was a revolution in Belgium, which in 1831, under the guarantee of the great powers, became a free and independent country. Another effect of the French revolution was a rising in 1830 in Poland. A Polish army which the Czar Nicholas I of Russia intended to use against revolutionary France and Belgium suddenly mutinied, defied the Czar, and began to fight for the independence of Poland. But the Polish nationalists found no support from Austria, and Prussia, and Great Britain was too far away to intervene. The Czar was able, therefore, to crush this rebellion very easily. He then proceeded to uproot all sense of nationality among the Poles. He revoked their constitution, suppressed their flag, and executed or exiled thousands of Polish patriots. Poland now became a mere

province of Russia. In Italy also revolutions broke out. The states of the Church rose against the Pope, and Parma and Modenna against their Hapsburg sovereigns. But the Austrian troops of Metternich quickly extinguished these insurrections. In Germany there were popular outbreaks in Saxony, Hanover, and some of the other German states. The revolutionaries here were able to wring a few concessions or the promise of concessions from their respective rulers. In 1830 one thing became definitely clear. There was now a split among the great powers. In 1815 there had been signed a quadruple alliance between Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain for the purpose of preventing revolution. France joined this alliance in 1818. But now the two western powers, Great Britain and France, opposed the reactionary programmes of the three eastern monarchs. Both of these western powers safeguarded Belgian independence, expressed sympathy for the Poles, and encouraged Italians and the Greeks to win freedom. Henceforth these two powers could be counted upon to uphold oppressed peoples against the forces of reaction.

The February Revolutions of 1848, in Europe. In February 1848, France once again lighted the revolutionary torch, and again eager hands carried it to other parts of Europe. Within a few months half the monarchs in Europe were either deposed, or forced to concede liberal reforms. No less than fifteen separate revolts marked the year 1848. Vienna, the headquarters of reaction, was the first scene of a popular rising. Mobs, which could not be suppressed by the government troops, put a fire to the palace of Metternich, compelled that white-haired old minister to resign office, and take refuge in flight. Emperor Ferdinand I, (1835-1848) who hated the word "constitution" was compelled to grant parliaments, constitutional system of government, universal suffrage, and provincial autonomy to Bohemia and

Hungary, and also the same constitutional system of government to the home provinces in Austria. What had begun as a purely democratic movement among the Germans of Vienna, soon became a national movement in Bohemia and in Hungary. The Magyars revolted and established a free Hungarian state, with the patriot Kossuth as the president. The Czechs also obtained a large measure of independence. In Italy, however, the nature of the struggle assumed a different shape. In Austria, Hungary and Bohemia the revolutionaries wanted democratic system of government without repudiating their allegiance to the Austrian emperor. But in Italy it was quite different. Here the revolutionaries wanted to drive the Austrians entirely out of Italy as they wanted to cut off their connections altogether with the Austrian emperor. The Austrian empire was saved from dissolution by the bitter conflict of its different nationalities among themselves, by the loyalty of Hapsburg armies, and by foreign intervention. The Bohemian revolt was the first to collapse. The Bohemian nationalists wanted to form a Pan-slav state, and summoned a conference consisting of representatives from Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Bosnia, Slavonia, Croatia, and Ruthenia. But the German minority in Bohemia did not want this Pan-Slavonic combination. The Germans were at this time engaged in framing a constitution of their own. They too wanted to combine all Germans in one state. The Germans in Bohemia wanted Bohemia to join this German federation. But in this German federation the Czechs of Bohemia would have been in a hopeless minority. On the other hand, in the Pan-Slavonian federation the Bohemian Germans would have a very small minority. The German and Czech interests were, therefore, irreconcilable. An insurrection broke out in Prague, the capital of Bohemia. This gave to the Austrian General Windischgratz an opportunity to intervene. He soon put down the insurrection, and established a military

government in Bohemia. Thus disappeared the prospects of Bohemian independence. This was Austria's first victory. Next came the turn of Hungary. When a constitution was granted to Hungary, it was inevitable that the races which the Magyars so far dominated should begin to have the aspiration of getting self-government themselves. The Slavs inhabiting Carniola, Slavonia, Bosnia, and Croatia, had long meditated on the possibility of a united Slavic kingdom in the south. Both the Slavonians and the Croatians now revolted against the Magyars. On the other hand, a great change had taken place in Austria. King Ferdinand I, who had been compelled to grant a constitution to Hungary, abdicated, and his young nephew Francis Joseph ascended the throne He repudiated the Constitution, granted by Ferdinand. The Magyars now revolted against Austria. The Austrian government appointed Jellachich a Croatian colonel and bitter opponent of the Magyars as governor or Ban of Croatia. Jellachich advanced against Hungary. But the Hungarians offered a stout resistance, and Emperor Francis Joseph was compelled to enlist the sympathies of his brother monarch Czar Nicholas I. The Czar fearing lest an independent Hungary should be followed by an independent Poland, joined his troops to those of the Austrians. The Magyars were at length compelled to surrender in August 1849. The War of Hungarian independence was now over, and Kossuth and his friends fled to Turkey. The punishment meted out to the Magyars had no quality of mercy in it. Many generals and even civilians were hanged. The constitutional privileges granted to Hungary were entirely abolished, and now Hungary became a mere province of Austria.

While in other provinces of the Austrian Empire, in Bohemia and in Hungary, the revolutioneries did not want to go out of the empire, in Italy it was just this what the nationalists wanted. It has been seen that when Metternich fled from Vienna, both

Venetia and Lombardy revolted. The kingdom of Piedmont threw in her lot with the rebels, and a Piedmontese army came into Lombardy. The other Italian states, Naples, the Papal states, and Tuscany, under popular pressure, also sent troops to northern Italy. It seemed as if the day for Italian liberation had come, and that the Austrians were to be driven out of the country. In Italy, therefore, Austria was in a very critical position. But here in northern Italy, Austria had a very able and experienced general in Radetzky. Being forced out of Milan, he retired to the famous Quadrilateral, the fortresses on the Adige, and the Mincio, *i.e.* Legnago, Peschiera, Verona, and Mantua, one of the strongest military positions in Europe. He succeeded in convincing the Austrian government, that the crucial point was Italy, and that it was here that the fate of the Austrian Empire was to be decided. So Austrian re-inforcements were first sent to Italy. The Italians after the first flush of enthusiasm, began to be torn by inter-state jealousies and dissensions. The Neopolitan, Papal, and Tuscan troops were recalled, and northern Italy was left to itself. Charles Albert the king of Piedmont was no match for Radetzky and was badly defeated on 25th July 1848, at Custozza. Austria after this recovered Lombardy. It was only the intervention of Great Britain on behalf of Piedmont, that prevented Austria from invading the territories of Piedmont. In 1849, Charles Albert, who was now thoroughly committed to the cause of Italian liberation from Austrian control, re-opened war. After the battle of Custozza, the old regime had been re-established in Naples, and in Rome a republic had been established under the leadership of Mazzini. In Tuscany too a Republic had been established. But these two new republics were so busy in their own local affairs, that they could not send any re-inforcements to the north. Moreover these republicans had very little sympathy for the monarchical Piedmont. So when in 1849, war again broke out, Charles Albert had to fight alone. No help

came from the south. He was signally defeated at the battle of Novara, fought on 23rd March 1849. Believing that better terms could be obtained for his country, if another sovereign were on the throne, he abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emanuel II. A few months later, Charles Albert died in exile. But he had done great service to Italy, and to his own family, for Italian nationalists now knew that there was at any rate one Italian prince who was willing to risk everything for the national cause. He had enlisted the interest and the faith of the Italians in the Government of Piedmont, and in the House of Savoy. He was looked upon as a martyr in the national cause. The battle of Novara was followed shortly by the overthrow of the Florentine republic, and the restoration of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. But it proved more difficult to overthrow the new Roman Republic which was becoming popular under the leadership of Mazzini. If the foreign powers had not intervened, it would have continued. But France believing, that if she did not intervene, Austria would, decided to send an expeditionary force for the restoration of the Pope. Rome was captured on 30th June 1849. The Pope was restored, but the free institutions recently won by the Romans were preserved. In August 1849, the Venetian Republic was also overthrown by the Austrians, and Venetia once again became a province of Austria. This ended the revolution of 1848 in Italy.

The news of the fall of Metternich had a tremendous effect on Germany. On 15th March 1848, barricades were erected in Berlin, and for a week the capital of Prussia was the scene of great turbulence and some bloodshed. The king, Frederick William IV was compelled on the 18th of March to issue a proclamation, in which he summoned a United Landtag to co-operate in framing a constitution for the kingdom. He also guaranteed the political and civil liberties that had for so many years been demanded. He also promised to lead in the attempt to achieve unity for Germany. A self-constituted committee

of Liberal politicians met at Heidelberg early in March, and decided to call a preliminary Assembly to consider the whole question. This preliminary Assembly, or *vorparlament*, met from March 31st to April 4th, and arranged for the election, directly by the people, of an Assembly that should draw up the constitution for a united Germany. The princes of the different states were forced to sanction this proceeding. The first German National Assembly met at Frankfort on the 18th of May 1848. This Assembly consisted of 600 representatives elected by universal suffrage. The Assembly contained many able men, but it possessed only a moral authority. Though its existence had not been prevented by the rulers of the various states, still those rulers gave it no support and played a waitiag game, hoping to be able to prevent the execution of any decisions unfavourable to themselves. The Assembly aspired to give unity and constitution to the whole of Germany. But having no draft ready to discuss, much time was lost. In the meantime the old order was beginning to win back its old position, particularly in Austria. Gradually, however, the constitution was elaborated. It reduced considerably the powers of the several rulers and created a fairly strong federal state. Two most difficult questions long baffled the Assembly. Firstly, what territory was to be included in the new Germany, and secondly, who should be its head. There were two big powers in Germany, Austria and Prussia. Should Austria be included in the new Union? If so, wholly or in part? If wholly, then it would mean that millions of Italians, Croatians, Hungarians, Poles, Rumanians, and Serbians, would come in, and take part in the making of laws. It would mean that the new central parliament would have to legislate for a most motley aggregation of peoples. However, the empire thus created would be no Germany. Austria, largely non-German, had a population of 38 millions, while the rest of Germany had only a population of 32 millions. Austria would, therefore,

have an absolute majority in the central parliament, and the actions of that majority might be determined by the desires of Hungarians and Slavs. Evidently such a Unity was a mockery. On the other hand to admit only the German provinces of Austria in the new union, would mean the break up of Austrian unity, which could not be acceptable to Austria. Finally it was decided to include only the German provinces of Austria. The other most important question was what should be the form of the new government. Should there be an Emperor, or a President, or a Board. If there was to be an emperor, should his office be hereditary, or for life, or for a term of years? Should he be the ruler of Prussia, or of Austria? or should they rule alternately? The final decision was that Germany should be an hereditary empire, and on 28th March 1849, the king of Prussia was chosen to be its head. Austria announced that it "would neither allow itself to be expelled from the German Confederation, nor permit its German provinces to be separated, from the indivisable Austrian monarchy. The centre of interest now shifted to Berlin, whither a deputation went to offer to Frederick William IV the imperial crown of a United Germany. But by this time Austria had largely recovered from her troubles. Frederick William IV could not afford to fight against Austria. He also did not want to accept the imperial crown from the commoners. He, therefore, declined the offer of the Frankfort Parliament. Its decisions being rejected both by Austria, as well as Prussia, the Frankfort Parliament ended miserably. It accomplished nothing. The king of Prussia now attempted to form a union along his own lines. But on peremptory orders from Vienna he soon abandoned these attempts also. Austria then demanded that the old German Confederation which had been suspended in 1848, with its Diet at Frankfort should be restored. This was done in 1851.

The permanent results of these revolutions of 1848 in Italy and in central Europe were very little. Everywhere the

old governments slipped back into the old grooves and resumed the old traditions. Two states, however, emerged, with constitutions, which they retained, Sardinia, whose constitutional statute, granted by Charles Albert on 4th March 1848, established a real constitutional and parliamentary government, and Prussia, whose constitution issued by the king in its final form in 1850, was far less liberal, yet sufficed to put Prussia among constitutional states of Europe. By it the old despotism of the state was at any rate nominally removed. This constitution established in 1850 lasted down to the revolution brought about by the world war of 1914-1918.

SUMMARY

1. *Prince Metternich (1773-1859).* Prince Metternich was an artistocrat of the old type. He did not believe in a constitutional or parliamentary type of government. In order to keep his own country free of the French ideas of government he kept a strict watch over the people in Austria. He utilized the Quadruple Alliance for crushing the movements for freedom and liberty in other countries. His system of government and his policy were given the name of Metternichism.

2. *Austrian Empire, (1815-1848).* After the Napoleonic wars Austria had exchanged Netherlands and south western districts in Germany, for Lombardy and Venetia in Italy, and Illyria on the coasts of the Adriatic, nearer home. In this way geographically her territories had been consolidated. But the empire of Austria suffered. from one very serious defect. Her population was not homogeneous There were Germans, Czechs, Poles, Magyars, Rumanians, Croatians Slavonians, and Italians living within the empire. These constituent parts of the empire had differences in forms of government, in race, in language, and in social structure of the people. Development of national sentiments among these people meant the disruption of the Austrian empire. So it was the policy of Metternich not to allow patriotic sentiments to grow. He was in favour of the preservation of the old order of things. For the maintenance of this old order of things it was necessary to keep a strict watch over the people, and also to induce the governments of the neighbouring countries to adopt in their respective countries the same system.

3. *How the policy of Metternich worked in the different provinces of Austrian Empire.* In the Home provinces of Austria the modern

system of society was introduced by the introduction of machinery, and the factory system of industry. This brought about urbanisation of society, and created a large class of unemployed labourers. They could be easily incited to deeds of violence, and they helped a good deal to bring about revolution in Austria in March 1848.

In Bohemia during this period there was a growth of a National sentiment. This was brought about by a revival of the Czech language. That in turn created a public opinion in favour of national independence.

In Hungary the national movement grew in a more pronounced way. At first the movement was in favour of the industrialisation of the country. Construction of roads, bridges, and tunnels, and the draining of marshes was taken in hand. Along with this there was a revival of Magyar language. They gave up the use of Latin which was at that time the official language. The Croatians, however, wanted the use of Latin. They were not permitted to do so. In the meantime there grew in Hungary a more radical party under the leadership of Louis Kossuth and Francis Deak. A new political programme was chalked out. They demanded the taxation of the nobles, the control by the Diet of all national expenditure, liberty for the press, and a complete right of public meeting and association. Under these circumstances revolution broke out in Hungary in 1848.

The Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia were, since the settlement of 1815, governed by an Austrian Viceroy. An attempt was made to Germanise the Italians in these two provinces. The Metternich system of government was applied to these territories in full vigour. But revolutions broke out in Spain and in Naples, in 1820, and in Piedmont also there was a revolution When these revolutions were crushed by the Austrians, the Austrian rule in Lombardy and in Venetia became more repressive. In 1830, there was another revolution, this time in the Papal States, Parma, and Modenna. But Austria crushed these revolutions also. During all these revolutions it was found that the different parts of Italy did not come to the help of each other. Common national feeling was lacking in Italy. It was, therefore, necessary to promote and encourage patriotic feelings in the country. It was during this period that the three great Italian patriots, Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour rose. Mazzini founded a new political association called the Young Italy. The aim of this party was to preach patriotism to the mass of the people. So when revolution again broke out in 1848, the people in Italy were sufficiently roused to take united action.

4. *Germany (1815-1848).* When the treaty of Luneville was signed in 1801, the territories on the banks of the river Rhine were annexed to the dominions of Napoleon, and a large number of German states disappeared. In 1815, the total number of states in Germany was 38. They included five kingdoms, and some grand-duchies, duchies, margraves, and electorates. Up to 1806, all the German states were bound together in a Union called the Holy Roman Empire. When in 1806, after the treaty of Presburg the Holy Roman Empire ceased to exist, most of the German states were bound together in confederation of the Rhine. under the protectorate of Napoleon. This confederation lasted from 1806 to 1813. This in its turn was overthrown after the defeat of Napoleon in 1813, in the battle of Liepzig. In the Congress of Vienna all the German states were again united in a new confederation, under the presidency of Austria. The central organ of government was to be a Diet with its Headquarters at Frankfort. The first business of this Diet was to frame a constitution, and fundamental laws of the Confederation. Under the constitution each state was quite independent in its own internal affairs. The states could make any alliances they liked with other countries in the world. The only limitation on the powers of the states was that they could not enter into any engagement which was prejudicial to the safety of the confederation and they were not to make war on one another. All inter-state disputes were to be referred to the Diet at Frankfort. It was a loose confederation wherein constructive work was difficult, and obstruction was easy. There was another complication in this confederation. It contained some of the foreign kings such as the kings of Denmark, England, and Netherlands. The sovereigns of Austria, and Prussia, had also many non-German interests to safeguard. So under such circumstances, Germany so organised was not a nation but a League of Nations set up for mutual protection. The nationalists, however, did not like this constitution. They wanted a closer union of the German states, and constitutional reforms within the states. Since in the congress of Vienna, national unity was not achieved German nationalists began to work for the political and civil liberty of the individual. In 1818, having completed and consolidated his system in Germany, Metternich began to think of applying his system to the different states in Germany. In 1818 a congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, Here the principles laid down in the Quadruple Alliance were elaborated. In 1820 another congress was held at Troppau. Here the three eastern monarchs decided in favour of foreign intervention in case there was a revolution in any country. In the congress of Laybach held in 1821 it was decided to ask Austria to

intervene in the affairs of Naples and Piedmont. In the Congress of Verona held in 1822 it was decided to ask France to intervene in the affairs of France. But since England protested against this, and she together with the United States of America warned France and other Europeon powers against any attempt to conquer the Spanish colonies in America, no more congresses were held. During the German War of Liberation the students of Jena had founded a society called *Burschenschaft* whose object was to inclucate patriotism among Germans. This organisation held a big meeting at Wartburg on the 18th of October 1817, the anniversary of the battle of Liepzig. Some time after this a iournalist and a playwright who was considered to be a Russian spy was murdered This gave an excuse to Metternich to intervene in the affairs of Germany. He sought an interview with King Frederick William IV, and then at Carlsbad a series of decrees were passed. They were subsequently confirmed at the Diet at Frankfort. By these decrees the same system of government was enforced in the German states as prevailed in the Austrian empire. During the period following these decress there could be no political progress in Germany. But in other matters it made very great progress. It was during this period that industrial revolution began in Germany. In 1818 a revolutionary change was made in the tariff policy of Prussia. All internal customs barriers were abolished. She adopted free trade within the country, and small customs duty was levied against the rest of the world. This caused a rapid progress in commerce and industry, and finances of the country were also immensely improved. In 1829 Prussia became financially solvent. After this it became the policy of Prussia to enter into tariff union with other states in Germany. At length by 1842 almost all the German states had united with Prussia in a customs union, well known by the name of Zollverein. This union accustomed the Germans to act unitedly. This economic union paved the way for a political union. It also made the Germans look up to Prussia for leadership in Germany. Frederick William III died in 1848, and he was succeeded by his son Frederick William IV. Immediately after his succession to the throne, political agitation began in Germany. But the new king was not willing to give the reforms the nationalists wanted. This led to a conflict between the king and the nationalists. At length in 1847, the king issued Letters Patent which announced the summoning of a united Landtag. It was a parliament of the old Mediaval type, and it possessed very limited rights. This constitution did not satisfy the people. It was under such circumstances that the February Revolution of 1848 broke out.

5. *The Netherlands, 1815—1830.* Belgium was in 1815 handed over to Holland. But the two countries were different in language, in religion, in social structure of the people, and in forms of government. The king wanted to fuse these countries into one. He wanted to impose the Dutch language on the Belgians, and the army and the public services consisted mainly of Dutchmen. When the king proposed new constitutional reforms, he gave equal representation to the two countries in the common legislature. So, soon after union there began a conflict between the Dutch and the Belgians. When the July Revolution broke out in France in 1830, riots broke out in Brussels also. The king attempted to put down this insurrection by means of troops. On this the Belgians revolted, drove the Dutch out of their country, and set up a new government. With the advice of England and France the Belgian nationalists chose Leopold of Coburg as their king. The independence of Belgium was recognised by the powers at the Congress of London, and her neutrality was guaranteed.

6. *The Revolutions in Spain and Italy and the Congresses.* The first international conference after the settlement of 1815 took place at Aix-la-Chapelle. Here the chief object was to prevent the recurrence of revolution in France. But in 1820 there broke out a revolution in Spain. During the peninsular war the Spanish nationalists had framed in 1812 a constitution very much after the French constitution of 1791. But when king Ferdinand VII was restored to the Spanish throne in 1814, he repudiated this constitution. Thereafter he introduced an extremely repressive policy in the country. This caused many insurrections. The colonies revolted. At length in 1820, even the army mutinied. Under these circumstances the king was compelled to accept the constitution of 1812. On the outbreak of this revolution there was a revolution in Naples .also. To consider this grave situation, an international congress was convened at Troppau in 1820. In this congress it was decided that the powers had a right to interfere in the affairs of any country, where the established government was overthrown by revolution. England, however, protested against this view, and held that a revolution to bring about a change in the system of government of any country was its own domestic affair. At the Congress of Laybach held in 1821, Austria was permitted to take steps to put down rebellions in Italy, and in the Congress of Verona held in 1822, France was permitted to put down the revolution in Spain. Having put down these revolutions, the allied powers now proposed to reconquer for Spain her revolted colonies in America. But both England and the United States of America, announced that they would not allow the

European system of Metternich to be extended to the new world. The declaration in this respect of the President of the United States of America is known by the name of the Monroe doctrine. After this no more conferences were held in Europe. The policy of Metternich received a serious check. This system received a crushing blow when in 1830 a strictly parliamentary system of government was established in France. After this Metternich did not attempt to interfere in the affairs of other countries. Metternich system was finally overthrown in 1848.

7. *The July Revolutions of 1830 in Europe.* The revolution in France was followed by revolutions in Belgium, Italy, and Poland. Belgium became under the guarantee of the Powers an independent country, but the revolutions in Italy and Poland were suppressed. After 1830 there was a definite split among the powers. The two western powers, France and England, did not join the three eastern powers in support of the policy of Metternich.

8. *The February Revolutions of 1848 in Europe.* On the outbreak of Revolution in France, there were revolutions all over western and Central Europe. Prince Metternich was overthrown, and he now sought refuge in England. The home provinces of Austria, obtained constitutional reforms, and both Bohemia and Hungary received Home Rule. The Italians revolted and sought to drive the Austrians out of Lombardy and Venetia. There were revolutions also in Germany. But soon all these revolutions were put down. There were communal conflicts in Bohemia and in Hungary, and in Italy no one came to the assistance of Piedmont, which had taken up the cause of the Italian revolutionaries. There was a change of kings in Austria, and he revoked the new reforms in Bohemia and Hungary. The Czar Nicholas I came to the assistance of the Austrian emperor, and helped him to put down the revolution in Hungary. In Germany the nationalists convened a National Assembly, and began to frame a federal constitution for the whole of Germany. But here too the obstacles put in their way by the princes, conflict of interests, and the presence in the territories of German princes, non-German populations, made their task very difficult. The proceedings were very much delayed, and at length Frederick William IV who was chosen emperor of the Federation, refused to accept the offer from a popular body. So the whole thing ended in smoke. During this revolution only Prussia and Piedmont were able to get Constitutional systems of government. Everywhere the old governments slipped back into their old grooves and they resumed their old traditions.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE NEAR EASTERN QUESTION

The Decline of the Turkish Empire 1571-1683. It has been seen in Chapter V that it was in the reigns of Selim I (1512—1520), and of Suleman I (1520—1566), that the Turkish Empire reached its largest expansion. Carniola, an Austrian province, had been conquered in 1490 and Hungary was taken by the Turks in 1529. But after the death of Suleman I, the Turkish empire began to decline. Although in the reign of Selim II (1566—1574), Tunis in Northern Africa had been added to the Turkish empire, yet in 1571, the Turks had suffered a crushing defeat at the naval battle fought off Lepanto. After this battle the Turks lost their naval supremacy in the Mediterranane Sea. They besieged Vienna, several times, the first time in 1529, and the last time in 1683, but they were never able to take this city. Vienna therefore formed an effective barrier against the Turks, and thus Western Europe was saved from their invasions.

The First Phase 1683-1792. But in the same 17th century there began a rapid decay within the Turkish empire. The result was that in the last decades of the 17th century, (1684--1699), the little republic of Venetia conquered Morea, the southern parts of Greece. While the Venetians were fighting against the Turks in the Mediterranean, the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I (1658-1705) attacked Turkish dominions in Hungary. At length in 1699, the whole of Hungary and Transylvania were

annexed to the Austrian dominions. In the 17 th century the Turks had under their rule the whole of the Balkan peninsula, consisting of the present day countries of Greece, Albania, Jugo-Slavakia, Bulgaria, and Rumania. In the Danubian valley they held Hungary and towards its east Transylvania and Bukovina, and they also held all the territories on the shores of the Black sea, for Bessarabia, Crimea, and Caucasia were all at this time ruled by them. Just about this time Russia appeared on the scene. In 1696, Peter the Great conquered Azov and thus opened for his country a window to the south. So it is clear the period during which the Eastern Roman Empire was conquered by the Turks, was now closed, and the first phase had begun, during which it became the task of Austria and Russia to push the Turks back towards Asia. The building up of the Turkish Empire lasted from the rise of the Turks in the 11th century to their defeat at the naval battle off Lepanto in 1571. After this, and throughout the 17th century, Turkey was in a decaying condition. In the 18th century, as has been pointed out in Chapter XI the Turks continued to lose territory. In the last decade of the 17th century she lost Mosca in Greece and Hungary and Transylvania in the north west. In 1739, Russia finally took Azov. During the reign of Empress Catherine II (1762-1796), Turkey was ruled by Mustafa III and Abdul Hamid I. In order to prevent Sultan Mustafa III from interfering in the affairs of Poland, it was proposed by Catherine II that the Turks should be kept busy at home. In 1765, Russian agents began to work in Greece, Bosnia, and Montenegro. The Greeks and the Serbians were pursuaded to believe that the Russians would one day destroy the Turkish empire and rescue the Slavs in the Balkans from Turkish slavery. The Turkish government became awakened to this new danger. At this time the Russians were engaged in fighting against the Poles. Some of them sought refuge in Tartary, the Turkish lands

on the northern shores of the Black Sea. They were pursued by the Russians into Tartary. The Turkish Sultan demanded the evacuation of Turkish territory by the Russians. Since Russia hestitated to comply, war broke out, in 1768. This Russo-Turkish War lasted from 1768 to 1774. By the treaty of peace which was signed at Kutchuk-Kainardji in 1774, Russia retained Azov, she obtained a control over the straits between the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, she annexed to her dominions territories on the northern shores, of the Black Sea, and also some districts on the eastern shores of this sea. The territory between the sea of Azov and the river Bug, were declared independent of the Sultan. In addition to all this Russia was now allowed to establish trade relations and agencies throughout the Turkish empire, and she was free to navigate the Black Sea. Shortly after the conclusion of this Russo-Turkish War, Austria seized in 1775, Bukovina a province lying in between Transylvania and Rumania. This brought the territories of Austria and Russia nearer each other, and made them more friendly towards one another After this there was an understanding between these two sovereigns to divide between them Turkish territories. In 1783 Catherine II annexed the territories of the Khan of Crimea which were then rapidly developed by Russian engineers and cultivators. In 1787 another war broke out between Russia and Turkey. In 1788 Austria also declared war against Turkey. But Sultan Abdul Hamid I died in 1789 and Emperor Joseph II of Austria died in 1790. In 1789 the French Revolution had broken out, and the attention of entire Europe was now diverted towards France. So in 1791 Austria concluded peace with Turkey. In 1792 peace was also concluded between Russia and Turkey at Jassy. By this treaty, the annexation of Crimea by Russia was confirmed, and the Russian frontier now advanced from the banks of the Bug to the banks of the Dniester. Thus closed the first phase of the Near Eastern Question. This first

phase begins in 1683, and ends in 1792. During this period the Black Sea ceased to be a Turkish lake which it was before the commencement of this period. The entire territory on its northern, and some districts on its eastern shores were now parts of the Russian Empire. Austria too had during this period taken possession of Hungary, Transylvania and Bukovina. During the earlier period western and central Europe was on the defensive, and the Turks were the aggressors. Now the position was reversed. During the first phase, the Turks were on the defensive, and now the Europeans became aggressive.

The Second Phase 1804-1918. The third phase in the history of the Near Eastern Question begins during the Napoleonic Wars. It has already been stated that Queen Catherine II of Russsia had sent Russian agents into the Balkan states to rouse the people against the Turks. In the Balkans there were living many nations, the Rumanians, the Serbs, the Bulgarians, and the Greeks. The Turks had made no efforts to assimilate them. They were only content with reducing them to subjection, and with exploiting them. They were, however, allowed to have their own laws, their own educational system and their own magistrates. They were also permitted the free exercise of their religion. Economically these people enjoyed no rights. Their property could be confiscated, and they could be put to death on the slightest suspicion. The rise of Russia in the north, the outbreak of the French Revolution in the west, and the decay of the Turkish empire in the 17th and 18th centuries, developed a new situation.

The Serbs. The Serbs were the first to rise under the leadership of Kara-George, a swineherd. They rose in 1804. The Turks were driven out, but they regained the country in 1813. In 1820, they again rose under the leadership of Milosch Obrenovitch, and he succeeded in securing from the Sultan the title of " Prince

of the Serbs of the Pashalik of Belgrade." After this the prince directed his efforts to the attainment of complete autonomy for Serbia. With the assistance of Russia, and after long negotiations, he achieved his object in 1830, when a decree of the Sultan bestowed upon him the title of "Hereditary Prince of the Serbs." In this way Serbia ceased to be a mere province of the Turkish Empire, and now it became a principality tributary to the Sultan. Serbia was the first state to arise out of the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire in Europe. Its capital was fixed at Belgrade.

The Greeks. The next people to rise were the Greeks. They had in the 18th century, experienced a revived consciousness in their nationality. There had occurred in the 18th century a remarkable intellectual revival in Greece, in connection with the restoration of the old Greek language, and purification of the existing language. The ancient language, though still used by the clergy, had for all practical purposes become extinct. Koraes, a Greek scholar sought to purify the language of the people, in such a way as to enable the modern Greeks to understand the ancient classics. In this way he thought his countrymen could become acquainted with their past greatness. He was immensely successful in this task. By this work the national consciousness of the Greeks was greatly stirred and vivified. After this the Greeks ceased to call themselves Romans, as they had done for centuries, and began once more to call themselves Hellenes. As secret societies had been established in Spain, Italy, and Germany, so in the same way a secret society, *Hetairia Philike*, or association of friends, was established in Greece, in 1814. The object of this association was the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the re-establishment of the old Greek Eastern Empire, which had centuries before been overthrown by the Turks. The society relied upon gaining the support

of Russia, because it was believed she was interested in the downfall of the Turkish empire. Russia was expected to come to the help of the Greeks for another reason. They both professed the same religion, the Greek Church. The *Hetarria Philike* became very popular among the Greeks. By 1820 it had 2,00,000 members. This association collected considerable sums of money, bought weapons, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to revolt against the Truks. The Greek War of Independence actually began in 1821, and lasted till 1829. During the first six years from 1821 to 1827, the Greeks fought alone against the Turks. This war was one of utter ferocity on both sides. It was not a war between the two armies, but a war of extermination of the nation, one by the other. Each side when victorious killed a large number of non-combatants, men, women and children. The Greek War song "The Turk shall live no longer, neither in Morea, nor in the whole earth", shows the temper in which the Greeks began the war of liberation. If the Turks were murdered in the country side, they took terrible revenge on the Greeks in the city of Constantinople. The Greeks in that city were hunted down by the enraged Mohammadans, and on Easter Sunday, 1821, the Patriarch, the Head of the Greek Church, was hanged in his ecclesiastical robes in front of the Cathedral. Nothing could have horrified the Greeks more. Later on when the Greeks took Tripolitza in Morea, they massacred the Muslims, and hardly any was left alive. This heavy carnage went on for some years. At length, Turkey unable to conquer by her own force, called to her aid Mohammad Ali, the Pasha of Egypt. This provincial governor had built up a stroug, disciplined army, well-equipped and trained in European methods, a force far superior to any which the Sultan or the Greeks possessed. The Egyptian army, under the leadership of Ibrahim Ali Pasha, the son of Mohammad Ali, landed in Morea, early in 1825. Morea

was soon reconquered. By 1826 the Greeks were subjugated. It was now that the foreign powers decided to intervene. The sympathy of cultured people had from the very first been aroused for the country, which had given intellectual freedom to the world. The representatives of this ancient Greece which was the Mother of Arts, who were now making an heroic and romantic struggle for an independent life worthy of her past history, aroused for themselves deep interest in the minds of the educated peoples of the world. Philhellenic societies were formed in France, Germany, Switzerland, England, and the United States of America, in order to aid the insurgents by sending money, arms, and volunteers, and by bringing pressure upon their respective governments to intervene. Many men from western Europe joined the Greek armies. The celebrated English poet, Lord Byron gave his life in Greece in 1824. Metternich, however, was opposed to the idea of intervention in the affairs of the Greeks. At length when in 1825, the Czar Alexander died, and he was succeeded by the Czar Nicholas II, Russian policy underwent a radical change. The new Czar was not bound to the policy of the Holy Alliance. When he found that the British Foreign Office, now controlled by Canning, was in favour of taking action on the side of Greek freedom, he was not willing to let England intervene alone. The English and the French wanted to intervene in the interests of freedom, but the Russians wanted to intervene on account of the community of religion. Out of all these motives arose the treaty of London signed in 1827. By this treaty the three powers, England, Russia, and France, agreed to demand an armistice from Sultan Mahmud II, and his consent to the erection of Greece as an autonomous state under Turkish sovereignty. In a word Greece was to be put on the same footing as Serbia. The Sultan refused to agree to an armistice. The three admirals of the allied fleet who were present near Morea presented an ultimatum to Ibrahim Ali Pasha, when their ships were fired at

by the Turks. But this ultimatum was rejected. The consequence was a naval battle at Navarino fought on the 20th October 1827. In this battle almost the whole of the Turko-Egyptian fleet was destroyed. The Sultan was furious, and he demanded reparation from the allies. He declared *Jehad* or Holy war against the Christians and he laid the entire blame at the door of Russia, who he said had incited the Greeks. Russia only wanted an excuse to declare war aginst Turkey. So on the issue of the Sultan's manifesto, the Czar Nicholas declared war against the Turks on the 20th of April 1828. This Russo-Turkish War lasted for about a year. The Russians crossed the Balkans, and marched rapidly towards Constantinople. In the meantime the French had sent an army into Morea, and had forced the Egyptian troops to leave the country and sail for Egypt. The Sultan after this was forced to yield, and at Adrianople peace was signed with Russia on 14th September 1829. As a result of this treaty Greece became a kingdom, entirely independent of Turkey. Independence was guaranteed by the three powers, Russia, France, and England. Russia obtained a slight increase of territory in Caucasia, but none in Europe. The Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, were made more or less autonomous. Thus the Sultan experienced a serious diminution of power in Europe. In 1833, Otto, a son of King Louis I of Bavaria became the first king of Greece. In this way a new Christian state was created in Europe. King Otto ruled in Greece till 1862, when there was another insurrection in that country. King Otto was displaced, and in 1863, a Danish prince became king of Greece as King George I. In order to make the government of the new king a success, the British Government handed over in 1864 the Ionian Islands to Greece. This was since 1829 the first addition to the territories of Greece.

Mahommed Ali of Egypt. Hardly had the Sultan of Turkey signed the independence of Greece when he was called upon to face another danger. During the War of Greek Independence the Sultan had, as has already been stated, invoked the assistance of his powerful satrap in Egypt, Mahommed Ali. He ruled in Egypt from 1806 to 1847. He had reorganised the entire administration in Egypt, and refashioned his army and navy. After this he was called by his suzerain lord, the Sultan, to come to his assistance in Greece. In reward for the services rendered in Morea, he was in 1829, given the island of Crete. But his ambition was not satisfied. In 1831 he sent an army into Syria, which after a series of brilliant victories advanced through Asia Minor, and even threatened Constantinople. The Sultan was thoroughly frightened. He appealed to the powers for help. Russia landed her troops at Scutari, and sent a powerful fleet to the Bosphorus. France and England did not want an increase of Russian influence in Turkey. So both of them brought pressure on the combatants. The Sultan was induced to buy off Mahommed Ali by the cession to him of Syria and part of Mesopotamia. On this being accepted by the Sultan, Mahommed Ali departed for Egypt. But Russia had still to be paid. In 1833 a treaty was signed at Unkiar Skelessi, between Russia and Turkey. By this treaty Turkey was practically put under the miltary protection of Russia. In return for this, Russian war ships were allowed free passage through the straits, which were closed to all other powers. After this the Turkish army was re-organised by a Prussian soldier, Moltke, who later on rose to fame as a conqueror of Austria and France. At length in 1839, the Sultan sent an expeditionary force for the recovery of Syria, Although France encouraged Mahommed Ali, the Sultan was with the assistance of a British fleet, able to compel Mahommed Ali to submit. In 1840 a

conference of the great powers was convened at London. Mahommed Ali was confirmed in the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt but was compelled to restore Syria and Mesopotamia to the Sultan. The Sultan also promised to close the narrow straits to all ships of war, so long as Turkey was at peace. Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was thus torn up. It was now understood that Russia was not to pose as the exclusive protector of the Sultan, nor was France to be the only friend of Egypt. The Eastern Question was to be the concern of Europe as a whole.

The Crimean War 1853-56 During the War of Greek Independence Russia had emerged with increased prestige, and power. It was Russian intervention in 1828, which had induced the Sultan to recognise the independence of Greece. Again it was through this intervention that the two Roumanian territories of Moldavia and Wallachia had become autonomous. After the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, Russian influence became supreme in the rest of Turkey. Russia was, therefore, emboldened to attempt a further extension in her influence. In 1853, Czar Nicholas I, judging the moment opportune, suggested to the British government that the Turkish Empire was about to fall, and that it would be well for England and Russia to agree on the disposal of the property. He referred to the Turkish Empire as "the Sick Man of Europe." He suggested that European territories might be made into independent states, over which presumably Russia would have influence. It was suggested that England might have Egypt and the island of Crete, thus safeguarding her route to India. Nicholas himself disclaimed any idea of adding Constantinople to his dominions. The British government declined to enter into a consideration of the plan. and nothing came out of this suggestion of the partition of the Turkish Empire. Just about this time there was for some time going on a quarrel between

France, Russia, and Turkey, concerning the control of the "Holy Places" in Palestine. An understanding was being arrived at on this question, when Russia claimed the right of protection over all Greek Church Christians living in the Turkish Empire. This right, if recognized, would have given to Russia the right of constant interference in the affairs of the Turkish Empire. It would have reduced the Turkish Empire into a dependency of Russia. The Sultan sought the advice of France and England, who advised him to reject these demands. The moment the Sultan rejected the demands of Russia, Russian troops marched into the Roumanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. England, France, and later on Piedmont, came to the support of the Turks. Russia found herself at war with four powers. English people entered this war partly because they thought Russia, a strong power, was maltreating Turkey, a weak power, and partly because they dreaded Russian expansion into regions too near the route to India. The French Emperor Napoleon III had a grudge against Nicholas, and moreover he wanted to take revenge for the humiliation his great uncle Napoleon Bonaparte had suffered in connection with his retreat from Moscow. Piedmont joined in order to obtain a powerful friend against Austria. So in March 1854 France and England declared war against Russia, and in 1855, Piedmont joined them. In the middle of 1854 the Russians were compelled to withdraw from the Roumanian principalities. After this the English and the French invaded the Crimean peninsula in between the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea. Here Russia had constructed at Sebastopol a great naval arsenal, and the Russian navy too had its headquarters here. To seize Sebestopol and to sink the Russian navy, would mean the destruction of Russian naval power in the Black Sea. So Sebastopol was besieged. The siege lasted for 11 months. It finally fell in September 1855. The Allies during this

campaign suffered fearfully from the bitter cold, the breakdown of the commissariate department, and the shocking inefficiency of the medical and hospital service. The Russians also suffered from the absence of roads, and from the corruption of officials. Tens of thousands of soldiers perished on their march from the various cities in the interior to the Crimea. Early in 1855, the Czar Nicholas died. At length after the fall of Sebastopol it was clear the Russians had lost. Peace was at last signed at Paris, on the 30th of March 1856. This treaty provided that the Black Sea should henceforth be neutralized, and that no arsenals should be built on its shores. The Navigation of the river Danube was declared free. The Russian protectorate over Moldavia and Wallachia was abolished. They were declared independent under the suzerainty of Turkey. Bessarabia was added to Moldavia. The independence and integrity of Turkey was now guaranteed by the Powers, and they all renounced all claim on their part to intervene in the internal affairs of the Turkish Empire. The Sultan also issued a Firman recording his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his empire. This treaty was signed by the representatives of Turkey, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, France, and Piedmont. Thus closed the Crimean War.

The Near East 1856—1878. But this settlement of the Near Eastern Question arrived at at Paris was not to last long. The Greeks were not satisfied with their boundaries, and cherished the ambition that they might annex other parts of Turkey in which members of their race were living, and even entertained the hope of taking possession of Constantinople. Then again Serbia, as well as the Roumanians in Moldavia and Wallachia, aspired to convert their semi-independence into complete independence. In Moldavia and Wallachia a national spirit had been slowly growing up. The inhabitants feeling that they were of the same stock, and ought

to be thoroughly united, were growing accustomed to apply to themselves the single name of Roumanians. They were proud of their ancient origin, of their language, which was of Latin origin, and of their history. The impulse towards a common nationality was moving them onwards, as was at this time the case with the Italians and the Germans. The Crimean war had to some extent facilitated the realization of their ambitions. By the Treaty of Paris, all Russian rights of protection over Moldavia and Wallachia were abolished, and the Sultan of Turkey, whose suzerainty was still recognised, promised to grant them an "independent and national administration." England and France wished to go a step further and to recognise the two provinces, Moldavia and Wallachia, as one entirely independent state of Roumania. The idea was that Roumania should constitue a buffer state between Russia and Turkey, standing right across the way to Constantinople, which, it was believed, Russia coveted. But Austria and Turkey opposed this proposal. So in 1858, the powers, meeting in a conference held at Paris, decided against the union of Moldavia and Wallachia. It was decided that each of these two principalities should have separate rulers, elected by the representatives of the people, but invested with their powers by the Sultan. It was also decided that each principality should have a separate representative assembly, but a central committee should prepare legislation common to the "United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia." This however, did not satisfy the Roumanians, who felt that they were one in race and language, and traditions, and ought to be one in fact. So in 1859, while Austria was involved in war in Italy, the Roumanians, encouraged by Napoleon III, elected in each principality, the same man, Colonel Alexander Couza, as its prince. The double election accomplished the desired result, and thus the Principalities were united *de facto*. Austria was not in a position to prevent this union. Later on the two assemblies were merged into one. These changes were in 1862

recognised by the Sultan. Thus the Moldavians and the Wallachians obtained union, and assumed the name of Roumania. They fixed Bucharest as their capital. But still they were not completely independent. This Colonel Alexander Couza, who had assumed the title Alexander John I, ruled for seven years (1859—1866). But he soon became unpopular. He came into conflict with the Assembly, and he alienated the sympathies of the influential classes, of the clergy and the nobility. He displeased the former by confiscating the property of the monasteries, and he antagonised the latter by freeing the peasants from their feudal dues to the landlords. Most of the land was transferred to the cultivators on the condition that they should pay for it in fifteen annual instalments. The mass of the people were offended by the tobacco monopoly which was introduced by Couza. All these were useful reforms, but they cost Couza his throne. A conspiracy was formed which in 1866 succeeded in forcing him to abdicate. The Roumanians now decided to choose a foreign prince as their king. They chose a member of the Roman Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern family, who became Charles I of Roumania. This German prince ruled in Roumania from 1866 to 1914. Charles I was primarily a soldier, and the great work of the earlier years of his reign was to build up the army. This he considered to be quite necessary for the independence of Roumania, for she was wedged in between two big powers, Russia in the north and Turkey in the south. He increased the size of the army, equipped it with Prussian guns, and had it drilled by Prussian officers. This enabled Roumania to play an important part in the future wars of the Balkan peninsula.

Russo-Turkish War 1877—1878

In 1875, the Near Eastern Question once again entered upon an acute phase. Movements began which were to have a profound effect upon the destinies of the different peoples living in the Balkan peninsula. An insurrection broke

out in 1875 in Herzegovina, a small Turkish province west of Serbia, and north of Montenegro. The peasantry in this province had suffered long under the misrule of the Turks. The War of Greek Independence and the Crimean War had made Turkish Empire bankrupt. The Sultan was compelled to resort to heavier taxation, which fell with special severity on his Christian subjects. The oppression became so great, and was accompanied by acts so barbarous and inhuman, that the peasants finally rebelled. The people in Herzegovina are Slavonians. They had the sympathies of Slavs in the neighbouring territories. So the Slavs in Serbia, Bosnia, and Montenegro aided the rebels. Religious and racial hatred of the Christian and the Slav against the infidel Turk flamed up throughout the peninsula. There was another reason why the peoples of the Balkans were stirred. The Italians had recently achieved their national unity and independence. Could not the peoples in the Balkans also do the same? Attempts were made by the different powers to induce the Sultan to make concessions sufficient to pacify the discontented Christians. But all these attempts failed, for the Christians placed no faith in Turkish promises and since the different powers were not united in their demands. In the meantime there were rapid changes in Constantinople itself. A palace revolution caused the deposition of Sultan Abdul Aziz in 1876. His nephew Murad V was put on the throne. But he was declared imbecile, and was also deposed after a short reign of three months. Thereupon his brother Abdul Hamid II became Sultan. He promised a constitutional System of Government in Turkey. All these changes were really due to a recrudescence of national and religious fanaticism in Turkey. The Turks had begun to feel that Turkey should be for the Turks, and that she should no longer be the sport of foreign powers. But this revival of racial and religious fanaticism was most injurious to the interests of the Christians living within the empire. So

under the circumstances foreign intervention was still more necessary. The Christians in the rest of Europe could not silently witness the commission of outrages on their co-religionists. Just about this time the Christians in Bulgaria rose against some Turkish officials, killing some of them. The revenge taken by the Turks was terrible. Thousands of Bulgarians, men, women, and children, were murdered in cold blood. Hundreds of villages were destroyed. These Bulgarian atrocities thrilled all Europe with horror. Mr. Gladstone, emerging from his retirement, denounced "the unspeakable Turk." He demanded that England should cease to support a government that was an affront to the laws of God, and urged that the Turks be expelled from Europe, "bag and baggage." On the other hand, in July 1876, Serbia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey, and the insurrection of the Bulgarians became general. There was in this connection great excitement in Russia. Thousands of Russian volunteers enrolled under the Serbian flag. But the Turks were able to overcome their enemies by force of superior numbers. Czar Alexander II of Russia sounded other powers in connection with intervention but he received no satisfactory response. At length, Russia tired of long waiting, declared war against Turkey on 24th April 1877. Shortly after this, on 21st May 1877, Roumania proclaimed her complete independence. In this war Russia had Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro, as her allies. Crossing the Danube, and pushing southwards, the Russians gained some successes, and seized one of the passes through the Balkans. But the key to the campaign was tho control of Plevna. This place, situated between the Danube and the Balkans, was the centre of an extensive system of roads through Bulgaria. The Russians could not safely pass south of the Balkan mountains, without controlling this strategic position. They had made the mistake of allowing the Turkish commander, Osman Pasha, to accupy

and fortify this place. The Russians made three vigorous attempts to carry the place by storm, but they were repulsed with heavy loss. At length Plevna was besieged, and it was taken after five months. After this the back-bone of Turkish resistance was broken. The Russians now poured through the passes of the Balkan mountains, and marched rapidly towards Constantinople. They entered Adrianople on 20th January 1878. The Sultan sought peace, and on 31st March 1878, the treaty of San Stephano was concluded betweet Russia and Turkey. By this treaty the Sultan recognized the complete independence of Montenegro, Serbia, and Roumania. He also ceded some more territory to Montenegro and Serbia. But the main feature of the treaty concerned the Bulgarians. A new autonomous state of Bulgaria under the suzerainty of the Sultan was created. Its territories were to include the whole of European Turkey, between Roumania and Serbia in the north, and Greece in the south. Only a broken strip across the peninsula, from Constantinople, west to the Adriatic, was to be left to Turkey. The new state, therefore, was to include not only Bulgaria proper, hut Roumelia to the south, and most of Macedonia. Mr. Gladstone's desire for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, "bag and baggage," was very nearly realized.

The Congress of Berlin, 1878. But the treaty of San Stephano was not destined to be carried out. It satisfied no one except the Russians and the Bulgarians. There was much opposition to it in the Balkan peninsula itself. The Greeks opposed it, because it cut short the expansion they desired northwards, particularly into Macedonia. The Serbs were also opposed to it, for they wished to obtain a part of the territory now handed over to Bulgaria. There were many Serbs living in Macedonia. The Roumanians were very much displeased, for under this treaty, Bessarabia, inhabited by the Roumanians was handed

over to Russia, and she was given Dobrudscha, a region about the delta of the Danube, in compensation. But more than this, the western powers were also opposed to the conclusion of this treaty. They did not wish to have the Eastern Question solved without their consent. England, fearing the expansion of Russian influence southwards in the direction of the Mediterranean, declared that the arrangements concerning the Balkan peninsula, must be determined by the great European powers, and that the treaty of San Stephano must be submitted to a general congress on the ground that according to the international law of Europe, the Eastern Question could not be settled by one nation but only by the concert of powers, as it affected them all. Austria joined Great Britain in this protest. It was the policy of Germany in these days to conciliate Austria. She backed up Austria. Russia was, therefore, compelled to yield. The international congress met at Berlin under the presidency of Bismark. It drew up a new treaty, which was signed on 13th July 1878. By this treaty Montenegro, Serbia, and Roumania were rendered completely independent of Turkey. The greater Bulgaria of the treaty of San Stephano was divided into three parts. Macedonia was left as a part of Turkey under the direct authority of the Sultan. Bulgaria proper was made an autonomous state under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Its prince was to be elected by the people, but the election was to be ratified by the Sultan, with the assent of the Powers. Eastern Roumelia was to be governed by a Christian governor appointed by the Sultan. The Congress of Berlin invited Austria to "occupy" and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina in the interests of the peace of Europe. Russia obtained some districts in Turkish Armenia on the eastern shores of the Black sea, and also Bessarabia, which had in 1856 been given to Roumania. The Dobrudscha near the delta of the Danube was given to Roumania in compensation. But Roumania was not pleased, for she did not want to give up Bessarabia, which is inhabited by Roumanians. From this time

Roumania became an enemy of Russia. It has already been stated that Greece was also dissatisfied with her frontiers. The Congress of Berlin gave to her Thessaly, and a part of Epirus. England obtained the island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean.

The Balkan States 1878—1913 The Treaty of Berlin was not a final solution of the Near Eastern problem. The Powers had separated the Bulgarians into two parts, one in Bulgaria proper, and the other in Eastern Roumelia. But the people in both these territories were one. Such an artificial separation could not last long. In 1885, the Bulgarians took matters into their own hands and declared themselves united. But this union of the two Bulgarias brought about a little war in the Balkans. Serbia, now jealous of her powerful neighbour, declared war against Bulgaria in 1885, but was badly beaten. The Powers were forced to acquiesce. Bulgaria remained tributary to the Sultan till 1908, when its ruler, Prince Ferdinand of Sax-Coburg, declared the independence of Bulgaria. Then again, Macedonia was left under the Turks. The Turks did not carry out the promised reforms, and the condition of the people there was very miserable. It would have been much better if in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of San Stephano the Mecedonians had been put under Bulgaria. In 1908 there was a revolution in Turkey. This was the work of the Young Turks, a group of patriotic men who aimed to reform and modernize the Ottoman empire. They won over the army, and carried through a sudden and almost bloodless revolution. The terrified Sultan had to issue a decree restoring the constitution which he had granted in 1876, but had never been put into force. His despotism disappeared, and the Ottoman Empire with an elective parliament, a responsible ministry, and a free press, joined the list of those countries which enjoyed a democratic system of government. But it

soon became evident that the Young Turks were nationalists of the type who wanted to Turkify all the different peoples living within the empire. They wanted to weld together all the peoples of the Ottoman Empire into a single nation with Turkish as the official language, and Islam the only privileged faith. Just as the Russian policy was of "Russification" the German policy of Germanisation, the Hungarian policy of Magyarisation, so it was the policy of the Young Turks of Turkification. In connection with the pursuit of this policy the Christians were oppressed and massacred in various parts of the empire. Large numbers of Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgarians, living in Macedonia were murdered. That necessarily meant war. Moreover the silent and bloodless revolution by the Young Turks created an international situation as well. Austria became anxious about her position in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Greeks became anxious about the future status of the island of Crete. England became anxious about her position in Cyprus and in Egypt. The immediate result of the Turkish revolution was that Austria now formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina to her own dominions, and Bulgaria declared her complete independence of Turkey. Italy too who was looking out for a colony now attacked in 1911 the Turkish colony of Tripoly in northern Africa. This Italo-Turkish War lasted from 1911 to 1913. The Turks lost this colony. On the other hand, the Turkish atrocities in Macedonia, made the Greeks, the Serbs, and the Bulgarians forget all their mutual jealousies and rivalries. They now joined together in an alliance, and then issued an ultimatum to the Sultan, demanding self-government for Macedonia. When this was refused, war broke out in the Balkans in 1912. The Balkan allies, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, were successful everywhere, and Turkey was compelled to give up all her European territories, excepting Constantinople, and its adjoining districts. Turkey was also compelled to cede

the island of Crete to Greece. Having defeated the Turks, the next task of the allies was to divide the spoils. But in this they quarrelled. The responsibility for this quarrel, however, rested on the great powers. The Balkan Allies had before the outbreak of the war agreed on the partition of the spoils, Under this agreement Greece was to get Crete and Salonica. Bulgaria was to get the greater portion of Macedonia, and Serbia was to get the western parts right up to the shores of the Adriatic. But Austria and Italy were opposed to the idea of the Serbians becoming an Adriatic power. They, therefore, proposed to create in the west a new state of Albania which is inhabited mainly by Muslims. The other powers accepted the suggestion of Italy and Austria. But this decision of the powers upset the arrangements that had been agreed to by the Balkan allies. On the constitution of Albania, as a separate state, Serbia was denied the fulfilment of her ambition to have a seaport. She was condemned as before to be a landlocked country. She, therefore, sought a compensation elsewhere. She now wanted to have an outlet on the Aegean. But now Bulgaria refused to accommodate Serbia. On the other hand, Roumania had on the plea of a balance of power in the Balkans demanded from Bulgaria a strip of land from her north-eastern corner of the territory. Bulgaria refused the demands of Roumania also. Bulgaria claimed that the credit of driving the Turks out of Europe belonged mainly to her, and that she was entitled to get whatever territories she chose to take. This meant another war. So in 1913 broke out the Second Balkan War. In this war Bulgaria had to fight against Greece, Montenegro, Serbia and Roumania. This gave an opportunity to the Turks to win back some of what they had lost in 1912. Bulgaria was surrounded on all sides by enemies, and so she was defeated. Tsar Ferdinand of Bulgaria now sued for peace. The treaty signed at Bukharest gave some districts south of the Danube to Roumania, and allowed Greece, Montenegro and Serbia, to

annex most of Macedonia. These three states now nearly doubled their size. The Turkish province of Albania, half of whose people are Muslims, became an independent principality. Turkey also secured Adrianople and the districts around it. This treaty sowed the seeds of enmity between Bulgaria, and other Balkan states, and helped further to postpone a satisfactory solution of the Near Eastern Question.

The World War 1914-1918. Up to 1878 Great Britain had more or less played the role of a friend of Turkey. It was her policy to protect her against the aggressive designs of Russia. But after 1878 Germany too began to take interest in the affairs of Turkey. Under Kaiser William II, Germany managed to supplant Great Britain as the protector of the Ottoman Empire against Russia. The Kaisar paid two visits to Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909). The policy of Germany was to make a peaceful penetration of Asiatic Turkey. The fertile regions of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, thinly populated, and quite undeveloped, offered many opportunities for the investment of German capital, markets for German goods, and homes for the superfluous population of Germany. Economic exploitation was ro be followed by military and political control of the Turkish empire. All these dazzling possibilities were foreshadowed in the scheme for a railway intended to unite Constantinople with Baghdad and Basra, at the head of the Persian Gulf. By 1914 almost the whole of this line was completed as far as Baghdad. German capitalists had begun to construct branch lines through Syria and Palestine to Medina and Mecca. It was clear the Baghjad and the Hedgaz lines were a source of very great danger to the position of Great Britain in India, and they seriously affected the British control of Egypt and the Suez Canal. This railway line practically meant an annexation of Asiatic Turkey to Germany. About this time many

German writers began to talk of a "Middle Europe" consisting of European Turkey, Balkan States, Austria-Hungary, and Germany, united together for the purposes of offence and defence. This "Middle Europe" might ultimately draw within itself Holland, the Scandinavian state of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and in it might also be included Poland. This great combination together with Asiatic Turkey might form a big confederation under the presidency of Kaiser William II. The success of the "Middle Europe" project depended on the attitude of the independent Christian states of the Balkans. It was necessary that Russian influence should be entirely eliminated from these states, and that they should be controlled or influenced by Austria-Hungary or Germany. Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria was a German, King Charles I of Roumania belonged to the family of the Kaiser, and the wife of Constantine the Crown Prince of Greece was the sister of the Kaiser. The only obstacle in the way of the Balkan policy of Germany was Serbia. It had a pro-Austrian ruler till 1903 but when in that year King Peter ascended the Serbian throne, things changed, for he was a pro-Russian. It now became the effort of the central powers to get control over the Serbs Austria had already within her empire Serbs in Slavonia and Croatia, and she administered Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1878. When in 1908 a revolution broke out in Turkey, Austria at once annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina to her dominions. That brought within her empire a very large Serbian population. It was naturally not liked by the Serbs in Serbia. The action of Austria stood in the way of Serbian national aspirations. Since England and France did not join Russia, and the latter was very much exhausted by the Japanese War, the Czar gave way. The Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 produced another international crisis. The treaty of Bukharest which doubled the size of Serbia was very distasteful to the Central Powers. It left Germany's ally, Turkey,

with only a foothold in Europe. It humiliated Austsia's ally, Bulgaria, and it placed Serbia the enemy of Austria, right across Macedonia, blocking the "Middle Europe" scheme. Serbia was, therefore, to be removed out of the way. The Central Powers now began to look out for an opportunity. This opportunity soon came. On 28th June 1914, the Archduke, Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne was assassinated at Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The murderers, though Austrian subjects, belonged to a secret Serbian society, whose aim it was to separate Bosnia and Herzegovina from Austria and add them to Serbia. The Austrian government alleged that the murders had been aided by Serbian officials, with the connivance of the Serbian government. At length Austria declared War against Serbia. Russia took up the side of Serbia, and Germany sided with Austria. This resulted in a World War. As a result of this war, Serbia obtained a great extension of territories. She obtained Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and a portion of Carniola from Austria-Hungary. Albania was confirmed as an independent state. The rest of the Austro-Hungarian empire was split up into the three iedependent states of Austria, Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia. On the other hand, there was as a result of this war complete partition of the Turkish Empire. In 1829 she had lost Greece. Serbia and Roumania had become autonomous in 1829, and independent in 1878. Bulgaria became autonomous in 1878, and independent in 1908. Turkey was driven out of Tripoly in 1911, and out of Macedonia and Albania in 1912-13. As a result of the World War she further lost Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia. England became the protector of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia and France of Syria. Arabia, on the other hand, became entirely independent. Turkey is now confined entirely to Asia Minor in Asia. consisting of the old Roman provinces of Pontus, Asia, and Cilicia, and she also retains

the province of Thracia in Europe. With the exception of Thrace, the whole of south eastern Europe is now occupied by the Christian states of Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Roumania. There is one other state in the Balkans, that of Albania. How far these five states succeed in establishing stable conditions in the Balkans depends to a very great extent on the attitude of Italy, full of ambitions for the recovery of ancient Roman influence in the East. In the Asiatic portions of the old Turkish Empire, and in Egypt there is at present great amount of ferment. How far the different Arab states in Arabia, Iraq, Syria, and Palestine, establish stable conditions in this part of the Near East depends on the nature of Arab revivalist movement, and on the attitude of France and England.

Summary

1. *The Decline of the Turkish Empire, (1571—1683).* The growth and expansion of the Turkish Empire lasted till 1571. In that year her naval supremacy was overthrown by her defeat in the battle of Lepanto. After this the empire began to decay.

2. *The First Phase of the Near Eastern Question (1683—1792).* The first phase lasts from the last Turkish attack on Vienna in 1683 to the establishment of a Republic in France in 1792. During this period the European powers assumed the aggressive, and the Turkish Empire had to fight on the defensive. During this period the Venetians took possession of Morea (1684—1699), and the Austrians took possession of Hungary and Transylvania in 1699. About this time Russia also appeared on the scene. Peter the Great first took possession of Azov in 1696, which was finally annexed to Russia in 1739. During the Russo-Turkish War, (1768—1774), Russia annexed several districts belonging to the Turks on the northern and eastern shores of the Black Sea. In 1775 Austria seized Bukovina, in between Moldavia and Transylvania. In 1783 Russia annexed the territories of the Khan of Crimea, who was feudatory of the Sultan of Turkey. In 1787 Russia declared war against Turkey, and Austria also joined Russia. But soon after broke out the French Revolution, and Austria had to withdraw from the war against Turkey. When peace was signed between Russia and Turkey in 1792, Turkey lost Crimea, and all the territories in the northern shores of the Black Sea. This closed the first phase.

3. *The Second Phase of the Near Eastern Question, (1804—1919).* During this period the different Christian nations living in European Turkey and the non-Turkish peoples living in Asiatic Turkey became independent.

Peoples	Autonomous	Independent
1. The Serbians	1820	1878.
2. The Greeks		1829.
3. The Roumanians	1829	1878.
4. The Bulgarians	1878	1908.
5. Tripoly lost in		1911.
6. Egypt	1833	1914.
7. Palestine lost in		1919.
8. Syria lost in		1919.
9. Mesopotamia lost in		1919.
10. Hedjaz lost in		1919.

All these different territories were lost in the Greek War of Independence, Crimean War, the Russo-Turkish War, the Turko-Italian War, the Balkan Wars, and the Great European War. From after the conclusion of the World War, the Turks are confined only to Asia Minor, where the population is now almost entirely Turkish.

CHAPTER XIX

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Mediaeval and Modern Industrial Systems. Imagine what present day civilisation would be like without machines and factories, without railways, steamships, or motor cars, without telegraphs, telephones or wireless, without newspapers, without cinemas, and without agricultural machines, and then it would be possible to understand what changes the Industrial Revolution has brought about in this world. But for the Industrial revolution, people should have still travelled in a stage-coach, *rath*, on horse back, or on a slow-moving sailing boat, their clothes would have been of "home-spun" cloth. woven from yarn spun on the good old *charkha*, or a spinning wheel, and our workmen might have still been scattered about in their village homes, and not concentrated in the big factories and mills gathered together in the cities. Industrial Revolution has not only revolutionised the methods of manufacturing goods, but it has also brought about a radical change in the structure of society and in the very outlook of life. The modern civilisation is in fact a product of the Industrial Revolution.

What led to Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution originated in Great Britain. England began to trade with India from the time of Jahangir (1605-1627). Trade concessions granted to the British merchants by the Moghuls increased enormously the commercial activities of England. Large quantities of cotton cloth were exported from India to England. At that time British Textile workers worked mainly in wool or flax. Afterwards some

cotton cloth also began to be manufactured, for cotton cloth was in these days more fashionable. The manufacturers of woollen cloth were able to induce the parliament to put heavy duties on the import of cotton cloth. This proved a good protection to the manufacturers of cotton cloth in England. From that time cotton textile Industry began to increase by leaps and bounds in England. The wars of Arcot in South India, the battle of Plassey in Bengal in 1757, and the Seven Years' War had in the middle of the 18th century given large and extensive territories to England in India and in America. The possession of these large and extensive countries increased immensely the commercial activities of the English people. After 1763, English trade in the markets of the world grew by leaps and bounds. English traders and merchants now became very rich with the result that there was now a large amount of surplus capital in England. The enormous demand for British goods in its turn induced the British capitalist to turn to mass production. Hence arose the necessity for large scale factories and mills. This necessity for mass production stimulated the mechanical genius of British artisans, and so produced the era of the great inventions. That the soil of England was favourable for Industrial Revolution was another reason. Her damp climate proved to be very favourable to the manufacture of textiles, her swift streams supplied abundant water power for machinery, and beneath her soil there lay inexhaustible stores of coal and iron. There were other favourable circumstances also in favour of England. Industry in that country was less fettered by guild restrictions, and she had a larger merchant marine for the transport of her goods across the seas. The struggles with Spain in the sixteenth century, with Holland in the seventeenth century, and with France in the eighteenth century, had resulted in the naval supremacy of Great Britain.

The Great Inventions Necessity is the mother of invention. Man has advanced from the lowest savagery to the height of civilisation mostly through invention. In

ancient times, he slowly discovered how to supplement hands and feet and teeth and nails by the use of tools. From the ordinary simple tool, it was a forward step to the machine which when supplied with muscular energy, only needed to be directed by man to do the work. But the best kind of machine is that which is driven not by manual labour, but by stored up forces of nature, such as wind, waterfall, steam, gas, or electricity. In pre-historic times tools and machines consisted of implements first made of stone, and then of metal. Levers, rollers, and wedges; bows and arrows, slings and lassos; oars, sails, and rudders; fishing nets, lines, and hooks: the plow and the wheeled cart; the needle, bellows, and the potter's wheel; the distaff, and the spinning wheel, and the hand-loom; are all tools and machines of ancient times. In the Middle Ages Europe produced no inventions. It was only towards the end of the Middle Ages that gun-powder, the mariner's compass, paper, and movable type reached Europe from Asia. More progress took place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which produced the telescope, microscope, thermometer, clocks and watches run by weights, and saw mills driven by wind or water, and the wheelbarrow. But still during all this period manufacturing, transportation, communications and agriculture continued to be carried on in the same old manner.

Changes in Textile Industry. The revolution in manufacturing first began with the textile industry. Old fashioned spinning was a slow and laborious process. The wool, flax, or cotton, having been fastened to a stick called the distaff was twisted by hand into yarn or thread and wound upon a spindle. Long afterwards, the Charkha or the spinning wheel long known in India, was in the 14th century introduced into Europe. Weaving was in olden times done on the hand-loom, a wooden frame to which vertical threads, "the warp", were attached. Horizontal threads, "the woof", were then inserted

by means of an enlarged needle or shuttle. The first improvement in this textile industry was made by John Kay in 1738, when the "flying shuttle" was invented. This enabled the operator to jerk the shuttle back and forth by means of a cord, without the aid of an assistant. This device not only saved labour, but also doubled the speed, and now cloth began to be woven very quickly. The demand for yarn and thread now exceeded the supply. It was, therefore, necessary to have a better spinning wheel. At length in 1764 James Hargreaves, a poor workman of Lancashire in northern England, patented a machine, called "the spinning jenny". It was a very simple machine operated by a hand wheel, but it carried at first eight spindles, which meant that it could spin eight threads simultaneously. Five years later, Richard Arkwright, a barber, perfected another spinning machine which could work by water power. So it was called "water frame". It was patented in 1769. In this machine the cotton was drawn out by rollers to the requisite fineness, and was then twisted into threads by revolving spindles. Ten years later in 1779, Crompton combined the essential features of the Hargreaves and Arkwright machines into what became popularly known as "the mule" because of its hybrid origin. These three inventions again upset the balance in the textile industry, for the spinners could now produce more thread and yarn than the weavers could weave into cloth. So in 1785, there came an invention which revolutionized weaving. Edmund Cartwright, an English clergyman constructed a loom with an automatic shuttle, which could be operated by water power. These inventions enormously increased the output of cloth. Now both spinners and weavers needed for the new machinery an abundant supply of raw material. They now began to import large quantities of cotton from outside. In 1794, Eli Whitney, an American patented a cotton gin, which separated very rapidly the seeds

from the cotton fibres. Cotton manufacture soon became the leading industry of England.

The Steam Power. So far the machines were either worked by hand, or by the power of wind or of water. But towards the close of the 18th century another force of nature began to be employed. The expansive power of steam was known in olden times, but it was not utilized in industry. As early as 1705, Newcomen had invented a steam engine called "fire engine." It was used to pump out water from the mines. James Watt, a Scotchman of mechanical genius, patented an improved steam pump in 1769, and he subsequently adapted his engine to propel machinery for spinning and weaving. In 1785, it began to be used in factories.

The Age of Coal & Iron. The nineteenth century has very often been called the Age of Coal and Iron. The growing use of machinery called for an increased production of iron. Northern and north-central parts of England contained vast deposits of iron ore, but until the latter part of the 18th century they had been little worked. But when on the introduction of heavy machinery demand for iron became very great, improved methods of smelting with coal and coke by means of blast furnace began to be employed. After 1850, steel began to be manufactured on a large scale. Steel is now the mainstay of modern industry. The manufacture of iron and the operation of the new machinery required an abundant and cheap fuel. Coal had in England long been burned in small quantities for domestic purposes. It was then applied to the steam engine, and then in the blast furnace for melting iron. It was found that this coal was a boundless source of power and heat. Various improvements in mining cheapened its production. One of the most important inventions in this connection was the Safety Lamp prepared by Sir Humphry Davy in 1815. This lamp protected the

miners against the deadly fire damp and thus allowed the most dangerous mines to be worked with comparative safety. Great Britain furnished nearly all the coal until the middle of the nineteenth century. After this coal has begun to be produced in France, Germany and the United States of America as well.

The Effects of the Great Inventions. These great inventions not only substituted machine labour for hand labour, but also did much to separate labour from capital. In the Middle Ages no such separation was possible. A master who belonged to a craft guild purchased his raw materials, at the city market, or at a fair, manufactured them at his own house assisted by the members of his family, and a few journeymen and apprentices. He himself sold the finished article to the person who had ordered it. This system of industry was known by the name of guild system. Under this system, the workman supplied his own tools, worked upon his own capital and sold his goods himself. Towards the close of the Mediæval period, the growing exclusiveness of the craft guilds prevented many apprentices and journeymen from ever becoming masters. Consequently workers often left the city and settled in the country or in the villages, where there were no guild restrictions. This gave rise to what in England came to be known by the name of the domestic system of industry. Under this system a middle man with some capital purchased a supply of raw cotton, and distributed it to the spinners and weavers to convert it into cloth on their own spinning wheels and handlooms. They worked at home and in this way made some income. It is clear that under this domestic system the middleman provided the raw materials, took all the risks, and received all the profits. The workers on the other hand had to accept such wages and labour upon such conditions as he was willing to offer. The separation of labour and capital,

which thus began under the domestic system, became complete under the factory system. The machines made by Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton, and Cartwright, were too expensive for a single family to own. They were too large and heavy for use in private houses, and they needed water power or steam power to operate them. The consequence was that the domestic labourer abandoned his household industry and went with hundreds of others to work in a mill or factory. The capitalist employer now not only provided the raw materials, and disposed of the finished products, but he also owned the machinery and the workshop. The factory system introduced a minute division of labour into industry, for in a factory each operator turns out only a single part of a complete thing. This made the operator unfit to manufacture any complete thing, and thus entirely dependent on the factory. The machinery, the factory system and the division of labour, made it possible to manufacture on a large scale and in enormous quantities. The Industrial Revolution soon changed the face of Great Britain. Instead of farms, hamlets, and an occasional small town, there now appeared great cities, crowded with workers, who had left their rural homes, to seek employment in factories. The movement of population was specially towards the north, and north-west, where there were many streams to furnish water power and abundant supplies of coal and iron. On the continent of Europe, the Industrial Revolution came on a little later. This was due partly to the fact that on the Continent the guilds were able to offer a much stronger opposition. But the chief reason lay in the fact that France and Germany were too exhausted by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. It was only after 1815, that the rest of Europe began to pay some attention to industries. Towards the close of the nineteenth century, the industrial supremacy of England began to be threatened by Germany and by the United States of America. In the twentieth century the industrial supremacy of Europe has begun to be questioned by Japan.

Improvements in Transportation. Civilised man until the Industrial Revolution continued to use the same old conveyance which had been invented in the pre-historic times. Man still travelled and transported goods on horseback, in litters, on wheeled carts, in rowing boats, or in sailing boats. Various improvements introduced the sedan Chair, the stage coach, and large ocean going ships. But the chief motive power continued to be the human or animal muscles or the wind. In western Europe the roads were little more than track ways either deep with mud, or dusty, or full of ruts. Passengers in stage coaches seldom made more than fifty miles a day, while heavy goods had to be carried either on pack horses or on boats in the rivers. When towards the close of the eighteenth century, the introduction of machinery brought about the production of immense quantities of goods there arose the need for cheap and rapid transport. The turnpike system which allowed the levy of tolls for the use of roads, encouraged the investment of capital by private companies in these undertakings. It was not long before Telford (1757-1834) and Macadam (1756-1836) and other engineers covered the entire country with well-bottomed, well-drained, and well surfaced highways. In olden times when transportation on land was difficult and expensive, people in ancient and middle ages used to send their goods by rivers. Towards the close of the mediæval period canals began to be constructed, and they began to be used for the transport of goods. Afterwards when it was found that steam engines could propel machines in the factories, locomotive engines for transport purposes began also to be constructed. Wooden and iron rails had long been used in mines and quarries to enable horses to draw heavy loads with ease. A horse car line had been opened in the suburbs of London as early as 1803. The earliest successful steamboat appears to have been a tug built in Scotland for towing canal boats. Robert Fulton (1765-1815), an American engineer

who had lived in England and in France, adapted this Scottish steamboat to river navigation. His *Clermont* equipped with a Watt engine, began in 1708 to make regular trips on the Hudson between New York and Albany. Twelve years later an American vessel provided with both sails and a steam engine crossed the Atlantic in 29 days. The first ship to cross without using sails was the *Great Western*, which it did in 15 days in 1838. In the meantime, George Stephenson, profiting by the experiments of others, produced in 1814, a successful locomotive engine, for hauling coal from the mine to tide-water. He improved his model and eleven years later secured its adoption on the Stockton Darlington Railway, the first railway line over which passengers and goods were carried by steam power. Stephenson also built the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. This Railway was opened in 1830, and his famous engine *Rocket* first travelled on this Railway line. After the middle of the nineteenth century, the construction of railways began on a very extensive scale. The Alps were first crossed by a railway line in 1854, the north American continent was first crossed by an iron rail road in 1869, and the trans-Siberian Railway was built in 1900. Since then western Europe and the United States are now covered with a net-work of railway lines. In Italy, Austria, Russia, Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium, the railways are State-owned. In France they were built by private companies, but they revert to the State when the original period of license expires. In Great Britain and in the United States of America, the railway lines were nationalized during the Great War. In India, too all the railway lines, which first began to be constructedin 1853, are being nationalized. In modern times from the eighties of the last century, railway trains have begun to be moved by electricity, instead of steam. From about the beginning of the present century, gas or internal combustion engines have made it possible to use motor lorries on ordinary

macadamised roads. All this has made travelling easy and rapid. Goods can now be carried to the most distant parts of the world with the greatest ease and with the least amount of risk.

Improved Communications. Transportation of immense quantities of goods has brought about a marvellous increase in trade and commerce. Most distant parts of the world are now connected by friendly intercourse of commerce. It was, therefore, now necessary to have more rapid means of communications. Scientists in the eighteenth century were familiar with the idea of using electricity for the purpose of communicating at a distance. But it was not till 1830 that Samuel F. B. Morse (1791-1872) an American citizen constructed a practical apparatus for the purpose of communicating. He devised the "Morse alphabet." Thus was telegraph invented. The telegraph found an immediate application on the railways and in the transmission of government messages. Later on it began to be used by the business world. The next problem was to carry telegraph wires across the seas. Experiments soon showed that wire cords, protected by wrappers of gutta percha, would conduct the current under water. The first cable was laid in 1851, from Dover to Calais. A cable was first laid across the Atlantic in 1856. The next developments were the invention of telephone and wireless telegraphy. All this has made communications very rapid. We can now talk right around the globe and carry on conversation between two distant places. But the ordinary day to day routine correspondence had still to be carried on by means of letters. Although regular postal service under government management existed in Europe as early as the 17th century, it was a very slow, expensive, and little used service. Postal stamps were unknown, pre-payment of postage was considered an insult, and the rates increased according to the distance. In 1840, however, revolutionary changes were

made in the postal system. Sir Rolland Hill (1795-1879) proved that the expense of a letter did not vary appreciably with the distance it was carried. So it was mainly due to his efforts that the penny postage was at last introduced in 1840 in England. The delivery of letters has been enormously simplified and accelerated by the development of railways, steamships, and air-ships. These postal reforms soon spread to the Continent and to the United States of America, and everywhere it led to a greatly increased use of the mails. The Postal Service now is a necesity of civilised life.

Weekly and daily newspapers had also begun to appear in the 17th century, but they were luxuries reserved for subscribers of the upper and middle classes. The cheap newspaper for the masses is a product of the Industrial Revolution. The 'London Times' first established its steam printing press in 1814. A paper making machine, which produced wide sheets of unlimited length, came into use soon after. To these inventions was added the lino-type machine. This machine has largely superseded composing by hand. All these inventions have brought into existence a cheap newspaper, which has become a very powerful force for moulding public opinion.

Commercial Expansion. In the middle ages many restrictions were put on the exchange of goods. But after the French Revolution these restrictions have one by one disappeared. The burdensome tolls imposed by feudal lords on transport and travel could no longer be exacted when feudalism itself had died out. The principle of free navigation was extended to include important international rivers, and inland seas. A movement also began to reduce the high duties levied by every European nation on imports and exports. In the forties of the last century England took off all protective duties on the import of foreign goods, and it levied no duties on the export of goods. In 1846 all laws concerning the levy of import duties on foreign corn were repealed. This free-trade

movement soon spread to the continent, and it led everywhere to the lowering of the tariff walls. But in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, France, Germany, and other countries on the continent, returned to the policy of protection, for they thought that by means of protective tariff walls, they could build up their "infant industries" for supplying the needs of the home market, and even for competing with Great Britain in the foreign markets of the world. The United States of America also follows a policy of protection. But the tremendous expansion of commerce which has followed the improvements in transportation and communication has revolutionised commercial methods. Macadamised roads, inland and ship canals, ocean steamships, and railways have reduced freights to a fraction of what they used to be. On the other hand, the telephone, cheap postage, and the newspaper have made possible the rapid spread of information relating to crops and markets. This has caused a colossal increase in the commercial activities in the world. There is now so steady a flow of commodities from producers through wholesale merchants and retail dealers to consumers that the old system of weekly markets and annual fairs has now become entirely obsolete. The organisation of commerce is now entirely changed. In place of the old system we have now big produce exchanges for the trade in wheat, cotton, wool, sugar, oil, etc., and stock exchanges for buying and selling the stocks and bonds of corporations. Modern insurance companies also perform a valuable service in the organisation of commerce.

Commercial Organisation. Commerce is nowadays facilitated to a very great extent by commercial banks. A commercial bank attracts the deposits of many persons, and thereby gains control of enormous sum of money, which is made available for loans to manufacturers und merchants. The banks do not increase the amount of capital in a community, but they help to put it at the disposal of

active business men. In other words the banks make capital *fluid*. Moreover bank cheques, drafts, and foreign bills of exchange provide a cheap and elastic substitute for money. They can make the discharge of a large volume of indebtedness possible, without the actual transfer of cash. The earliest mediæval banks were the private establishments of moneyed men in Italian cities. Venice and Genoa subsequently founded public or state banks, and during 17th and 18th centuries similar institutions arose in many other European countries. The Bank of England received its charter in 1694. The Bank of France was created by Napoleon Bonaparte, and the Imperial Bank of Germany came into existence in 1876. All these great European banks have the privilege of issuing currency notes which circulate in place of gold. But in spite of the extensive use of cheques and bank notes, the growth of commerce continues to absorb immense quantities of gold. The mines of Alaska, California, Australia, India, South Africa, and other countries have so far continued to supply the increased demand for gold.

Agriculture and Land Tenure. In mediæval times agricultural operations were carried on by the old "open field" system. Lands were kept fallow for a number of years so as to enable them to recoup the strength. Agricultural methods were very backward, and the yield was consequently very scanty. Improvements in agricultural methods first took place in Holland. The Dutch learned to cultivate their small territory according to scientific methods, and from them English farmers borrowed many secrets of tillage. More diligent manuring, the shifting or rotation of crops from field to field so that the soil would not have to be left uncultivated every third year, and the introduction of new crops, such as turnips, clover, and rye, all helped to transform English agriculture by the close of the 18th

century. The "open field" system of cultivation, whereby the same person tilled many strips in different parts of the manor, was so wasteful of time and labour, that mediæval farmers began to surrender their scattered strips for compact holdings which could be enclosed by hedges or fences and operated independently. This inclosure movement continued in western Europe all through the modern period, until in the 19th century the old common cultivation of the soil had been practically abandoned in favour of individual tillage. Inclosures meant better farming everywhere, but in Great Britain they did much to create the system of large estates. The lord of the manor, not satisfied with inclosing his own demesne land, often managed to inclose those of the peasants as well, and even the meadows and forests, which had been formerly enjoyed by them in common. In this way a large number of peasant proprietors were ruined. They found increased difficulty in obtaining means of livelihood. Many of them who formerly could live on their crops, and by grazing their sheep on the common lands, were now reduced to the position of landless labourers. In the beginning of the 19th century their position was deplorable. In France better conditions prevailed. In that country a considerable part of the agricultural land belonged to the peasant proprietors, even before the outbreak of the French Revolution. Their holdings were increased in the revolutionary period. That made the peasants prosperous and contented farmers. Peasant proprietorships are common in Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, northern Italy and western Germany. But in Prussia there are many large estates owned by country gentlemen. called Junkers. In Austria-Hungary, in Southern Italy, and in Spain also there are large estates. But as a consequence of the great European War there is again a movement in favour of peasant proprietorship. From the beginning of the 19th century, however, there have been great improvements in the methods of agriculture. Machinery now does the work of the

scythe, sickle, flail, and other implements. Machine now not only reaps the grain but threshes it, winnows it, and delivers it into sacks at a single operation. The use of cheap artificial fertilizers makes profitable the cultivation of poor lands formerly allowed to remain idle. The advance of engineering science has led to the reclamation of marshes and waste lands. At the present moment quite a revolution is going on in agriculture. Methods of mass production are now being employed. Every country is now trying to make itself not only agriculturally self-sufficient but it is also trying to export its agricultural produce to other countries.

The Labour Movements. The craft guild swhich were the prevailing system of industry in the middle ages gradually became obsolete after the industrial revolution. They were out of place in a world of whirling machinery, crowded factories, free competition, and the separation of labour from capital. In Great Britain few of these craft guilds survived the 18th century. In France they were put an end to by the National Assembly. In Germany they disappeared by the middle of the 19th century. But the place of craft guilds has in modern times been taken by trade unions. As contrasted with craft guilds, trade unions are combinations of only wage earners to improve the conditions under which they labour. These associations began to appear in Great Britain after 1700, especially after the domestic system gave way to the factory system. Under the new conditions of industry, an employer could not personally come into contact with many of his employees. At the same time, the workers in any establishment or trade, being thrown more closely together came to realise their common interests and to appreciate the need for organisation. Their relations henceforth tended to become cold-blooded and impersonal. The formation of these unions at once encountered opposition at the hands of the employers. The customary law of England treated these unions as conspiracies in restraint

of trade, and so they were declared illegal. The employers used their influence in parliament to secure the passage of a long series of acts designed to prevent what was styled "unlawful combinations of workmen." The last of these Acts passed in 1800 provided rigorous imprisonment for those who combined with others to raise wages, shorten hours of work, or in any way control the conditions of industry. This led to a great amount of agitation by the trade unions. At length in 1825 all the Combination Acts were repealed, and they were replaced by a new and a more liberal statute. Under the new law, the labourers could now lawfully meet together for the purpose of agreeing on the rate of wages or the number of hours which they could work as long as the agreement concerned only those who were present at the meeting. Finally, the Trade Union Act of 1875 declared that nothing done by a group of labourers should be considered illegal unless it was illegal when done by a single person. This Act gave to the workers the full right of combination for which they had been striving for long. This Act is called the Magna Charta of Trade Unionism. In recent years the Trade Unions of Great Britain have made immense progress. They also exist in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and other countries of Europe and America. They are mostly modelled after the British organizations. The working men or the continent of Europe, however, rely for improvement in their condition upon State action rather than on collective bargaining with their employers. Along with the growth of the trade union movement, there has been a growth in the co-operative movement. This movement also started in Great Britain. Large number of societies are formed by working men. The members of these societies can purchase goods at a much lower price than what is charged in the market. The profits of these societies are distributed among the members. Such societies have helped very much to reduce the expenditure of

the labouring classes. But trade unionism and co-operation are not the only things which can improve the lot of working men. Much depends on the State. The development of the factory system of industry soon showed that the protection of the State was necessary for the workmen, who were entirely at the mercy of the capitalistic employers.

State Regulation of industry. Philanthropic people in England soon began to realise that government regulation of industry was necessary in the interests of the helpless workman. It was discovered that the factories were crowded and insanitary. Hours of labour were too long. Wages were on the starvation level. Furthermore the use of machinery encouraged the employment of women and children, for whose labour there had been previously little demand outside the family home. Their excessive toil amid unhealthy surroundings often developed disease and deformity or brought about premature death. The lot of the labourers in these factories was worse than that of the slaves. These evils first became prominent in Great Britain, the birth place of Industrial Revolution. At first nothing was done to remedy this state of affairs. The labourers possessed no political influence and the statesmen adopted the policy of *laissez-faire* or "let alone" policy. They thought it was desirable for the State to keep its hands off industry. It was believed that the greatest good to the greatest number could only be secured when "economic laws" of supply and demand were allowed to determine the wages and conditions of employment, just as they determined the prices, quantity, and quality of goods produced. This policy of "let alone" therefore became the watchword of selfish employers. But humane politicians soon came to the relief of the poor workmen. Sir Robert Peel succeeded in securing the enactment in 1802 of the first British factory Act, by which it became unlawful to engage for employment

of pauper children under 9 years of age. This law restricted their hours of work to 12 a day and forbade night work in cotton factories. After this, regular propaganda was made in favour of the labouring classes. At length in 1833, a law applicable to all cotton factories was passed which provided for their regular inspection by public officials. Government regulation of industry now began to become a reality. Mines, bakeries, laundries, docks, retail and wholesale shops, and many other establishments were gradually brought under control. These laws now not only restrict the hours of work for children and women but also for men. They require employers to instal safety appliances in their factories, and to take all other precautions necessary for the preservation of the lives, limbs, and health of their employees. On the continent labour legislation was first started by Bismarck, the great Chancellor of Germany. In America State legislation has not been employed to a very large extent for the control of industry.

Summary

1. *Mediæval and Modern Industrial Systems.* In the middle ages there were no machines worked by power, and so there were no factories. In those days there were no railways, steamships, or motor-cars, telephones, wireless, newspapers, and cinemas. All this has been the result of Industrial Revolution. In the middle ages travelling was very slow, and there were very few cities, the population being scattered in villages. This has brought about a complete reconstruction of society.

2. *What led to Industrial Revolution.* It originated in Great Britain. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, Great Britain had been engaged in trade with India. English traders became rich by Indian trade, and they had now surplus money, which could be invested in industries. There was great demand for British goods. Hence arose the necessity for mass production. England was quite suitable for textile industry, because it possesses a damp climate, has a very large number of waterfalls, and has under its soil inexhaustible mines of coal and iron.

3. *The Great Inventions.* In ancient times the tools and implements were used mostly by hand, and were later on worked partly by water power and partly by wind power. It was only towards the end of the middle ages that inventions and discoveries began to be made. But throughout the middle ages manufacturing, transportation, and agriculture, continued to be carried on in the same old manner.

4. *Changes in the Textile Industry.* In olden times spinning was done by means of a distaff. Spinning wheel was introduced in Europe in the 14th century. The flying shuttle was introduced in 1738, spinning jenny in 1764, water frame in 1769, and the mule in 1779. A loom with automatic shuttle which could be worked with water power was invented in 1785. In 1794 was invented a machine for separating seed from cotton fibres.

5. *The Steam Power.* Steam began to be used in industry from the close of the 18th century. A steam engine called the "fire engine" was invented as early as 1705. It was used to pump out water from the mines. An improved steam engine was patented by James Watt in 1769. It began to be used in factories in 1785.

6. *The Age of Coal and Iron.* Iron mines were worked very little in England till the latter part of the 18th century, After 1850 steel began to be manufactured in England. Coal too was in olden times very little used in England. It began to be used in connection with the smelting of iron. Formerly there used to be many deaths in the mines, but since the invention of the Davy's Safety Lamp the working of the coal mines has become safe.

7. *The Effects of the Great Inventions.* The inventions not only substituted machine labour for hand labour, but they also separated labour from capital. Towards the close of the middle ages, the craft guilds had become very exclusive, and they did not allow apprentices and journeymen to become masters. So a large number of skilled workmen left the cities and established their shops in the villages, where guild restrictions did not apply. Thus began the domestic system of industry. When as a result of Indian trade, there grew in England a class of capitalists who had surplus capital, they began to purchase raw cotton and distribute it among the spinners and weavers in the countryside, for the purpose of converting it into cloth. In this domestic system of industry, the middleman provided the raw material, took all the risks, and received all the profits. The workers accepted such wages as were offered to them Thus labour was separated from capital. This separation was completed in the factory system. The machines invented in the 18th century were beyond the means of the

labourers. The result was that hundreds of labourers now left their domestic industries and came to work in the mills and factories. The capitalist employer now not only supplied the raw materials, but he also disposed of the finished product and also owned the machinery as well as workshop. Factory system of industry changed the entire face of the country. Instead of farms, hamlets, and occasional small towns, there now grew up big cities crowded with workers. Industrial revolution began in England a little later, for up to 1815 the other European countries were engaged in war. In the 20th century Japan too has been industrialised.

8. *Improvements in Transportation.* In the middle ages man travelled either on foot, or he went about on horseback. Wheeled carts and rowing or sailing boats were also used. In western Europe there hardly existed any roads, and even in a stage coach one could hardly cover 50 miles in a day. It was only in the beginning of the 19th century that macadamised roads were constructed. The earliest steamboat seems to have been built in 1807. In 1814 George Stephenson produced a successful locomotive engine. In 1830 the Liverpool Manchester Railway line was constructed and his locomotive engine the "Rocket" first travelled on this railway. The Alps were first crossed by a railway in 1854, the North American continent was first crossed in 1866, and Trans-Siberian Railway was completed in 1900. Since then the whole of western Europe and North America have been covered with a net-work of railways. The railway line was first constructed in India in 1853,

9. *Improved Communications.* The Great inventions of the 18th century increased immensely the industrial output, and this brought about a great increase in commerce. So a demand arose for rapid communications. In 1830 the telegraph was invented by Morse. In 1840 were introduced the penny postage, and in 1851 the cable was laid across the English Channel. It was laid across the Atlantic in 1866. Tne Post Office, the Telegraph, the Telephone, and the Wireless, have now brought the most distant parts of the world into intimate touch with one another. The Newspaper first began in the 17th century, and now it possesses a tremendous power in all the civilised countries.

10. *Commercial Expansion* In the middle ages many restrictions were imposed on the exchange of goods. Heavy duties were imposed on the import and export of commodities. But after the French Revolution these restrictions began to be gradually removed. England became a pure free trading country after 1846. This free trade movement soon spread to other countries in Europe. But towards the end of the

19th century, the continental countries went back towards a policy of protection. The idea was to protect infant industries. This policy has not only enabled these countries to supply their own home markets, but also to enter into competition with England in foreign markets. The United States of America and Japan also follow the policy of protection. Improvements in communications have increased immensely the commerce of the world. So the old system of weekly markets and fairs have become absolute. We have now in their place produce exchanges, and stock exchanges and insurance companies.

11. *Commercial Organization.* Modern commerce is in these days helped a good deal by banks. These banks attract the deposit of money from many persons, and then makes it available as loans to merchants and manufacturers. In this way money becomes fluid. These banks were first started in Italy. Money is now exchanged through these banks, not in the shape of cash, but in the form of cheques and bills of exchange. But still the growth of commerce absorbs large quantities of gold, which is obtained from the mines of Alaska, California, Australia, India, and South Africa.

12. *Agriculture and Land Tenure.* In olden times agricultural operations were carried on by the open field system which was very wasteful. Improvements in agricultural methods first took place in Holland. English farmers borrowed these new methods from Holland. Later on this open field system gave place to Inclosure system. Large areas began to be inclosed by the landlords. In this way a large number of peasant proprietors lost their lands. England has since then become a land of large landed proprietors. But in France, Belgium, Holland, Western Germany, Switzerland and northern Italy, peasant proprietors are still very common. In Prussia, Austria, Hungary, Southern Italy, and Spain, there are found large landed proprietors. From the beginning of the 19th century great improvements have been made in the methods of agriculture. Machinery has now begun to be employed in agriculture as well. Methods of mass production have begun to be applied here as well. This has brought about an agricultural revolution.

13. *The Labour Movement.* After industrial revolution, the mediæval craft guilds have become obsolete. They have now been replaced by Trade Unions, which consist only of wage earners. They aim at ameliorating the conditions of the workers. They have from the beginning encountered opposition from the employers. At first many Acts were passed by the British Parliament to stop the

activities of these trade unions which were declared unlawful. But later on legislation was undertaken in favour of the labourers. In 1875, all restrictions on the activities of the trade unions were removed. This trade union movement also first began in England. Later on it spread to other countries. In continental countries, however, the trade unions depend more on state assistance than on their own efforts.

14. *State Regulation of Industry*. Philanthropic men in England soon realised the necessity of the state coming to the assistance of the helpless labourers. At first the state believed in the policy of *laissez faire*, but from 1802 the state has begun to undertake factory legislation for the protection of the labourer. This policy of state regulation of industry was started in Germany by Bismark.

CHAPTER XX

PROGRESS OF NATIONALISM IN ITALY, AND GERMANY

Obstacles to Italian Unity.

In middle ages and in modern times, Lombards, Franks, Arabs, the Greeks, Normans, Germans, French, Spaniards and Austrians, have all in turns ruled in Italy. It was the settled policy of the Popes to keep Italy divided, so that the Papal territories should not become dependent on secular powers. Moreover from the very ancient times the Italians preserved the traditions of small and separate city-states, ruled either by self-governing communities or by despots. Florence, Genoa, and Venice, were city states which enjoyed full independence. In this way Italy remained divided right up to the times of the Napoleonic wars. During the ascendency of Napoleon Bonaparte, although Italy was conquered by the French, yet almost the whole of Italy was united under one flag, and it now began to enjoy common laws, and a common system of administration. This brought to Italy a unity which she had never experienced for many centuries.

Nationalism in Italy 1789-1848.

National ideas were first imported into Italy by the French revolutionaries. Napoleon Bonaparte, who was himself of Italian parentage, by forming a " kingdom of Italy " and by annexing the Papal States to his Italian dominions, turned the thoughts of the Italians towards unity and freedom. But on the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1814, the kingdom of Italy also collapsed. Italy was again divided into a number of independent states. We have already seen that after 1815, several attempts were made by the Italian

nationalists to free their country of the Austrian yoke, and, unite all the different Italian independent states under one national government. But they failed in 1821, they failed again in 1830, and they failed once again in 1848. It seemed as if Italian unity was impossible.

Mazzini 1805-1872 It was during the ascendency of Napoleon Bonaparte, that a great national leader arose in Italy. Joseph Mazzini was born in 1805, and was a native of Genoa. He was the son of a physician, who was also a university professor. It was after the failure of the revolution of 1821, that Mazzini became conscious of his mission in life. In the beginning the inclinations of Mazzini were all towards a literary life, but he soon abandoned it for political agitation. He joined the *Carbonari*, not because he approved of their methods, but because they were a revolutionary organization. As a member of this secret organization of the Carbonaries, he was arrested in 1830. He was imprisoned in the fortress of Savona, and released after six months. He was then forced to leave the country, and live the life of an exile, in France, Switzerland, and England. After his release from prison in 1831, he founded a society, "Young Italy". The Carbonari had lead two revolntions of 1821, and of 1830, and had failed. He disliked that organization, because it had anly a destructive programme. He thought that a political organization should not merely be a body of conspirators, but it must also be educative, proselytising, seeking to win Italians by its moral and intellectual fervour to an idealistic view of life, and a self-sacrificing sense of duty. In this new society, "Young Italy", only those who were below forty years in age were to be admitted to membership. His appeal was particularly to the young. With Mazzini the liberation and unification of Italy was a new religion, appealing to the loftiest emotions, entailing complete sacrifice, complete absorption in the ideal, and the young

people were to be the apostles of this new religion. These young men were to lead a missionary life. He told them to travel, to bear from land to land, from village to village, the torch of liberty, to expound its advantages to the people, and to establish and consecrate the cult. He told them to climb the mountains and share the humble food of the labourer, to visit the workshop and the artisans, to speak to them of their rights, of the memories of their past glories, of their former commerce, to recount to them the endless oppression of which they were ignorant, because no one took it upon himself to reveal it. He urged the members of the Young Italy society not to quail before the horrors of torture, and imprisonment, that might await them in the holy cause, Mazzini was a dauntless leader, a man of purity of life, a man of imagination, of poetry, of audacity, gifted moreover with a marvellous command of persuasive language. The response was overwhelming. Garibaldi also joined this society. The programme of this party was clear and emphatic. First Austria must be driven out. That was the first thing to be done. He asked Italians not to rely on the aid of foreign governments, upon diplomacy, but upon their own unaided strength. He argued Austria could not stand against a nation of twenty millions fighting for their rights. At a time when the obstacles seemed insuperable, when only few Italians dreamed of unity, even as an ultimate ideal, Mazzini declared that it was a practical ideal. It is a fact that he succeeded in imparting his burning faith to multitudes of others. His life was a long apostolate devoted to the preaching of the true gospel. His writings thrilled with confidence and hope. Mazzini believed that Italy should have a republican form of government. He did not believe in federation. But when Mazzini's work passed from the realms of exhortation, of ideas, to practice, it proved ineffective. The Young Italy society attempted several insurrections, which were less important and

less successful than those conducted by the Carbonari. He himself lacked some of the qualities of practical leadership. He was dogmatic and intolerant. He underestimated the strength of the opposition. He was not successful as a man of action. But he is undoubtedly one of the makers of modern Italy. He and his society constituted a leavening, quickening force in the realm of ideas. Around them grew up a patriotism for a country that existed as yet only in imagination. He was a pionner in the field of political Risorgimento—resurrection. It was probably a result of his movement which led to the grant of constitutional reforms in Piedmont.

Garibaldi 1807-1882 Garibaldi was born in 1807, and was, therefore, like Mazzini, a Piedmontese subject. He was born in Nice which had been conquered by the French in 1807, but was restored to Piedmont in 1814. Destined by his parents for the priesthood, he preferred the sea, and for many years he lived a roving and adventurous sailor's life. It has already been stated that he joined Mazzini's Young Italy society at a very early stage. His military experience was chiefly in irregular, guerrilla fighting. He took part in the unsuccessful insurrection organized by Mazzini in Savoy in 1834, and as a result was condemned to death. But he managed to escape to South America where for the next fourteen years, he was an exile. Learning of the uprising of 1848, he returned to Italy, and immediately thousands of people flocked to his standard for the purpose of driving the Austrians out of the country. After the failure of that war he went in 1849 to Rome, to assume the military defence of the newly-formed republic. When the republic fell, he was again forced to seek refuge in America. He returned to his native country in 1854, and settled down as a farmer in the little island of Caprera. But the events of 1859, once more brought him out of his retirement. Again as a leader of volunteers, he plunged into a war against Austria

and immensely increased his reputation. He had become the idol of soldiers, and of all the adventurous spirits throughout the length and breadth of Italy. When in 1860 an insurrection broke out in the island of Sicily, he espoused the cause of the insurgents. Collecting a band of volunteers—the famous thousand—he sailed from Genoa on the 6th of May. King Victor Emmanuel II, and Cavour were in complete sympathy with the objects of Garibaldi's expedition, but dared not openly give him state assistance. Garibaldi waited for no permission, and he invaded Sicily. He was master of the island by the end of July. He then crossed over to the mainland, and marched on Naples. The Bourbone king Francis II fled from his capital and on this Garibaldi proclaimed himself dictator of Naples. After this Garibaldi wanted to march on Rome, which was at that time protected by a French garrison. That would have aroused a very grave international situation, which Cavour was not willing to face. So Victor Emmanuel himself proceeded southwards, and took the situation in his own hands. After this Garibaldi, refusing all rewards and honours. and with only a little money and with a bag of seed beans for his farm, sailed away to Caprera. He settled there once again as a farmer and lived up to 1882.

Victor Emmanuel II As a result of the agitation of the Young Italy Society there were several schemes for the unification of Italy. Some wanted unity under the presidency of the Pope, some under the presidency of the king of Sardinia. Some wanted the establishment of a republican form of government in Italy, and some wanted a unitary form of government to be established in that country. Some wanted a monarchy, while the others wanted a republic. But as has already been seen in the revolutionary wars of 1848, the royal family of the House of Savoy, ruling the kingdom of Sardinia, made

huge sacrifices in the cause of Italian unity. This brought all the different national groups in Italy together. It was found that the Pope was unwilling to take a lead in the national movement. Mazzini had failed in his attempt to set up a Roman republic at Rome. So gradually the nationalists belonging to the different groups turned to Victor Emmanuel II, king of Sardinia, for lead in the struggle for independence. Victor Emmanuel was a devoted Christian, and was also a thorough liberal. His father Charles Albert (1831—1849) had granted a constitution to the Sardinian kingdom. He maintained it in spite of Austrian protests. So Italian patriots of all kinds, Catholics, republicans, and constitutionalists, rallied round Victor Emmanuel II.

Camillo de Cavour 1810-1861 Victor Emmanuel II had a great minister in Count Cavour. He was a Piedmontese nobleman. He was born in 1810, and he was a man of culture. He knew England very well and he was a great admirer of the English system of free parliamentary government. He hated absolutism. On becoming Prime minister of Sardinia, he did his best to make the kingdom a strong and liberal state. He realized that in the coming struggle against Austria, Sardinia needed the aid and assistance of some foreign power. He turned to Napoleon III of France. The emperor Napoleon III seems to have felt a genuine sympathy for oppressed Italy. Moreover, he like his great uncle Napoleon Bonaparte wanted to win military glory on the battlefields of Italy. So in return for the duchy of Savoy and the port of Nice, he promised to help Sardinia in driving the Austrians across the Alps. Having struck this bargain, Cavour next began to look out for an opportunity to pick up a quarrel with Austria. By April 1859, Victor Emmanuel managed to involve himself in a war with Austria. The French forces at once came to the assistance of the

Piedmontese. The Austrians were defeated at Magneta, and on 8th June 1859, Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel II entered Milan. The Austrians were again defeated at Solferina on the 24th of June. But in the midst of these successes, Napoleon suddenly concluded a truce with Austria at Villafranca. By the treaty of peace that was signed, in 1859 at Zurich, Venetia was left in the hands of Austria, and Piedmont was asked to remain content with the addition of Lombardy. During the course of this war Napoleon had seen much to alarm him. He now began to fear that with the growing enthusiasm which was showing itself throughout Italy for the Piedmontese, there was danger that a united Italian kingdom might become strong enough to need no French protection in future, rather, on the other hand, it might become a source of danger to France itself on her south eastern flanks. So by leaving Venetia, in the hands of Austria, and by withdrawing his own helping hand for the future, Napoleon III thought he could prevent the consolidation of Italy from proceeding so far as to become dangerous to France.

Unification of Italy 1860-1861.

The next step in the unification of Italy was taken by the people of Central Italy unaided. In March 1860, the people of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, voted in favour of union with Piedmont. After that there was a revolution in the kingdom of the two Sicilies. Garibaldi a famous republication leader of Savoy, sailed for Sicily, where he assumed the dictatorship of the island, in the name of king Victor Emanuel II, whom he styled as the "king of Italy." After expelling the troops of the king of Italy from Sicily he crossed over to the mainland and early in September he entered Naples itself. Garibaldi now proposed to march on Rome, and from there proclaim the kingdom of Italy. Napoleon III could not possibly allow the destruction of the

political independence of the Pope. He agreed that Victor Emmanuel might annex Romagna, Umbria, and the Marches, the outlying papal possessions in the north and east and re-establish a stable government in Naples, but he held that Rome, the imperial city, with territory immediately surrounding it must be left to the Pope. Victor Emanuel II consequently marched southwards, and occupied Naples in October 1860. Its Bourbon king Frances II surrendered, and all southern Italy became a part of the kingdom of Italy. In February 1861, the first Italian parliament was opened at Turin, and the process of bringing about a real union among the different heterogeneous portions of the new kingdom began. In this way the diplomacy of Cavour, the intervention of Napoleon III, Garibaldi's sword, and the popular will, roused for the first time by Mazzini, united within two years the greater portion of Italy under one flag. Shortly after this in June 1861 Cavour died, with the satisfaction of having united Italy. In return for services rendered by Emperor Napoleon III, the province of Savoy, with the port of Nice was ceded to France. The new kingdom of Italy did not, however, contain the whole of Italy. Venetia was still in the possession of Austria. Rome and a portion of the papal states continued to be held by the Pope. A French garrison in Rome protected the Pope, who was furious at the annexation of Romagna, Umbria, and the Marches to the new kingdom of Italy. He refused to recognise this new kingdom, which he said, was a "creation of revolution". He excommunicated the criminal invaders of his territories, and he denounced Victor Emmanuel II "as forgetful of every religious principle, despising every right, trampling upon every law". Pope Pius IX protested against the assumption by Victor Emmanuel of the title of king of Italy, and called it a "sacrilegious usurpation." In 1866 broke out a war between Austria and Prussia. The moment the Prussian army invaded Austria, Italy also declared war on Austria, and after a short resistance

took possession of Venetia. When the treaty of peace was signed, the annexation of Venetia by Italy was confirmed. Thus Austria was finally driven out of the plains of Italy. Four years after this, broke out the Franco-German war. It compelled Emperor Napoleon III to withdraw the French garrison from Rome. On this an Italian army at once advanced against Rome, and took possesion of the eternal city. The citizens of Rome voted by an immense majority in favour of annexation to the kingdom of Italy. In 1871, Rome, the city of the seven hills, once the capital of Imperial Rome, became the capital of the new kingdom of Rome. But even these acquisitions did not quite round out the Italian kingdom. There was still an *Italia Irredenta*, an "unredeemed Italy." The district of Trentino in the Alps and the district of Trieste at the head of the Adriatic sea, although inhabited largely by Italians, still remained under Austrian rule. It was the desire to acquire these Italian districts, that led Italy in 1915 to espouse the cause of the Allies in the Great European War. It has been seen that the Pope was restored to his temporal powers in 1815. But when all the papal territories were annexed to the dominions of the king of Italy, he lost all his temporal power. Pope Pius IX protested against the annexation of his territories, refused to recognise the Italian government as legitimate, and shut himself up in the Vatican palace. His successors, Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, Pius XI have followed the same policy, and remained confined in the Vatican, for sixty years as self-interned prisoners. It was a very embarrassing position for the Roman Catholic Italians, who wanted to be good citizens and at the same time good Catholics. Loyalty to the state involved disobedience to the church. Repeated efforts were made by the Italian government to bring about a compromise with the Pope. At length in 1929, an agreement was reached between Signor Mussolini and Pope Pius XI, and was embodied in the Lateran Treaties. By these treaties the Pope still reigns over a much restricted

territory, the "Vatican city", and so preserves "international sovereignty" and maintains separate diplomatic relations with other countries of the world, but for the first time he acknowledges the Italian sovereignty of the king of Italy. This Lateran Treaty has been the culminating point in the attainment of Itallian unity.

William I of Germany 1861-1888. The political unification of Germany has formed another striking triumph for nationalism. It has been seen that in 1815, there were as many as 38 independent states in Germany. The Zollverein, or a customs union, which was formed between 1819 and 1828, had given an economic union to Germany, but they had not as yet attained political unity. National unity could not be won as long as a large number of kingdoms, principalities, duchies, counties, bishoprics, abbacies, and free cities, encumbered German soil. Most of the states, great and small, were independent. Each made its own laws, held its own court, conducted its own diplomatic relations, and had its own armies, and coinage. It has been seen that in 1848 and 1849, reformers of Germany had made a vigorous effort to bring about radical changes in the political and social institutions of their country. But on account of the opposition of the princes they failed. By 1850 the old authorities were once again established in their old positions. Absolutism reigned again throughout most of central Europe. In place of the German unity the old Diet of 1815 quietly slipped back into its familiar grooves. This period of reaction lasted till 1858, when William I assumed the regency of Prussia. In 1859, Austria, the source of reactionary policy, was humbled in the Italian war. She was no longer able to influence the course of events in the rest of Germany. It has already been stated that king Frederick William IV had granted a constitutional system of government to Prussia. But this constitution was not liked by the constitutional

tional reformers in Germany. King Frederick William IV died in 1861, and he was succeeded by his brother William I. He was a firm believer in the divine his right of kings. So he did not allow the constitution granted by brother to interfere with his authority. He was primarily a soldier, and so immediately after ascending the throne he began to enlarge and reorganise the Prussian army. This policy of the king met with a strong opposition at the hands of Prussian Liberals, who wished to unite Germany not by the sword, but by the spread of national ideas, and the force of public sentiments. These Liberals commanded a majority in the parliament, and they refused to sanction increased expenditure for the army. William I resolved to abdicate rather than yield. It was at this juncture that Otto von Bismark became the Prime Ministeı of Prussia.

Otto von Bismark 1815-1898. Otto von Bismark was born in 1815. He came of a noble family in Brandenburg, and as a young man he was completely imbued with all the narrowness of his order. He was strongly in favour of the preservation of the existing institutions. After receiving university education, he entered the Civil Service of Prussia, but he soon left it in disgust. He then settled upon the estate of his father as a country squire. He spent many years in trying to improve the fortunes of his family. In 1847, he emerged from his country life, and began his career as a member of the United Diet. He now had the opportunity to expound his political views. No compromise with the revolution, was his watchword. More royalist than the king, he resented the king's act of granting a constitution to Prussia, but once granted, he was in favour of working the constitution. Bismark was not an orator, and by the views he frequently expressed in the parliament, he had thoroughly antagonised the Liberals towards him. But this very thing made him popular with the king, who appointed him a delegate

to the Frankfort Diet in 1851. During the next eight years, he studied and practised the art of diplomacy. He made the acquaintance of all the important statesmen and politicians of Germany and studied their characters and ambitions. It was here at Frankfort that he formed his views regarding Austria. He came to regard Austria as the constant and determined enemy of Prussia. He became convinced that there was not room for two powers, Prussia and Austria, in Germany. It was such a man who was in 1862 appointed Prime Minister of Prussia. At this time the king and the parliament confronted each other in an angry deadlock. This conflict lasted for four years from 1862 to 1866. Bismark advised the king not to abdicate. He did not abolish the constitution. He regularly convened sessions of parliament. The lower House voted year after year against the army budget, but the upper House always voted in favour of it. On this the officers of the king collected the taxes required for the increased expenditure on the army. This period was a period of virtual dictatorship. In this way the army was thoroughly reorganised. Having done this it was the policy of Bismark to use this military force for the aggrandisement of Prussia.

The Schleswig-Holstein Affair In order to bring about the expulsion of Austria from German Confederation, Bismark took advantage of a situation that had already caused trouble in Germany. The provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, although inhabited largely by Germans, had for centuries belonged to the king of Denmark. They were, however, allowed to retain their provincial assemblies, and were not considered a part of Denmark, any more than Hanover was a part of Great Britain in the earlier parts of the nineteenth century. In 1847, just when the growing idea of nationality was about to express itself in the revolution of 1848, the king of Denmark proclaimed that he was going to make these German duchies integral parts of the Danish kingdom. This aroused

great indignation throughout Germany, especially as Holstein was a member of the German Confederation. In 1863, the king of Denmark ventured in spite of the opposition of Prussia, to incorporate Schleswig into his kingdom. Bismark's first step was to invite Austria to co-operate with Prussia in settling the Schleswig Holstein difficulty. As Denmark refused to make any concessions, the two powers declared war, defeated the Danish army, and in 1864 forced the king of Denmark to cede Schleswig and Holstein to the rulers of Prussia and Austria *jointly*. These two kings were to make such disposition of the provinces as they saw fit.

Austro-Prussian War 1866. There was now no difficulty in picking a quarrel with Austria. Bismark suggested outwardly the independence of Schleswig and Holstein, but in reality he wanted to put them under the control of Prussia. Bismark suggested that, pending an adjustment, Austria should govern Holstein, and Prussia, Schleswig. After this Prussia began to pick holes in the Austrian administration of Holstein. Austria resented the interference of Prussia. On this Bismark proposed a reform of the German Confederation. In the meantime he came to an understanding with Emperor Napoleon III of France, and got the assurance, that the French Emperor would not object to the annexation of of Schleswig and Holstein to Prussia. He also formed an alliance with Italy. It was agreed that if war broke out between Austria and Prussia, Italy would also declare war against Austria, and Venetia might be annexed to Italy. Immediately after the treaty with Italy was signed, Bismark introduced his scheme of the reform of the German Confederation into the Diet at Frankfort. Bismark had succeeded in isolating Austria, so he could now confidently declare war against Austria. On the refusal of Austria to reform the confederation Prussia declared the confederation dissolved and war was declared on the 12th of June. With the exception of Mecklenburg, and the small states of the north, all other states in Germany sided with

Austria against Prussia. Bismark at once demanded from the rulers of Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel, that they should stop their warlike operations, and agree to accept Prussia's plan for reforming the German confederation. On their refusal, Prussian troops immediately occupied their territories, and war actually began. The entire Prussian army was ready for immediate action, so that in spite of the suspicion and even hatred which the liberal party in Prussia, entertained for the autocratic Bismark, all resistance on the part of the states of the north was put an end to. On the 3rd of July 1866, Austria was defeated in the decisive battle of Sadowa, and the war was over within three weeks. After this battle, the influence of Austria in Germany was ended, and Prussia established herself as the dominant power in Germany. As the states south of the river Main were not as yet ready for union with Prussia, Bismark organised a North German Federation, which included all the states north of that river. Prussia took the opportunity of extending her boundaries, and now the territories of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, the free city of Frankfort, and the duchies of Schleswig, and Holstein were annexed to her dominions. Prussia, thus enlarged, called upon the other lesser states around her to frame a constitution for this north German federation. This constitution provided that there should be a national assembly made up of representatives of all the peoples included in the union. The king of Prussia was under this constitution the president of the union. A federal council consisting of the representatives of the governments of the different states, was also formed. It was called *Bundestat*. These representatives of the state governments were to vote just as they were directed by their monarchs to do. Each state government was assured at least one vote in the federal council, but Prussia was allotted seventeen votes out of a total of forty-three. It means that the lower house represented the people, and the upper or federal council, represented the different state governments. It

also meant that if Prussia could get only five more votes, she had an absolute majority in the federal council. That Prussia possessed an overwhelming power in the constitution was recognised by the fact that its king was not only the president of the union, but he was also the head of the federal army. Austria was now excluded from Germany, and she, therefore. erected a strong state in south eastern Europe. In 1867, the Austro-Hungarian empire was formed. The Magyars were granted almost all they wanted. The Salavonian peoples were put under Hungary. Naturally the Slavonian subjects of the Hapsburg kings remained hostile to this arrangement, and that was one of the causes of the Great War.

France-German War 1870-1871

Napoleon III had hoped that the war between Austria and Prussia would be a long one, and that he would be able to exploit it for the benefit of France in the same way as he had done in connection with the Italian war of independence. But the speedy and decisive victory of Prussia disappointed Napoleon, for France in this affair got nothing. Just about this time Napoleon was engaged in trying to get a foothold in Mexico, but here also he failed. In the Austro-Italian war, a new power had risen on the south eastern frontier of France, and now by the Austro-Prussian war another strong power had arisen on her north eastern frontier. All this meant a weakening of its frontiers. So there was under the circumstances only one alternative left for Napoleon, and that was war with Prussia. A pretext was soon furnished. In 1868 there was a revolution in Spain, which resulted in the overthrow and exile of Queen Isabella II. The provisional government chose Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, a kinsman of the king of Prussia, as the king of Spain. This greatly excited the people of France, for this meant a predominant influence of Prussia in Spain. It meant a re-establishment

of the empire of Charles V. In view of this opposition, Leopold withdrew his acceptance of the Spanish crown. That was in July 1870. But the French ministry was not satisfied with this, and demanded that the king of Prussia should pledge himself that the candidacy should never be renewed. This William refused to do. Bismark did not hesitate to report the actual circumstances in the German newspapers in such a way that it appeared as if the French ambassador had insulted King William. The Parisians, on the other hand, received the impression that their ambassador had received an affront. On this France at once declared war against Prussia. Both Bismark and Napoleon wanted war. Bismark believed that the French war would induce the south German states to join the North German Confederation, and thus unite the whole of Germany. On the other hand, Napoleon believed that Bavaria, Baden and Wurtemberg, who had shown hostility towards Prussia in the war against Austria would join him the moment he entered the southern German states. But Napoleon was entirely mistaken. No sooner was the war declared, than the Germans, who were now imbued with strong patriotic feelings, laid aside all internal jealousies, and ranged themselves as one united nation against France. Moreover the French army was neither properly well-equipped, nor well-commanded. The Germans rushed across the Rhine, and within a few days they were driving the Germans before them within French territory. The French armies were defeated and then finally shut up within the fortress of Metz. In September a second big French army was defeated at Sedan, and the French Emperor was himself taken prisoner. The Germans then surrounded Paris and laid siege to it. Napoleon III was completely discredited by the disasters at Metz and Sedan, and thus was the second empire overthrown in France. On the conclusion of this war, France was compelled to cede to Germany two of her important provinces which had formerly formed part

of the Holy Roman Empire—Alsace and north eastern Lorraine. France was thus cut off from the Rhine, and the hill tops of the Vosges were now fixed as the new French frontiers. The Germans in addition to this took a heavy war indemnity of 300 crores of rupees. German troops were not to leave the French soil till this money was paid. The annexation of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany had very serious consequences. In the first place, the annexed territories never became a loyal and contented part of the German empire, and, secondly, the French from this time on cherised a bitter hatred of Germany on account of the lost provinces. Although a large number of the Alsatians spoke a German dialect, the people felt themselves to be an integral part of the French nation. Some fifty thousand Alsatians, after the signing of the treaty of peace, left their homes in Alsace, and settled in France, rather than submit to the rule of Germany. The imperial government of Germany, made various efforts to 'Germanise' the region by forbidning the use of French, and suppressing all demonstrations of popular enthusiasm for France. But all these efforts were unsuccessful. The two provinces were treated only as conquered provinces. But there was one important result of the war. The south German states, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and south Hesse, having sent their troops to fight side by side with the Prussian forces, consented after their common victory over France, to join the North German Federation. Surrounded by the German princes, William, King of Prussia, and President of the North German Federation, was proclaimed Emperor of Germany, in the palace of Versailles, in January 1871. Thus was born the German Empire. It soon began under the guidance of Bismark to occupy an important place among the Great powers of Western Europe.

Summary

1. *Obstacles in the way of Italian Unity.* In the middle ages Italy was successively conquered and occupied by the Lombards, the

Franks, the Arabs, the Normans, the Germans, the French, the Spaniards, and the Austrians. The Pope wanted to keep Italy divided. for only then could he maintain his temperal powers. Italy began to be united first in the time of Napoleon Bonaparte.

2. *Nationalism in Italy, 1789-1848.* National ideas were first imported into Italy by the French revolutionaries. Napoleon Bonaparte was himself an Italian by birth. It was he who first created the kingdom of Italy but this kingdom was everthrown in 1814. After this several attempts were made to free Italy of the Austrian yoke, but they all failed.

3. *Mazzini, 1805-1872.* Mazzini was born in 1805. He at first became a member of the Carbonaries, but he did not like their destructive methods. He was imprisoned in 1830, and was released after six months. But he was forced to leave the country, and live as an exile in Switzerland, France, and England. In 1831, he had founded his Young Italy Society, of which only young men could become members. These members were to lead the lives of missionaries, and preach patriotism to the peasants and labourers. The Society wanted to drive the Austrians out of the country, and to unite Italy into one Republican country. They believed in self-help. The Young Italy Society organised several insurrections, but they all failed, Mazzini was an idealist, but not a practical leader. But there is no doubt that he is one of the modern makers of Italy. He developed to a very great extent the ideas of nationalism among Italians.

4. *Garibaldi, 1807-1882.* Garibaldi was born in 1807 in Nice. From a very early time in his life he took to the life of a sailor. He soon joined Muzzini's Young Italy Society. His military experience was chiefly in irregular Guerilla warfare, He was taken prisoner in an unsuccessful insurrection and was condemned to death. But he escaped to America, and remained in exile for fourteen years. On the fall of Metternick in 1848, he returned to Italy, but he did not succeed in driving the Austrians out of the country. He then went to Rome, but on the fall of the republic there, he was again compelled to seek refuge in America. He again returned to Italy in 1854, and now settled as a farmer in the island of Caprera. The events of 1859 again brought him out of retirement. When in 1860 an insurrection broke out in Sicily, he invaded that island, After taking its possession, he crossed over to the mainland, and became a dictator there. He then proposed to march on Rome. But that would have raised international complications. So Victor Emmanuel II now took the situation into his own hands. On the arrival of the king in Naples,

Garibaldi retired back to the island of Caprera, and settled there again as a farmer. He died in 1882.

5. *Victor Emmanuel II (1859—1878).* During the times of Metternick there were formed several schemes for the unification of Italy, but after the part taken by the royal family of Piedmont, in the wars connected with the revolution of 1848. the Italian people were attracted towards Piedmont and its kings. King Victor Emmanuel II was a devoted Christian and was also a thorough liberal. He became the leader of the movement for freeing Italy of the Austrian yoke.

6. *Camillo de Cavour. (1810—1861).* Cavour was born in 1810, and he was a man of culture. He was a great admirer of the British constitutional system of government. He began with strengthening the army. He then offered to come to the assistance of the French and the English in the Crimean war against Russia. In this way he obtained the friendship of France and England for Piedmont. After this a secret understanding was arrived at between Cavour and Napoleon, by which it was agreed that if war broke out between Piedmont and Austria, France would come to the assistance of Piedmont. Having done this Cavour provoked Austria to declare war against Piedmont. When war broke out France at once took up tke side of Piedmont. The Austrians were defeated, and they were compelled to cede Lombardy to Piedmont. But at the same time Cavour had caused in the other Italian states a strong propaganda in favour of union with Piedmont. The result was that other states began to press for union with Piedmont. Napoleon was alarmed. He stayed his hand, and at once made peace with Austria. In 1860, his diplomacy brought about the union of Naples with Piedmont. He died in 1861. But he had the satisfaction of seeing Italy united.

7. *Annexation of all Italy with Piedmont, 1860-61.* After the conclusion of the war, with Austria, the states of Central Italy, were by the votes of the people united with Piedmont. Thus Parma, Modena, and Tuscany lost their separate existence. In 1860-61, Naples and Sicily were also added to Piedmont, and now king Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont became king of Italy. In 1866, Venetia was added to Italy. In 1871, Rome too was occupied by the Italian forces, and now Rome became the capital of Italy. But after this Trentino and Trieste, which are inhabited mainly by Italians, still tremained under Austria. For the recovery of these districts Italy in the Great War joined the allies against the central powers. In 1919, these districts were added to Italy. This unification of Italy was strongly opposed by the Pope of Rome. He did not recognize the

new kingdom of Italy, and Rome was in 1871 occupied by the Italian forces and he shut himself up in the Vatican. In 1929, an agreement was reached between Mussolini and Pope Pius XI. By this agreement the Pope rules over the Vatican city as an independent ruler, and he preserves his sovereignty. He possesses the privilege of maintaining diplomatic relations with foreign powers. The Pope in return has now recognized the kingdom of Italy.

8. *William I of Germany, (1861-1888)* The economic union of Germany had been achieved by the Zollverein, or customs union, which had been formed between the years 1819 and 1828. Several attempts were made to bring about a political union as well, but all these attempts failed. When King Frederick William IV died in 1861, he was succeeded by his brother, William I, who ruled from 1861 to 1888. He wanted to enlarge and reorganize the Prussian army. In this he was opposed by the Representative Assembly, which was at this time dominated by the Liberals, Since he could not carry out his policy, William was prepared to abdicate. It was at this time that Otto von Bismark was made Prime Minister. He advised the king not to abdicate, but to carry out his policy inspite of the opposition of the Assembly.

9. *Otto von Bismark, 1815—1898.* He belonged to a noble family and was born in 1815. After receiving University education, he entered the civil service of Prussia. But he soon resigned, and settled as a country squire. In 1847, he emerged from his country-life, and began his political life as a member of the united Landtag. He was a Prussian delegate in the Frankfort Diet from 1851 to 1859. It was about this time that he came to realize that it was necessary to drive out Austria, out of the confederation, before, Germany could be united. In 1862, he was appointed prime minister of Prussia. The struggle between the king and the Assembly lasted for four years. The army budget was introduced into the lower house every year, where it was every time rejected. The approval of the upper house was then obtained, and the taxation proposed in the budget was enforced By the taxes thus obtained, the Prussian army was enlarged and re-organized. After this Bismark was ready for a war of aggrandisement.

10. *The Schleswig-Holstein Affair, 1864.* The king of Denmark was in these days duke of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. In 1847, the king of Denmark proclaimed that he was going to make these German provinces, integral parts of the kingdom of Denmark. This caused a great amount of agitation in Germany. The representatives

of the Powers met at London in 1852, and it was agreed that the king of Denmark should continue to be the duke of Schleswig and Holstein, so long as these duchies were kept separate and not incorporated with Denmark. When King Frederick VII of Denmark died in 1863, his successor signed the new constitutional reforms which incorporated Schleswig with Denmark. This led to a war, in which Austria and Prussia posed as defenders of international obligations. The war was soon ended and the two duchies were put at the disposal of Austria and Prussia.

11. *Austro-Prussian War, 1866.* After this war it was easy to pick up a quarrel with Austria It was at first suggested that Austria should govern Holstein, and Prussia Schleswig. Soon after Prussia began to find fault with the Austrian administration in Holstein. Austria resented this interference of Prussia. Bismark now proposed a reform in the constitution of the Confederation. This was opposed by Austria. On this Prussia declared that the Confederation was dissolved, and immediately declared war against Austria. Most of the states in Germany took in this war the side of Austria. But Prussia at once occupied the territories of Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse Cassel. In a short war the Austrians were defeated. After the conclusion of this war Austria was expelled from the confederation. On this Austria formed a separate empire, in which equal powers had to be given to Hungary. Prussia now formed another Federation, consisting of states north of the river Main. Hanover, the old Danish duchies, and some other states in north Germany were annexed to Prussia. A new constitution was now framed. The upper house, called the Federal Council, or Bundestat, was to consist of the representatives of the governments of the different states. Prussia in this house possessed 17 votes out of a total of 43. The lower house was to consist of the representatives of the people The king of Prussia was under this constitution to be the President of the Federation and the head of the federal army.

12. *The Franco-German War, 1870-71.* Napoleon III gained nothing out of this Austro-Prussian war. He had also gained nothing in his Maxican war. But as a result of the two wars, *viz.*, the Italian War of Independence, and the Austro-Prussian War, the frontiers of France had been weakened. So there was now no alternative but war. A pretext for war was furnished by the candidacy of a Hohenzollern prince for the Spanish throne. This situation was exploited by Bismark in such a way as to lead to war. Both Napoleon and Bismark wanted war. But this war was soon over. Napoleon was taken

prisoner, and Paris was besieged. On the conclusion of the war in 1871, France was compelled to cede Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, and pay a war indemnity of 300 crores of rupees. This war aroused such patriotic enthusiasm, that all the south German states fought on the side of Prussia, and on the conclusion of the war they joined the north German Federation. Germany was now united and William of Prussia was recognised Emperor of Germany. From this time under the guidance of Bismark, Germany began to be counted among the Great Powers of Europe.

CHAPTER XXI

REVOLUTION AND REACTION IN FRANCE 1815-1875

Louis XVIII 1815-1824. The Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, a brother of Louis XVI, was restored to the throne of France in 1815. He left the administrative system of Napoleon intact, and made no attempts to undo what the revolutionary regime had achieved. At the time of his restoration to the throne, he granted to the people a charter, establishing in the country a constitutional form of government. By this charter all Frenchmen were declared equal before the law, and were held equally eligible for holding civil and military appointments under the government. Personal and religious liberty was guaranteed to all, and all citizens were required to contribute to the taxes in proportion to their incomes. This meant that all the great reforms proclaimed by the Declaration of the Rights of Man, made in 1789, were once again guaranteed. The new constitution laid down that the king was to make laws in co-operation with a parliament, consisting of a House of Lords, and of a Chamber of Deputies, elected by the people. The lower house was empowered to impeach the king's ministers. But in spite of these liberal provisions in the new Royal Charter, attempts were made by the old emigrant nobles, and by the clergy to re-establish a reactionary regime in France. This party induced the French parliament to pass certain oppressive measures and persuaded king Louis XVIII to co-operate with other reactionary powers in coercing Italy and Spain,

Charles X 1824-1830 When Louis XVIII died in 1824, he was succeeded by his brother, Count of Artois, who took the title of Charles X. He had so

far been a leader of the reactionary party in France. So it was natural that under his rule, the policy of government should become more reactionary. A bill was passed, which gave to the nobility a very large sum of money in compensation for the loss they had suffered by the confiscation of their property during the revolution. After this a close censorship of the press was established by a royal decree. The electorate which had been fixed by the charter, was now reduced, by restricting the franchise to a small wealthy class. It was further laid down that in future only the king should possess the power of initiation in legislation. These reactionary measures led to an outbreak of revolution in July 1830. Charles X was now dethroned, and he became an exile in England.

Louis Philippe, 1830-1848. Those who were responsible for the revolution of July 1830, really wanted a republic. But the middle class liberals, known by the name of the *bourgeoisie*, had little sympathy for a republican ideal. These men feared that a republican France, would soon be at war with monarchical Europe. Lafayette, who had taken a prominent part in the revolution of 1789, advised that another king should be chosen. So Louis Philippe, a descendant of Henry IV, through the younger branch of Philip, Duke of Orleans, was put on the throne. He took the crown now offered to him from the Chamber of Deputies. He thus accepted the sovereign authority of the French Parliament. On accepting the crown, he promised to respect the constitution and the liberties of the people. The new king had taken an active part in the events of 1789. He had joined the Jacobin Club, and fought in the revolutionary wars. He had also visited the United States of America, and thus become acquainted with democratic ideals and principles. He was, therefore, known as " Citizen King " who reigned " by the grace of God and by the will of the people ". Louis Philippe posed as a thorough domocrat. He liked to be called a " citizen king ", and walked

the streets of Paris unattended. He sent his children to the public schools. He was accessible to all his subjects. But under this democratic exterior, Louis Philippe had all the Bourbon ambitions for personal power. He did little to give a larger share in the government to the lower classes. The property qualification in the franchise was somewhat lowered, but this change did not disturb the monopoly, in offices and legislation, of the *bourgeoisie*. The vast majority of the French people continued to be excluded from all political power. But in spite of the support of the middle classes, the position of Louis Philippe was rather shaky. In the Chamber of Deputies, the Legitimists, the followers of king Charles X, and the Bonapartists, who wished to restore the Napoleonic dynasty, thoroughly hated him. The republicans who had brought about the July Revolution of 1830, and who had got nothing out of it, hated him more violently. Several attempts were made to assassinate him. The clergy were allienated by his anti Catholic legislation. So from all sides there went up the demand for " Reforms ". In Paris the demand for reforms was voiced at a series of banquets held throughout the winter of 1847-8 in the different parts of the city. These banquets were attended by a very large number of journalists, university students, and other middle class radicals. But Guizot, who was at this time Prime Minister, turned a deaf ear to all these demands. He would give no constitutional reforms. But as the agitation went on increasing, he at length prohibited the holding of these banquets. On this there were riots in the city. A very serious riot broke out in Paris on the 22nd. of February 1848. The middle classes and the working classes both took part in this riot. At first the rioters demanded merely the resignation of Guizot, but when royal troops were sent against them they threw up barricades in the narrow, crooked streets of Paris, and defied the king himself. The National Guard of Paris took sides

with the rioters, and it was soon discovered that not even the royal troops could be trusted to fight for the king. Louis Philippe was compelled to abdicate, and he too became an exile in England. Thus ended the Bourbon dynasty in France.

Second Republic, 1848-1852. It were middle and the working classes, who accomplished the February revolution of 1848. The middle classes would have been glad to retain monarchical form of government, provided the king, like that of England, was a nominal king. But the working classes would not listen to such a proposal. They wanted a thorough-going democracy, and they insisted upon the establishment of a republic. So the provisional committee of government, consisting of men belonging both to the middle classes as well as the working classes, established in February 1848, a republic a second time. The working men of Paris led by the Socialist leader, Louis Blanc, demanded that the Second French Republic should do for the working classes, what the First Republic had done for the peasants. He wanted that workers should be made owners of the factories and shops in which they worked. The Provisional Government was induced to promise that it would "provide labour for all citizens." The establishment of "National Workshops" was decreed. They were in fact Co-operative factories, supported by the state, but managed by the workers. Louis Blanc was put at the head of the ministry in charge of these *national workshops*. The middle classes in France, on the other hand, wanted that the Second French Republic should be democratic in politics only, and that it should not concern itself with radical social experiments. So the middle class representatives of the provisional government put obstructions in the way of "national workshops." Instead of carrying out the scheme of Louis Blanc they gave to the working men only temporory employment. Naturally there arose a great split between the middle classes and the working classes.

Napoleon as President of the Second Republic. While the middle classes and the working classes were thus divided, the country at large was engaged in electing by a universal franchise, a National Assembly to draw up a constitution for the new Republic. The peasants and the working men of the country at large, were opposed to the demands made by the working men of Paris. They did not want national workshops. The first thing the newly elected Assembly did was to deprive the working men of any assistance from the public funds. It resulted in an insurrection raised by the working men. The Assembly entrusted the command of the national forces to General Cavaignac, a strong republican leader. By June 1848, the insurrection was put down. This insurrection sealed the doom of the Second Republic. It is true that the Assembly prepared a Republican constitution, which provided for a President and a Legislature, both to be elected by universal manhood franchise, but it was soon found that working classes were unwilling to support a government which had destroyed the "national workshops," and killed a large number of workers. On the other hand, the peasants and the middle classes grew more and more suspicious of the republican "radicalism." Under such an atmosphere it was not possible for a republican leader to be elected. General Cavaignac was a candidate for election as a President. The general election was held in December 1848, General Cavaignac received only five lakhs of votes. His rival candidate Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, received as many as 55 lakhs of votes. This Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was the son of Louis Bonaparte, king of Holland (1806-1810), and was therefore, a nephew of the great Napoleon. Since the death of Napoleon's son, the "king of Rome," in 1832, he had been the late emperor's legal heir. Most of his life had been spent in exile, in plots, and in intrigues, and in spreading the "Napoleonic

Legend." During the reign of king Louis philippe, it had constantly been preached that the emperor Napoleon had been overthrown by the European autocrats, because he had been the champion of democracy and a friend of oppressed nationalities. Emperor Napoleon had established peace and order at home and given to France military glory abroad. So Louis Napoleon by his professions, and his family traditions, stood for order and stability. In December 1848, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, became the President of the French Republic. He very cleverly used his new position to increase his personal popularity. The army enthusiastically supported him, because he represented the military traditions of his famous uncle. The peasants and the middle classes, supported him because he protected law and advocated economic prosperity. The working men supported him because he assured them that he was their friend. The Clergy supported him because he championed the cause of religious education and sent an expeditionary force to restore the Pope to his position at Rome. Later on when the Legislature proposed to revise the constitution, and to abolish universal manhood franchise, he stepped forward as the faithful guardian of democracy. So relying on his personal popularity, and upon the loyalty of the army, he on 2nd December 1851, suddenly imprisoned or exiled the republican leaders, dissolved the Legislature, and promulgated a new constitution. Like his great uncle, he submitted this new constitution for the approval of the general mass of the voters. It was approved by an overwhelming majority. After this Louis Napoleon was for almost twenty years a dictator. At first he continued to bear the title of "President," but in November 1852, he was authorised by an overwhelming majority of voters to assume the title of "Napoleon III, Emperor of the French." Thus was the Second Republic transformed into the Second Empire of Nopoleon III.

Emperor Napoleon III 1852-1871. Napoleon III based his authority on the doctrine of popular sovereignty. He preserved the form of universal manhood franchise, but this universal franchise was employed only in the plebiscites, and in the elections to the legislature. But all elections were carefully manipulated by the emperor through his staff of local agents, who paid the election expenses of the candidates favourable to him, counted the votes, and made the returns. This legislature so elected had no powers of initiation in legislation. All such power was possessed by the Emperor. So universal franchise was merely a cloak for Napoleon III's personal dictatorship. He himself made peace and war, appointed all officials, and determined public policies, He suppressed newspapers that opposed him, and exiled or imprisoned all those who criticised him. Though theoratically the French people were now fully sovereign, there was in practice very little of individual liberty.

Domestic Policies of Napoleon III. Napoleon III himself laid down the policy of his government. At home, he promoted the material prosperity of the middle classes, and the peasants. He lessened state interference in industry, and made it easier to organise commercial and industrial companies. He introduced the principles of free trade and established a system of savings banks. He stimulated both industry and commerce by constructing harbours, draining swamps, digging navigable canals, and building roads and railways. He adorned and beautified Paris, and in his time a great international exhibition was held in Paris. He aided and assisted the working classes by legalising co-operative societies, by repealing the penal laws againt trade unions and strikes, and by supervising the private companies which insured working men against death and accident. He conciliated the clergy by putting education in their charge. by maintaining troops at Rome for the protection of the

Pope, and by supporting the Catholic missionaries in foreign countries.

Foreign Policies of Napoleon III. In foreign affairs it was the ambition of Napoleon III to undo the work of the Congress of Vienna, for to him it meant the defeat of Napoleon the Great, and the disgrace of France. He wanted to regain for France her natural frontiers, and he also wanted the subject peoples to win freedom. He also desired to re-establish a French colonial empire. He wanted to achieve all these things, if possible, by peaceful negotiations. But still he realised that war might be necessary for his foreign ambitions, and useful for obtaining fame and popularity at home. In 1854, he made an alliance with England against Russia, for he believed that the chief reason for the overthrow of his great uncle, Napoleon the Great, was his defeat in Russia. In the Crimean War the French Emperor posed as the protector of the Catholic Christians in Turkey against the aggression of the Russian Orthodox Church. In 1856, Napoleon III had the satisfaction of presiding over a great international peace congress held at Paris. By this war, Napoleon humilated Russia who had inflicted a disaster on Napoleon the Great. By the same war France strengthened herself in a commercial way. In 1860, by the conclusion of the Cobden Treaty, French goods were imported freely into England, and English goods were to pay only a small tax on their import into France. Napoleon had realised at a very early stage of his reign that he had an opportunity of regaining natural frontiers for France, in the south east, and at the same time aid a subject people to win independence. Italy was at that time divided into a very large number of states, several of which were owned and controlled by Austria. Taking advantage of the enthusiasm of the Italian people for national unity and freedom, he allied himself with Sardinia, the most important of the

independent Italian states, and in 1859, went to war with Austria for the liberation of Italy. His armies proved victorious, but he failed to complete the work of Italian liberation. In 1861, he consented to the creation of the "kingdom of Italy" which included all Italy, with the exception of Venetia and Rome. As a reward for these services he obtained from the Italians the city of Nice and the duchy of Savoy. Since then the "Natural Boundary" of the Alps has been the south eastern frontiers of France. In Germany too, Napoleon III thought he had an opportunity of regaining for France the "natural frontiers" of the river Rhine. The German people, deeply stirred by the spirit of nationality, desired to unify their country and to found a strong national state. But Austria and the princes of the smaller states, under the influence of Austria, put obstacles in the way of this national aspiration. Napoleon sympathised with these aspirations, and he would have been willing to ally himself with Prussia, the strongest state in Germany, in a war of German liberation against Austria, only if Prussia agreed to reward him for these services. He wanted to do in Germany, exactly what he had done in Italy. But Prussia under the guidance of Bismark, felt herself sufficiently strong to oust Austria, and unify Germany, without French assistance, and without giving any bribe to Napoleon III. The French emperor then asked for territorial compensation from Prussia, not because he had actively assisted her, but because he had maintained neutrality in the Prusso-Austrian war. He wanted the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine in compensation. This being refused he desired Prussia to help him in conquering Palatinate, from Bavaria, or consent to the annexation of Belgium by France. But here too he received a blank refusal from Bismark. He was not allowed to annex even the small duchy of Luxemburg. On the unification of Italy, Napoleon had obtained the city of Nice and the duchy of Savoy, but on the unification of Germany he did not receive any territory.

Colonial Policy of Napoleon III While Italy and Germany were being unified, Napoleon III was trying to re-establish a French colonial Empire. In northern Africa, he completed the conquest of Algeria, which had been begun as early as 1830. Then again the valley of the Senegal river on the west coast of Africa, was added to the French dominions in the reign of Napoleon III. He acquired the New Caledonia islands in the Pacific Ocean. He waged a brief war with China, and secured valuable commercial privileges for France in the Far East. In his time a beginning was made in the acquisition of colonies in the Far East. The persecution of Christian natives, and the murder of certain French missionaries, gave Napoleon the pretext to attack Anam, a kingdom in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. After eight years of intermittent fighting, France obtained between the years 1858 and 1868, the whole of Cochin-China, and also established a protectorate over the kingdom of Cambodia. Thus were the foundations laid for the French Indo-China. In 1862, he dispatched to America an army which occupied Maxico, and set up Maxmillian, an Austrian prince, as a puppet Emperor. The Mexican enterprise, however, proved a complete failure. The Mexicans rebelled, and the United States of America protested and threatened war in defence of their Monroe doctrine. In 1867, Napoleon III was compelled to withdraw his army from America, and the Mexicans soon after killed his viceroy.

International Isolation of Napoleon III, So long as Napoleon III seemed successful in foreign war, and foreign diplomacy, he was praised in France as a national hero, and as a worthy heir of Napoleon the Great. But outside France, his successes aroused enmity and fear. The Russians hated him because he took so prominent a part in the Crimean War. The Austrians disliked him because he drove them from Lombardy. The Italians lost all enthusiasm

for him because he took Nice and Savoy from them, and failed to expel Austria from Venetia. The Germans feared his designs on the west bank of the Rhine. The Americans resented his interference in Mexico. The English came gradually to regard him as an unprincipled and dangerous autocrat, who would stop at nothing to gain colonial and commercial predominance for France and to enlarge the French Empire on the European continent. By 1867, Napoleon III had lost all his friends outside France. He now began to lose popular support at home, in the proportion he experienced failure outside France. Good Roman Catholics began to attack his Italian policy, because that had reduced the power and the possessions of the Pope. Patriots felt themselves disgraced by his failure in Mexico, and his surrender to Prussian leadership in Germany. Besides Nice, Savoy, and a few unimportant colonies, his two wars in Europe and numerous expeditions overseas had brought practically nothing to France. Napoleon at home was a dictator. The French people naturally blamed him personally for his foreign failures and rebuffs. If the nation itself had some say in Politics, they argued, things would not have gone so badly. So by 1867, the French people had begun to demand cessation of state interference with individual liberties, and the reformation of the political institutions. Many of the clergy and the peasants and some sections of the middle classes also, began to demand the establishment of a liberal constitutional monarchy, after the model of England. While other sections of the middle classes began to revive the agitation for a republican form of government. It was under such circumstances, that Napoleon III began to think of giving political concessions.

Constitutional Changes in France. After the suppression of the Socialists in June 1848, the Assembly proceeded to frame a republican constitution. It proclaimed the Republic as the definitive government

of France It declared universal suffrage. It provided that there should be a legislature consisting of a single chamber, for a second chamber seemed aristocratic, and likely to be a check upon the house representing the people. The Assembly was to consist of 750 members, chosen for three years. The Executive was to be a President of the Republic elected for four years and ineligible for re-election before an interval of at least four years. The President was given very large powers. It was felt that the danger in giving him these extensive powers would be neutralized by the shortness of his term, and by his ineligibility to be re-elected. He was given the right to propose legislation to the Assembly, to dispose of the armed forces, to negotiate and ratify treaties, though these should become binding only when sanctioned by the Assembly, and to appoint and dismiss ministers, and other officials, both civil and military. All this shows that the President possessed very extensive powers. How he should be chosen was the next most important question for decision before the Assembly. It was after long discussion decided that the President should be chosen by all the voters, There was one constitutional objection to this. If the people were to choose both the Legislature and the President, they would create two co-ordinate authorities likely to disagree, and in that case a strong-willed President might defy the Legislature. It was, therefore, suggested that the President should be elected by the Legislature, but this suggestion did not find favour with the majority. Had it been accepted, the idea of the supremacy of the Legislature would have been established. When the elections took place under the new constitution, the monarchical party came out victorious. The peasants in the rural areas and the middle classes in the towns, had little faith in a republican form of government. At first the President, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and the monarchical majority in the Assembly co-operated against the Republicans.

The Republicans attempted an insurrection, but in June 1849, they were easily put down. The authorities now proceeded to crush the republican party, in the Assembly. Many of the Republican representatives were arrested, and deprived of their seats in the Legislative Assembly. Their journals were suppressed, and public meetings were forbidden. Education had since the revolutionary regime been under the control of those who were friendly to the Republic. It was now brought under the control of the clergy who were supposed to be friendly to a monarchical system of government. This removal of the republican leaders, rendered easy the passage of further repressive legislation. In 1850, a new Franchise Law was passed, by which so many restrictions regarding residence, were placed, that universal franchise was for all practical purposes abolished. After silencing the republicans, the President and the monarchical majority in the Assembly began to fight among themselves. The constitution forbade the re-election of the President on the expiry of his four years' term. On the other hand, Louis Napoleon had no desire to retire into private life. He believed that if only this article in the constitution were removed, the immense majority of Frenchmen would re-elect him. He demanded that this clause be amended by the Assembly. The Assembly refused. On this Napoleon planned and carried out with extraordinary precision and success a remarkable *coup d'etat*. In order to discredit the Assembly with the people, he demanded that the law limiting the suffrage, be repealed. This was refused. The President then posed as the guardian of the constitution, and a supporter of the principle of universal suffrage. He knew that in this matter the workingmen will not take up the side of the Assembly, so he now began to take action against the Assembly. Possessing the power of appointment to civil and military positions, the President appointed his own men, as Minister of War, Minister

of the Interior, and the Prefect of Police. The second of December 1851, the anniversary of the coronation of Napoleon the Great, and of the battle of Austerlitz, was chosen as the fateful day. During the early morning hours, many of the military and civil leaders, Republican and Monarchical, were arrested in bed and taken to prison. A battalion of infantry was sent to occupy the Legislative Chamber. At the same time placards were posted on all the walls of Paris, pretending to explain the President's purpose. The Assembly was dissolved, universal suffrage was declared re-established, and, the people were convoked in their primary assemblies. The President explained that he must save the republic from its enemies, the monarchists and the anarchists. He recognized that the people of France were the only arbiters between himself and the Assembly. He proposed some changes in the constitution. Firstly the President should hold office for ten years ; secondly, the ministers should be entirely dependent on the President : thirdly, a Council of State should be set up to prepare laws, and discuss them before the legislative body ; fourthly, the legislative assembly should be elected by universal suffrage ; and fifthly, and lastly, he proposed that another council, consisting of all the illustrious persons of the country, should be appointed as the guardian of the constitution. This was a system of government which had been first set up by Napoleon the Great. It was argued that this system of government guranteed to the people peace and prosperity. The people were called upon to approve or reject these suggestions of the President. Louis Napoleon had in the meantime made elaborate arrangements to meet all possible eventualities. His police controlled all the printing presses, which in time of crises used to publish a large number of pamphlets. The police also kept guard on all bell towers, whence in revolutionary times appeals for insurrection were made. A few Parisians who did rise were easily put down. Paris was thus

cowed. To prevent any possible rising in the provinces, martial law was proclaimed in 32 departments (districts), and a very large number of arrests had been made. The *coup d'etat* was crowned with success. Having taken all these precautions, Louis Napoleon now appealed to the people for their opinion on the changes in the constitution suggested by him. About seven and a half million of voters voted in favour of his proposals, and only about 650 thousands voted against them. This showed conclusively that the people were with Louis Napoleon. After this the Republic was practically dead. Louis Napoleon was now an absolute sovereign. A year later, on the 21st of November 1852, the people of France were permitted to vote on the question of the re establishment of the imperial dignity, and of proclaiming Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, Emperor under the title of Napoleon III. A little less than eight millions voted for this and only about 250 thousands voted against this. On 2nd December 1852, the Second Empire was proclaimed. The history of the Second Empire falls into three periods. During the first period, 1852 to 1860, Napoleon III, maintained an unlimited autocracy. He allowed a growing liberalism between the years 1860, and 1870. After 1870, the Empire fell. During the first period, Napoleon III, enforced a constitution, which was modelled after the first Consulate. The principle of universal suffrage proclaimed by the Republic of 1848, was retained. But it was rendered ineffective in an ingenious way. There was a Legislative Body consisting of 251 members, elected every six years, by universal franchise. But this Assembly had a very modest role to perform. It was to be no real parliament. It could not elect its own president, who was appointed, as were the vice-Presidents, by the Emperor. It could not propose legislation. All bills were laid before it by the Emperor. It could not question the ministers, or by adverse votes overthrow them, as they were all appointed by

the Emperor, and were responsible to him alone. Its sessions were public but might be made secret on the requisition of five members. No reports of the Legislature could be published in the newspapers, excepting what was permitted by government. It did not even control taxation. Besides the Legislative Body there was the Senate, composed of members nominated by the Emperor. It consisted of Marshals, Admirals, Cardinals, and others, and they were appointed for life. This body had no legislative power, no executive power, and no judicial power. It was to be a guardian of the Constitution. All laws were submitted to it for the purpose of scrutiny as to whether they were or not constitutional. The Third body was the Council of State, whose members were all appointed by the Emperor, and removable by him. This body was to frame laws and submit them to the Legislative Body. It had no law-making power of its own. On the other hand, the Emperor under this constitution possessed full powers. He had the command of the army and the navy. He decided upon war and peace, and he alone could conclude treaties of peace or commerce, and of political alliance. He was the fountain of justice, possessing the full powers of pardon. He made all appointments and the ministers were entirely responsible to him. He appointed the Council of State, the Senate, the High Court, and he could convene adjourn, and dissolve the Legislative Body. He alone had the right to propose laws; the Council of State worked them out in detail, and the Legislative Body, approved them. In short the Emperor was the State. All this machinery accentuated his autocracy. Until 1860, the Parliamentary institutions in France were merely a sounding board for the wishes of the Emperor. There hardly existed a free press in the country. After 1860 we find a gradual transformation of the empire from the pure autocracy to liberalism. The turning point in the history of the empire was the Italian War. It

raised for Napoleon a large number of enemies in France. Since it affected the Pope, the Catholics were very bitter against him. The patriots were also displeased because it weakened the French frontiers in the South East, by creating a strong and united power in that quarter. Only the democrats were pleased with his policy. Feeling that he was losing the support of the Conservatives, Napoleon now began to seek the support of the Liberals and the Democrats, who had so far been his bitterest opponents. This was the beginning of Liberalism in France. In 1859, Napoleon issued an amnesty which permitted the Republicans, who had been driven out in 1851, to return. He next took a step which seemed to indicate that he was finally to enter upon the work of liberalising the administration. In 1860, he slightly enlarged the powers of the Legislature. He gave the Senate and the Legislative Body the right, at the opening of each session, to frame an address to the Emperor in reply to his speech from the throne. This gave the Legislature the chance once a year to discuss the whole policy of the government. Everything could be passed in review at that time. Another change that was made was to permit a full stenographic report of the sessions of the Legislative Body to be published in the public press. Another change in the constitution permitted the ministers to appear before, the Legislative Body, and explain and defend the policy of the government. It is true by these changes, Napoleon III divested himself of none of his prerogatives, but still the importance of parliament was after this increased. This was the first and the most important of the successive steps in the evolution of the autocratic into the liberal empire. But these reforms were not enough to win the support of the Liberals, to his side. He was thereby giving them only greater opportunities for opposition. These changes made parliamentary life more lively. When the French designs on Mexico failed, the opposition to the Emperor in the Legislature increased

still further. Napoleon now felt the need of conciliating the Liberals. In 1867, the right of interpellation was granted to the chamber, which gave its members the right to question the ministers concerning their acts and polices at any moment. In 1868, another law was passed freeing the press from a considerable number of restrictions that were previously imposed upon it. A law was also passed permitting under certain conditions the right of holding public meetings. The empire had thus entered upon a frankly liberal path. The result of all these reforms was that the opposition against the Empire now increased very much. Two policies were now urged upon Napoleon. His immediate and close friends urged upon him the policy of returning to the strong measures of 1852. The other party wanted the constitution to be made completely liberal. This latter party was strengthened very much in the Legislature, in the elections of 1869. So Napoleon now adopted the policy of these Liberals. On 8th September 1869, a *senatus consultum*, which was supplemented by another of 20th of April 1870 was issued. The political system of the empire was now completely changed. The Senate was deprived of its powers as a guardian of the constitution, and became simply a law-making chamber. The Legislative Body now became completely master of itself, having the right to choose its own officers, to make its own rules, to initiate legislation, and to demand explanations of ministers who were declared responsible to it. The approval of the people was now sought for these changes. About 73 lakhs of voters supported these changes and 17 lakhs cast their votes against them. The constitution of the Empire had now become quite democratic. But the end of the Empire was also quite near. Within three months war broke out between France and Germany, which had very disastrous results for the Empire. We have seen in Chapter XX, that in this Franco-German War, the French military power was destroyed, and Emperor Napoleon III was

himself taken prisoner. In 1871, the Second French Empire ended, and the Third Republic was established in its place.

The Third Republic. Immediately after the fall of the Empire, a Provisional Government of National Defence assumed control of national affairs. In all this there was no appeal to the people of France, and no ratification by them. This government gave way in February 1871, to a National Assembly of 750 members, elected by universal suffrage for the purpose of making peace with Germany. It was felt that the Provisional Government, not popularly chosen, but which was only a creation of a Parisian insurrection, was not competent to settle so grave a matter, involving, as it necessarily would, the cession of territory to the Germans. This national Assembly which first met at Bordeaux, showed a majority of Monarchists. The reason was that as the leaders of the Republicans wished to continue the war, and as the mass of the peasants wished peace, the latter voted for the opponents of Gambetta, the republican leader. The Assembly at once made peace, ceding Alsace and Lorraine, and assuming the heavy war indemnity. But soon after the conclusion of peace with Germany, Civil War began in the country. Thiers, the head of the Assembly, came into violent conflict with the citizens of Paris. Paris had proclaimed a Republic. But the Republic had not yet been sanctioned by France. On the other hand, the National Assembly was controlled by the Monarchists. It was feared that it would abolish the Republic and proclaim the Monarchy. But Paris was ardently republican. In March 1871, the National Assembly decided that in future it would hold its sessions in Versailles. The property owners, merchants, and workmen, were all affected by this change of capital. The prosperity of Paris had been sadly undermined by the German war, and now it received an additional blow from the national Government. Then again during the siege of Paris, the

payment of rents, debts, and notes falling due, had been suspended. The Parisians wanted this suspension to be extended till business again revived. The Assembly refused to grant this extension, with the result that many Parisians found themselves unable to pay their debts. Soon after this the National Assembly suppressed the National Guards. Many of the unemployed workmen of Paris who found employment in this force, were new thrown out of employment. The economic misery of a large number of people was thus increased. It must also be remembered that in Paris there lived a very large numher of people, possessing revolutionary ideas, for example, anarchists, Jacobins, and socialists. The last party had come into existence in the time of Napoleon III. The leaders of the revolutionary movements, therefore, had very favourable opportunities to work among the mass of the people in Paris. It was about this time that there arose the idea of the *Commune*, or the individual unit of the nation, the city or the village. It was held that in the future government of France, emphasis should be given to the *Commune*, that it should be vested with large powers, to exercise as it saw fit, and that the role of the State as a whole should be circums cribed. It was argued that France was too highly centralised, local government was too limited, and that it was controlled too much by the state. Let France be decentralized, was the cry. It was now demanded that each *Commune* should be largely independent, uncontrolled in most matters by the central government. Such a scheme would free the cities, most of which were republican, in a great measure from the control of the central government, which was dominated at this moment by a monarchical Assembly. This scheme had another advantage also. The socialists could in each *Commune* bring about a social and economic revolution, unhampered by the central government. So the radical republicans and the revolutionary socialists, incited the people to revolt. The

members of the now suppressed National Guard took the lead. In February 1871, the Guards appointed a committee of sixty, to direct the movement. The government forces were unable to check the revolutionaries, with the result that the Government lost two of its generals, and then it was compelled to withdraw from the city of Paris. The city was now in the hands of the insurgents. They now appointed a General Council of 90 members, to govern Paris. This government commonly called the *Commune* organised itself by appointing ministers, and heads of the various departments. It adopted the republican calender of the Revolution, and the Red flag of the Socialists. The Paris Commune now appealed to the rest of Frenchmen to join them. But this could not be done till the Versailles Government was defeated. Troops were now sent out from Paris to break up the National Assembly. in Versailles, but they failed, and their leaders were captured and immediately put to death. The Commune took its revenge, and arrested many prominent men in Paris. Thiers, who was the head of the government in France, was compelled to announce that the Republic was not in danger. At the same time on the 14th of April 1871, a law was passed enlarging the powers of the local self-governing bodies. He, however, insisted on the unity of France. He did not want France to be merely a federation of local units. Shortiy after this, French soldiers returned from Switzerland, and now an army of 150,000 men could be got together. With this army a regular siege of Paris was begun. In this way Franco-German war was succeeded by a civil war. It lasted for nearly two months. At length the Versailles troops were able to force entrance into Paris. For seven days there was a furious fighting in the streets of Paris. During this one week there was fearful destruction of life and property. But the insturrection was put down. This war of Commune thoroughly discredited radicalism and made it certain that the Third Republic would be moderate and conservative in nature.

It took four years to put the government of France into a final shape. A series of laws were during this period passed by the National Assembly sitting at Versailles. The new constitution established a system of government which resembles very much the British government. The legislative power is vested in a Chamber of Deputies, who are elected for four years by universal manhood suffrage, and a Senate, chosen indirectly for a term of nine years. The Prime Minister and the other members of the Cabinet are responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. The two chambers meeting together can revise the constitution. The executive power vests in a President, who holds office for seven years. He is chosen, not by a popular vote, but by the two chambers meeting together. The President selects the Premier, and he can with the consent of the Senate dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the expiration of its term, and order a new election. He has no veto on legislation, but he can return a measure to the two chambers for reconsideration. Every Presidential Act must be countersigned by a minister, who is responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. Thus as is the case in England, the French President is largely a figurehead. The Prime Minister is the actual head of the government. This constitution finally came into force in 1875.

Summary

1. *Restoration of Louis XVIII, 1815-1824.* On his accesion to the throne Louis XVIII granted a charter, establishing a constitutional system of government in France. By this charter, all Frenchmen were considered equal before law, and all were held equally eligible for all appointments in the civil and military services of the country. The taxes were to be in proportion to the incomes of the people.

2. *Charles X, 1824-1830.* Before his accession to the throne he was a leader of the reactionary party. He raised loans to give compensation to the emigrant nobles, for the loss they had suffered by the confiscation of their property during the revolution. He then placed a close censorship on the press, and he also restricted the franchise, and the powers of the legislature. These reactionary measures led to the revolution of July 1830. Charles X was dethroned, and he took refuge in England.

3. *Louis Philippe, 1830-1848.* He belsnged to a younger branch of the Bourbon family. He had taken an active part in the revolution of 1789, and had even become a member of the Jacobin Club. He accepted the crown from the Chamber of Deputies, and thus recognized the supremacy of the French Parliament, Although he had the support of the middle classes, the Legitimists, the Bonapartists, and the Republicans hated him. He had also alienated the Catholics. All parties, therefore, demanded reforms in the constitution. A series of banquets were held in which a large number of people joined. In these banquets speeches were made in favour of constitutional reforms. Guizot the prime minister prohibited the holding of these banquets. This led to revolution in February, 1848. The National Guards and the royal troops joined the revolutionaries. Louis Philippe was forced to abdicate and take refuge in England,

4. *The Second Republic, 1848-52.* The February revolution of 1848, was mainly the work of the middle and the working classes. So the provisional committee of government established a Republic. The socialists under the leadership of Louis Blanc wanted the establishment of "Nationlal Workshops" for the benefit of the workers. But these National Workshops failed, because the middle classes, and the peasants who were in a majority in the new Assembly did not want them. Moreover the Socialists did not have any well chalked out programme.

5. *Napoleon as President of the Second Republic.* The closing down of the National Workshops had led to an insurrection by the Socialists. This insurrection was put down by the Republican leader Caivagnac. This practically sealed the fate of the republic. After the suppression of the insurrection, it was impossible for a republican leader like Caivagnac to be elected as President. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, on the other hand, whe was a nephew of Napoleon the Great, was very popular. During the reign of Louis Philippe, there had been spread a good deal of propaganada in favour of Napoleonic regime. He was elected President by an overwhelming majority. Relying on his popularity, he suddenly imprisoned all the republican leaders, dissolved the Assembly, and in order to win the support of the masses, declared himself in favour of universal suffrage. The result was that on the 2nd of December 1851, he was elected President for ten years, and changes were also made in the constitution. In December, 1852, the second republic came to an end and Louis Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor Napoleon III. Thus the second empire was established.

6. *Emperor Napoleon III, 1852-1871.* He based his authority on the doctrine of popular sovereignty. But he carefully manipulated the elections. Under the constitution granted by him, the legislature had no powers of initiation. He was practically speaking a dictator.

7. *Domestic Policies of Napoleon III.* He promoted at home the material prosperity of the middle classes and the peasants. He removed restrictions on industry, established free trade, and opened savings banks. He constructed harbours, drained swamps, dug navigation canals, and built roads and railways. He beautified the city of Paris. He conciliated the clergy by putting education under their control, and by giving protection to the Pope of Rome.

8. *Foreign Policies of Napoleon III.* It was the aim of Napoleon III to undo the work of the Congress of Vienna. He wanted to regain for France the natural frontiers of the Alps and the Rhine, and to help the subject peoples to obtain freedom. Since the defeat of Napoleon the Great was due mainly to his retreat from Moscow, he wanted to take his revenge against Russia. He joined England and Turkey against Russia, in the Crimean War, and had the statisfaction of dictating peace to Russia at the Peace of Paris in 1856. He helped the Italians in driving the Austrians out of Lombardy, and he also helped Italy to become united. But in return he took the city of Nice and the duchy of Savoy from Italy, whereby he pushed his frontiers to the Alps in the south east. He also wanted to help the unification of Germany, but in return he wanted to push the French frontiers to the banks of the Rhine. But Prussia felt herself strong enough to bring about this unification, unaided, and she refused to give any bribe to France. This led to the Franco-German War. In this war the French Empire was overthrown, and the Third Republic was founded.

9. *Colonial Policy of Napoleon III.* France had begun to conquer Algeria in 1830. This conquest was completed in his time. The valley of the Senegal river on the west coast of Africa was also added to the French dominions. He acquired the New Caledonia islands in the Pacific Ocean. He waged a successful war with China, and obtained valuable trade concessions from China. The Indo-Chinese dominions were also acquired between 1858-1868. He tried to establish Franch protectorate over Mexico but here he failed.

10. *International Isolation of Napoleon III.* Napoleon obtained support from his own people only so long as he was successful in foreign wars and in foreign diplomacy. But the foreign powers were alarmed. By taking possession of Savoy and Nice he lost the friendship of Italy. On account of taking part in the Italian war of

Liberation he contracted the enmity of Austria. Russia was angry with him for taking part in the Crimean war. Prussia was afraid of his designs on Rhinelands. England too was suspicious of him. By 1867 he had lost all his friends in foreign countries. The people within France thought that all these rebuffs and defeats were due to his autocracy. If he had shared his powers with the representatives of the people, he would have been, they argued, more successful. The people therefore began to demand constitutional reforms. Napoleon then began to give political concessions to the people. The constitution thus became more and more liberalised between 1860 and 1870.

11. *Constitutional Reforms in France.* The Republican Constitution was framed in 1848. It declared universal suffrage. It establised a uni-cameral legislature, and the executive powers were vested in a President, elected by universal suffrage. This created two co-ordinate authorities likely to disagree. Under this constitution deadlock was easy, and a strong-willed President could defy the Parliament. The Assembly that was elected under this constitution was largely monarchical. At first Napoleon co-operated with the monarchical party in crushing the Republicans. Having done this, he quarrelled with the Monarchists, and dissolved the National Assembly. In 1851, Napoleon III changed the constitution and got himself elected President for 10 years. In 1852, the second empire was proclaimed, and Louis Napoleon became Emperor Napoleon III. Under the new constitution the National Assembly was elected by universal suffrage, but it enjoyed very little powers. It could not elect its own President and Vice Presidents, could not initiate legislation, and ministers were not responsible to it. Its proceedings could not without permission be reported in the Press. It did not even control taxation. Besides the Legislative body there was the Senate. It was an entirely nominated body. It was supposed to be the guardian of the constitution, and all laws passed by the Legislative Body were scrutinised by it. There was a third body called the Council of State. Its function was to draft legislative measures, and place them before the Legislative Body. The Emperor under this constitution possessed full powers. He had the command of the army and the navy. He decided upon war and peace, and he alone could negotiate treaties with foreign powers. He was the fountain of justice, and possessed full powers of pardon. He appointed the members of the Senate, the Council of State, and the High Court. He possessed powers of initiation in legislation. It is clear this machinery of government meant an autocratic government. But after 1860, the constitution began to be liberalised. The Italian war was the turning point in the

constitutional history of France. The patriots and the Catholics had become displeased with the policy of Napoleon III. He was now compelled to seek the support of the Liberals, by giving them political concessions. He permitted the Republicans to return to France who had been exiled in 1851. In 1860, he slightly increased the powers of the legislature. The reports of the proceedings of the legislature could now be reported in the press. Ministers were required to explain government policy in the house. In 1867, the right of interpellation was granted to the Legislative Body. In 1868, many of the restrictions on the press were removed. The right of public meetings was now conceded. In 1870, the constitution was completely liberalised. The Senate was now made a revising chamber of the Legislature. The ministers were made responsible to the Legislature. This new constitution was approved by the voters by an overwhelming majority. But soon after the Franco-German war put an end to the second Empire.

12. *The Third Republic.* Immediately after the fall of the Empire a Provisionai Government took charge of the affairs. But in order to make peace with Germany a national assembly was elected by universal suffrage. Since the Republicans wanted to continue the War, and the Middle Classes and the Peasants wanted Peace, the monarchists came out victorious in this election. The new Assembly made peace by the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, and by shouldering the burdens of a huge war indemnity. Soon after Thiers, the head of the National Government, came into violent conflict with the city of Paris. The Parisians wanted complete self-government for the cities. In their opinion the national government was to be merely a federation of self-governing units. Thiers, on the other hand, wanted a strong central government. This led to an insurrection in Paris. It was suppressed after two months. But in 1871, a law was passed increasing the self governing powers of the local bodies and, at the same time, the Assembly definitely decided in favour of the Republic. During the next four years a series of laws were passed. The new constitution established a system of government which resembles very much the British government. The legislative power is vested in a chamber of deputies, who are elected by a universal franchise for four years, and a senate elected by indirect election for nine years. The Prime minister and his colleagues in the cabinet are responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. The two chambers meeting in a joint session can revise the constitution, and also choose the President, who is appointed for seven years. The President is the Head of the Executive, but he has no veto on legislation. Like the English Monarch, the French President is a mere figurehead The actual head of government in France is the Prime Minister.

CHAPTER XXII

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN EUROPE

Definition of Socialism. Socialism is in part a product of Industrial Revolution, for it completed the separation of Capital and Labour. It was during this Revolution that the gulf between the Capitalists and the landless, propertyless, wage-earning proletariat became wider, and the contrasts between the rich and the poor, became sharper. It was true that vastly more wealth was now produced, than in earlier ages but it was now more unequally distributed. The few had too much, and the many had too little. Radical reformers, distressed by these inequalities began to proclaim the necessity of a wholesale reconstruction of society. It began to be realised that the person who works for wages is not free. He is a wage slave of his employer. It began to be held that the way to remedy this is to turn over the great industries of the capitalists to national, state, or local ownership, so that all should have a share in the profits. This ideal state of society they called the co-operative commonwealth. The main idea of the socialists is that the great industries which have arisen as a result of the Industrial Revolution, should not be left in private hands. They claim it is not right for the capitalists to own the mills and factories, upon which the workingmen must depend for their living. It is realised that the attempt of labour unions to get higher wages does not offer more than a temporary relief. They argue that an industrial system which permits the wealthy to put economic pressure on, and thus control the poor, is from the very nature of things wrong. Socialism, therefore, teaches, that the means of production, which under the modern

industrial system are Machinery, and the Mines and Factories, which keep the machinery going, as well as the railways and the steamships, which carry goods manufactured by these mills and factories, all these should belong to the society as a whole, and not be held as the private property of individuals. The Socialists demand that the state shall own and operate the instruments of production, that is land and capital. Under this arrangement rent, interest, and profits, as sources of personal income, would disappear, and private property would consist only of one's own clothing, household goods, money, and perhaps a house and a garden plot. The second demand of the Socialists is that the leisured class shall be eliminated, by requiring everybody to perform some useful labour, either physical or mental. Their third demand is that the income of the state shall be distributed as wages and salaries among the workers, according to some fairer principle than prevails at present. Socialism thus explained is not identical with public ownership of railways, telegraphs, telephones, postal service. and such other utilities. Similarly, labour legislation is not socialistic, because it fails to abolish private property, the factory system, and rent, interest, and profits.

Robert Owen 1771-1858. The earliest socialists relied on the kind hearts of the capitalist to ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes. Of these early socialists the most attractive figure was Robert Owen, a rich British mill-owner. who had much influence in England after the battle of Waterloo. It was he who first used the word *Socialism*. He owned a factory at New Lanark in Lancashire. He believed that men are what environment makes them. So he proposed to change the environment. He proceeded to remodel his factory. He constructed clean and healthy workrooms, decent residential houses for labourers, excellent schools for the education of the children of his employees, and established a co-operative store where he labourers

could buy the things they needed at nearly cost prices. He also provided pensions for the sick and the old. He raised the age at which children might be employed from five to ten. When there was a business crisis, he continued to pay the wages of his employees, who were temporarily thrown out of employment. The result was that the workmen employed in his factory became self-respecting, intelligent and contented. The relations between the employer and the employees were very cordial, and the business too continued to prosper and flourish. New Lanark thus became a place of pilgrimage for those interested in social reform. Had all manufacturers shown the inclination or ability to follow in the footsteps of Robert Owen, there would have been no need for Socialism. But that was not to be. The bulk of the manufacturers continued to fix their entire attention on merely making money. They paid no attention to the shocking conditions that prevailed among the labouring classes. Seeing that most of the manufacturers were selfish, and that they would not reform the factory system of industry, he turned to the state, and proposed that the State should compel the capitalist factory owners to treat their employees better. He now devoted the rest of his life to social reform, writing books, and making experiments to that end. He originally wanted the factory owners to make the necessary reforms, but when he found that they were unwilling to do so, he proposed to organise the labourers themselves. But he experienced great opposition from the side of the manufacturers. The British parliament too, which was dominated by the capitalistic landowners, and factory owners, did not undertake factory legislation for the protection of the labourers. The Chartist movement in England may be said to be a direct result of the preachings of Robert Owen. There is no doubt that Robert Owen did pioneer work as an advocate of trade unionism and labour legislation, at a time when no one had thought about these things. He died in 1858.

Count de Saint-Simon 1760-1825. If Robert Owen may be considered the founder of English Socialism, Saint Simon was the founder of Socialism in France. Count Henri de Saint Simon was a member of an old and famous family which had given many men of note to France. He claimed descent from Charlemagne. A man of very active mind he devoted his life to study and writing on scientific, political, and social subjects. Saint-Simon as a thinker was not systematic nor always clear, but he was fertile in ideas, ingenious in plans for social reform, and he exercised a considerable influence upon a small body of young and able men, who were attracted by the generous and benevolent character of his teaching. A profound student of science and of history, he wished to re-organise the world in accordance with the lessons to be learned from them. He believed that the future belonged to the industrial state. He thought that in future the earth would be exploited by the material, intellectual, and moral activity of men associated together. He believed that the new society will be dominated and directed not by hereditary aristocratic or military classes but by the intellectual elite, or by research workers, who alone will possess the necessary knowledge for the regular, scientific, fraternal utilization of the opportunities offered by nature. They alone he said, will be capable of abolishing evil, of suppressing that individualism, that competitive spirit, which creates social misery and ruin, that antagonism between States which creates war. He believed that humanity organised and directed by the intellectuals will attain social happiness and prosperity. Saint-Simon advocated an industrial state directed by modern science. He wanted every human institution to aim at the physical and moral improvement of the most numerous and poorest class. He held that society should be organised in the way best adapted for attaining this end. This became the watchword for the entire school of Saint-Simon. His students and

followers after his death in 1825, continued to advocate his principles.

Charles Fourier 1772-1837. Another Frenchman who was struck with the evils of the existing economic system and who elaborated a plan for their cure was Charles Fourier. Fourier's scheme took the Commune as the industrial and social unit. The people living together in this town or village were to live and work together and share together the product of their labour. Fourier declared that the true foundation of society lay in the spirit of harmony. Give every individual, he said, the opportunity for self-expression which he instinctively craves, and social relations will become harmonious, peaceful, and happy. He thought that the individual should engage in whatever work he likes, should leave it when he likes and should then take up something more to his taste. Ultimately he was sure to find his perfect niche in society, and find a kind of work which will be most in harmony with his inclinations and qualities. Such were some of the ideas of Charles Fourier. All these ideas were in part an outcome of the French Revolution. That upheaval destroyed so many time-honoured institutions and created so many new ones that it gave a great impetus to schemes for the regeneration of society. French radical thinkers soon set out to purge the world of capitalism as their fathers had purged it of feudalism. Their ideas began to become popular with working-men after the factory system, with its attendant evils, gained an entrance into France.

Louis Blanc 1813-1882 The factory workers found a leader in Louis Blanc, a journalist and author of wide reputation. The revolution of 1789, he declared, had benefited the peasants and the *bourgeoisie* ; that of 1830 the capitalists, and the next must be for the benefit of the proletariat. Louis Blanc believed that every man had an inalien-

able right to remunerative employment. To provide it, the state should set up national workshops managed by the workers in each particular industry. His idea triumphed for a time in the revolution of 1848. The Second French Republic expressly recognised "the right to labour" and proceeded to set up national workshops. They were, however, so badly managed that Louis Blanc himself disapproved of them. Their speedy failure brought such discredit upon him and his followers that Socialism became almost extinct in France.

Karl Marx 1818-1883 Modern Socialists, however, regard these early socialists as dreamers and their methods as impracticable. They do not think that the rich will ever, from pure unselfishness, give up their control over industries. So they turn to working people only, point out to them the great advantage of Socialism, and call upon them to bring it about in the face of the opposition of the capitalists. They claim that wealth is produced by labour, for which capital only furnishes the opportunity and that labour is justified in taking what it produces. The great teacher of this modern dectrine of Socialism was Karl Marx, a German writer who lived most of his life in London. He was a learned man, trained in philosophy and economics, and he came to the conclusion from a study of history that just as the middle classes or capitalists had replaced feudal nobles, so the working class would replace the capitalists in the future. He said the factory system had reduced the vast majority of artisans to a position in which the capitalist was able to dictate the conditions upon which work should be done. Karl Marx, in an eloquent appeal to the workers, in his *Communist Manifesto* issued in 1848, called upon the members of this "proletariat who had nothing to lose but their chains", to rise and seize the means of production themselves. About 20 years later, in 1867, appeared the first volume of Karl Marx's most celebrated work, *Das Kapital*, in which he attempted to prove

by history, that Socialism was bound to prevail. Though a learned book and somewhat difficult to understand, it nevertheless has exercised great influence on European socialists. Together with the *Communist Manifesto* the *Das Kapital* embodies the cardinal doctrines of " Marxian " socialism. After his death in 1883, the other two volumes of his *Das Kapital* were published from manuscripts left by him.

The Teachings of Karl Marx. *Das Kapital* of Karl Max is in itself a controversial book of the most pronounced kind and has provoked memorable and bitter discussion. Claiming to prove the bankruptcy of the previous science of Economics, it pretends to establish in its place a political economy that is truly "scientific." Karl Marx asserted that his brand of socialism was scientific, that is, was a presentation of certain immutable laws. He considered the socialist theories of his predecessors as " Utopian " He treated with contempt all their schemes for a perfect social organization. According to him the future state is not to be the product of the intellectual ingenuity or imagination of any man, however able. The future, in his opinion, is determined by the past. It is the inevitable product of certain forces operating in the world, the product of economic tendencies, and these tendencies are as irresistible as is the law of gravitation. These tendencies determine pitilessly the course of events. Marxian socialism rests upon one " fundamental proposition," the economic interpretation of history. In the preface to the Communist Manifesto, he writes, "In every historic epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch." In other words, economic conditions have determined the entire course of history, and

history is but the record of economic conditions and the institutions and ideas to which they have given birth. Not only do the methods of production and distribution constitute the economic life, but they are the chief factors in determining every other part of life as well. Our political and social institutions. our religious conceptions and emotions, our standards of morality, our philosophies and literature, our sciences, our codes of law, all are inspired, shaped, and fashioned, and explained by the prevalent economic process. This in short is what is meant by economic interpretation of history. To the Marxian socialists this is the only safe key to history. Taking hold of this key and turning it, what do we learn in regard to the past. This, that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Free man and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted fight, now hidden, now open, a fight that each time ended in a revolutionary reconstruction of society at large or in the common ruin of the contesting classes." History is but the progressive record of this desperate and destructive struggle of classes. The more it changes the more it is the same thing. The Class-struggle of to-day, which is to be the final one, is that between employers and labourers, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; in other words between those who own the instruments of production, the capitalists, and those who, in order to live, are compelled to accept whatever conditions the capitalists impose. Such are the modern "exploiters" and "exploited;" such is the struggle which is now going on, the result of which is not in doubt, is inevitable and will be revolutionary. As the bourgeoisie defeated the old feudal and aristocratic class and then installed itself in its place, so the proletariat will dethrone the bourgeoisie and rule in its stead. Then will disappear

the bourgeois system of law and government, bourgeois law, morality, and religion, all so many "prejudices" which is merely another name for economic "interests." The Marxian socialists believe that this modern class struggle will become steadily more and more tense and acute and will end in revolution. The reason advanced is that capitalistic production has two inevitable, unvarying tendencies, greater and greater concentration of wealth in the hands of fewer and fewer people, and greater and greater misery for the wage-earners, the "exploited." Capitalists will become fewer and fewer and richer and richer as the big ones swallow up the little. The labouring class, that is, the proletariat, will become larger and larger, as many small capitalists, small farmers, and merchants, lawyers, doctors, teachers, the professional people in general, in other words, the middle classes, unable to hold their own with "big capital", will be driven down until they all land in the proletariat. When you get society divided not into several classes but only into two, and these two sharply differentiated by increasing wealth and increasing misery, then there can be only one outcome, a social revolution. The vast majority of men will not be content to remain forever the wretched tools of a small and selfish minority, controlling all the means of production, that is holding in their hands, the very keys of life and death. They will, when that intolerable moment has come, rise in their wrath, overthrow their oppressors, and themselves take control of the instruments of production. The three basic principles of Marxian socialism are : firstly, the economic or materialistic interpretation of history ; secondly, the class struggle ; and thirdly, the inevitable social revolution. Karl Marx also believed that economic movements are international, not national. But a deeper consideration of the problem will show that the idea of Karl Marx with regard to the Economic interpretation of History is a gross exaggeration. Economics

is after all one factor. Karl Marx claimed that his system was rigorously "scientific." But the scientist does not get very far in postulating his laws, if he ignores or misconceives many of the elements involved. Many other motives or instincts, besides the economic, operate upon men, and very often these other motives and instincts work actually in direct opposition to the economic motives. There are racial characteristics, religious and patriotic motives, the fighting instincts of particular people, the dynamic influence of exceptional individuals, like Mahatma Buddha, Christ or Mahatma Gandhi. The influence of tradition and of custom, the power of eloquence inspiring the most surprising actions, or the responsiveness of the masses to this or that suggestion, that is to say mob psychology. All these and many other factors have gone into the making of history, and it is the difficult business of the historian to analyse them and to show their relative contributions to any given period in man's evolution. No historian can for a moment claim to be scientific who ascribes all the phenomena of the past to operations of one force, of one of the intersts of men, of one of the aspects of his nature. If he does so, he is nothing more than a sectarian, or a propagandist. It is no doubt true that it is highly useful and desirable to study economic history, but it is still more useful and desirable to preserve one's intellectual balance. It is clear Karl Marx did not preserve this intellectual balance.

Growth of Socialism. Although most of the theories upon which Karl Marx based his "Scientific" Socialism have beeen discredited by the criticisms which they have encountered, and although many of these theories have been rejected by thoughtful socialists themselves, yet it is true that the socialist movement has grown very much during the last fifty years. Socialist parties now exist in all countries, and the socialist vote is everywhere an important factor in politics. How is this rapid growth in

socialism to be explained, if the theories upon which socialism is based are wrong ? This explanation lies in the fact that Socialism has been, apart from all theories, the severest critic of existing conditions. The socialists have pointed out concretely, repeatedly, and unsparingly, the evils and defects of the present industrial system, and they have studied and discussed every aspect of that most formidable and most complex problem of the relations of capital and labour. Of all the other social reformers, the Socialists are best organized, and they have always directed their appeals to the masses. It has very often been found that a theory does not need to be sound, and a plan does not need to be practicable in order to appeal to those who suffer or are dissatisfied. The history of error has always been a considerable part of the history of mankind.

The First International. It has been stated that one feature of the philosophy of Karl "Marx is its international character. Proletarians of all lands, unite" was the watchword of the Communist Manifesto of 1848. In 1864, there was founded in London the International Association of Working Men, now called the First International. This International Association was founded for the purpose of co-ordinating and systematizing the operations of socialistic societies, groups, and parties everyhere. The labour problem was declared to be not a local nor a national problem but an international one. The International Association, organized in London, was to have a General Council on which each nation was to be represented. This Council was to summon annual congresses and was to stimulate and correlate as far as possible the efforts of the local societies and the national parties, whenever they should arise. It was to serve as a clearing house of information and suggestion. It was to be a generator of energy, an organiser of propaganda. It adopted the Marxian

economic theories and was pledged to their advocacy everywhere. But the activities of this International alarmed the governing classes in the various countries, who saw in it the possibility of a general uprising of the labouring classes. The Congress called to meet in Brussels in 1865 was forbidden by the Belgian government. After that a congress was held every year in Switzerland. In its pronouncements the international became more and more revolutionary. It had a considerable amount of success in educating the opinion of workingmen. But it was composed of radicals of various strains, who could not work in harmony. So its history began soon to be signalised by a series of internal struggles for control. There was great rivalry between Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin (1814-1876), a Russian refugee who believed in anarchy and who wished to commit the International to the support of his theories. Here was a clash of two programmes, the collectivism of Marx, and the anarchy of Bakunin, and a clash of two policies. Karl Marx was in favour of legal political action, and Bakunin was in favour of violent methods. At length the anarchists were expelled from the International. Attacked from without, and torn within by rival factions, the International did not last long. The nationalism of the period, a period which was witnessing the unification of Italy and Germany, was unfavourable to the spread of a philosophy of internationalism. The last congress of the International was held in 1873, and three years later in 1876 the Association was dissolved.

National Socialism. While the First International was engaged in founding a great international socialist party, which should unite the labourers of all countries, under a common banner and a central authority, there was being formed in Germany. a nationalist socialist party. This party was founded by Ferdinand Lassalle, (1825-1864). Like Karl Marx, the founder of International Socialism, Ferdinand

Lassalle was a son of Jewish parents. Having completed his university work, he went to Paris. He then returned to Germany, and, being involved in the revolution of 1848, he was sentenced to six month's imprisonment. In 1859, he was allowed to enter Berlin. He then plunged into the constitutional struggle which shortly broke out between Bismark and the Liberals in the Prussian Legislature. Here in this chamber he advocated for the first time the cause of the workingmen. By his facile pen, by his impassioned eloquence, by his extraordinary argumentative power, by the magnetism of his personality, by his boldness. and by his unceasing activity he impressed himself upon his contemporaries, and started a strong agitation in favour of the labourers. But in 1864, he lost his life in a duel. Before his death, however, he had, in 1863, founded the General Workingmen's Association of Germany. He was its first president. He conducted its affairs with ability, making tours in the industrial cities of Germany. He spent his time in agitation, in giving speeches, and in keeping up correspondence with his co-workers in the provinces. His influence continued to increase among workingmen, even after his death. Lassalle's field of work lay mainly in Prussia and in Northern Germany. In Southern Germany there arose another socialist worker, William Liebknecht (1826-1900), who was a friend and desciple of Karl Marx. He too had been expelled from Germany in connection with his revolutionary activities in 1848. He returned home in 1862. His field of work was in Saxony, and in Southern Germany. So there were two Socialist parties in Germany. As their aims were fundamentally the same, they united in 1875. The German Socialist party demanded the establishment of socialistic productive associations with state help under the democratic control of the labouring classes. The party also demanded universal, direct, and equal suffrage, with secret ballot. They wanted questions of peace and war

to be decided directly by the people. They advocated the cause of freedom of the press, freedom of association, and public meeting, free justice, and free and universal education. The party thus formed has taken an increasingly active part in German politics. Bismark repressed this party which was known by the name of the Social Democratic Party. He prohibited meetings of the Socialists, and the circulation of Socialist literature. An effort was made to punish by fines and imprisonment the propagation of socialist doctrines. But this persecution failed to check the socialist movement, and before the World War, the Social Democrats polled a larger vote than any other German party. The Social Democratic Party of Germany provided a model for similar organizations of Marxian Socialists in Great Britain, France, United States of America, Australia, Japan, and many other countries. Congresses of representatives of the various national socialist parties are held from time to time in order to bring together the working classes of every land.

Syndicalism and Bolshevism. All socialists do not rely on orderly and legal means to abolish Capitalism. A large group of extreme socialists would like to confiscate private property and use violence and terrorism in the supposed interest of the proletariat. In France there has grown a movement which is called by the name of Syndicalism. Its adherents have gained control of a number. of trade unions (*syndicats*), with the idea of bringing on general strikes to coerce employers. The Syndicalists also introduced the practice of injuring machinery and destroying employer's property. Similar methods have been employed in the United States of America by the "Industrial Workers of the World." Bolshevism in Russia is the latest and the most impressive manifestation of this type of socialism.

Summary

1. *Definition of Socialism.* In England it is a product of Industrial Revolution and in France of the French Revolution of 1789. The socialists hold that the slavery of the present day working classes can be removed only if means of production, such as mines, factories mills, railways, and steamships all are nationalised. In their opinion, the State should own and operate the instruments of production. Under this arrangement rent, interest, and profits, as sources of personal income will disappear, and private property would consist only of one's own clothing, household goods, money, and perhaps a house and a garden plot. They want to eliminate the leisured class, and they want that the income of the State should be distributed as wages and salaries among the workers.

2. *Robert Owen, 1771-1858.* He was a factory owner in New Lanark in Lancashire. He constructed clean and healthy workrooms, decent residential houses for the labourers, excellent schools for the education of the children of workmen, and established a co-operative stores for the benefit of his employees. In times of crises when the labourers were temporarily out of employment, he continued to pay them their wages. The result was that the workmen in his factory became self-respecting, intelligent and contented. The relations between the employers and the employed became very cordial, and the business too continued to prosper and flourish. He wanted the same methods to be employed by other factory owners. When he found that they were unwilling to do so, he turned to the state for assistance. But the Parliament too was in those days dominated by capitalists and landowners. After this, started a strong propaganda in favour of the labouring classes. In this, way he roused a bitter opposition of the factory owners. He died in 1858.

3. *Count de Saint-Simon, 1760-1825.* He was the founder of socialism in France. He wished to re-organise society in accordance with the lessons learnt from science and history. He believed that in future the earth would be exploited by the material, intellectual and moral activity of men associated together. He thought such people will be capable of abolishing evil, of suppressing that individualism, that competitive spirit, which creates social misery and ruin, and that antagonism between states which creates war. He advocated an industrial state, directed by science. He died in 1825.

4. *Charles Fourier, 1772-1837.* He took the Commune as the industrial and social unit. The people living together in this town or village, were to live and work together and share together the fruits of

their labour. He wanted that every worker should be able to have a profession or occupation of his own choice, in which he felt interested. That would, he thought, bring about harmony.

5. *Louis Blanc*, 1813-1882. He believed that every man had an inalienable right to remunerative employment. To provide it, he wanted the State to open national workshops, maintained by the State, and managed by the workers themselves. When a new government was formed after the revolution of 1848, he was put in charge of these national workshops. But they were very badly managed, and his experiment failed miserably.

6. *Karl Marx*, 1818-1883. He was a German writer who lived most of his time in London. He believed that just as the middle classes had overthrown feudalism, so were the capitalists bound to be overthrown by the labouring classes. He issued the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848, and called upon the members of the proleteriat to rise and seize the means of production themselves. In 1867, appeared his first volume of his *Das Kapital* in which he attempted to prove by history that socialism was bound to prevail. This book has exercised a great influence on European socialists. All the doctrines of the modern socialists are contained in these two works the Communist Manifesto and Das Kapital.

7. *The Teachings of Karl Marx.* He claimed that his brand of socialism was scientific. He held that the socialist theories of his predecessors were utopian. He believed that the future re-organisation of society was not to be a product of the imagination of any great man, but it was to be moulded by economic forces which have so far played on society. He believed that every society is a product of economic tendencies. He held that our political and social institutions, our religious conceptions, and emotions, our standards of morality, our philosophies and literature, our sciences, and our codes of law, all are inspired, shaped, and fashioned by the prevailing economic and industrial system. In a word organisation of society is based on a proper economic interpretation of history. He said if you read history properly, you will find that the history of man is a history of struggles between the different classes, freemen and slaves, patricians and plebians, lords and serfs, and guildmasters and journeymen. The present class struggle he said, was between the capitalists and the labourers. Under the present system, the capitalists are becoming fewer and fewer but at the same time richer and richer. On the other hand smaller capitalists and landowners are becoming poorer and poorer, and thus adding to the numbers of the labourers. When in this way the middle classes

disappear, capitalists, too few in number, will be confronted with the starving and oppressed mass of the people who will rise en masse against the capitalists, their oppressors. In this revolution the capitalistic system of society will be overthrown and the workers will become masters. Karl Marx has relied only on the economic forces. He has not taken into consideration other forces which are equally powerful in moulding society. Religion, patriotism, fighting instincts, dynamic influence of exceptional personalities, influence of tradition and custom, power of eloquence, inspiring the most surprising actions, herd psychology of the masses, they are all very powerful forces which have moulded the course of history. By laying undue emphasis on economic forces, Karl Marx reduced himself to a mere propagandist. He cannot claim to be scientific.

8. *Growth of Socialism*. Although most of the theories of the modern socialists are wrong, still it is a fact that socialism has grown very rapidly in Europe and in some of the other countries of the world. The explanation is quite easy. The socialists are the best organised society and they have consistently pointed out concretely, repeatedly, and unsparingly, the evils and the defects of the present industrial system. They have always directed their appeals to the masses. That is the reason they are very popular.

9. *The First International, 1864—1876 and the Second and the Third International*. One great feature of the teachings of Karl Marx was that he held socialism to be an international problem, and not a national or local one. He wanted the proletariate of all lands to unite. In 1864, there was founded in London the International Association of Working Men. This organisation is called the First International. It was founded for the purpose of co-ordinating and systematizing the operations of socialistic societies. It had a General Council on which each nation was represented. This Council was to summon annual sessions of the International Congress. The Council was also to serve as a clearing house of information and suggestions. It adopted the Marxian economic theories and it was pledged to advocate them everywhere. But this organisation soon aroused the opposition of the governing classes in the various countries of Europe The Belgian government prohibited its session in Brussels. After this the sessions of the International were held in Switzerlaud. The International was composed of men holding diverse views. So they soon began to quarrel among themselves. There was great rivalry between Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin. Karl Marx was in favour of constitutional and peaceful methods, and Bakunin was in favour of

employing violent and terrorist methods. Karl Marx believed in collectivism, and Bakunin believed in anarchy. At length the Anarchists were driven out of the International. But just about this time the sentiment of nationalism was very popular. This was the period during which Italy and Germany became united. So there was an unfavourable atmosphere for Internationalism. The last Congress of the International was held in 1873, and it was finally dissolved in 1876.

The International Socialist Bureau called the Second International was created in 1900, with its headquarters at Brussals. Its function was to carry out the decisions of triennial international congresses and conferences, to summon congresses in emergencies, and to maintain a Central Socialist office for propaganda. Its activities were suspended during the Great War, but it resumed work in 1918 with its headquarters at Amsterdam. In February 1919 another meeting of the International Trade Union Conference was held at Berne. This is the Third Internationl with its headquarters now at Moscow.

10. *National Socialism.* Ferdinand Lassale was the founder of the Social Democratic party in Germany. It was founded in 1863. His field of work lay in northern Germany. On the other hand, William Liebknecht started a socialist movement in southern Germany. Both these organisations were united in 1875. Bismark tried to suppress this socialist movement in Germany, but he failed to do so. Before the World War, the Socialists polled a larger vote than any other party in Germany. Socialist parties on the model of the German Social Democratic party have been formed in other countries of the world also.

11. *Syndicalism and Bolshevism.* A large number of extreme socialists would like to abolish all private property and use violent methods in achieving their objects. In France there has grown a movement which is called by the name of Syndicalism. Its adherents have gained control of a number of trade unions, and their aim is to bring about universal strikes, and to destroy the property of the factory owners. Bolshevism is another development, whereby the workers have taken control of the government and of all means of production.

CHAPTER XXIII

ENGLAND AFTER THE TUDORS

The Stuarts. 1603-1714. After the death of Elizabeth in 1603, James VI of Scotland, and I of England, ascended the throne of England. He belonged to the Scottish royal family of the Stuarts. James I and his successors were staunch believers in the Divine Right of Kings. But by this time the British Parliament, whose foundations had been laid in the reign of Henry III (1215-1272), had also begun to take interest in the administration of the country. So the next eighty-five years were spent in a long and bitter struggle between the king and the parliament. The chief point at issue was, should the Stuart king rule the country as he liked, or should the parliament control the kings in the administration of the country? From the time of king Henry III and Edward I there had grown a practice of the kings summoning the parliament, whenever they stood in need of money. At this time when the king wanted money the representatives of the people could place before him their grievances, and ask for their redress. It was this convention which was used to obtain political concessions from the king. Under the Tudors, the monarchs had been able to manage parliament in such a manner that it did just what they wanted it to do. But the Stuarts were rather tactless.

Charles I, 1625-1649. Charles I, (1625-1649), son of James was very obstinate. He began to quarrel with parliament. When that body refused to grant him money, mainly because they thought that it was likely to be wasted by his favourite the Duke of Buckingham, Charles formed the plan of winning their favour by a great military victory. He hoped

to gain popularity by prosecuting a war against Spain. So he intervened in the Thirty Years' War. He sent expeditions against Spanish ships returning from America. But they failed. In his attempts to raise money without a regular grant from parliament, Charles resorted to vexatious exactions. The Law prohibited him from asking for *gifts* from his people, but it did not forbid his asking them to *lend* him money. Five gentlemen who refused to pay such a forced loan were imprisoned by the order of the king. This raised the question, whether the king had the right to send to prison any one who had not committed any breach of the law. In this way he aroused the opposition of the parliament. In 1628, it drew up the celebrated *Petition of Rights*, which is one of the most important documents in the history of the English constitution. In it the parliament called the attention of the king to his unlawful exactions, and to the acts of his agents who had in various ways troubled the people. Parliament, therefore, "humbly prayed" the king that no man need hereafter "make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge" without the consent of parliament; that no free man should be imprisoned or suffer any punishment except according to laws and statutes of the realm as they appeared in the Magna Charta; and that soldiers should not be quartered upon the people on any pretext whatever. Charles very reluctantly agreed to these restrictions being placed upon him. But since Charles showed sympathy towards the Roman Catholic faith, and he actually introduced some of the Catholic practices in the English Church, the differences between the king and the parliament became much more serious. When after this, Charles I attempted to raise taxes on his own account, without the consent of the parliament there was a very stormy session in the House of Commons. In 1629, the king dissolved the parliament, and then for eleven years after this no parliament was summoned. The king now levied contributions called by

the name of "ship money." He held that it was not a tax, but simply a payment by which his subjects freed themselves from the duty of defending their country. John Hampden refused to pay this money. He was tried before the king's judges and convicted. He then appointed William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, who believed that the English Church should be brought nearer the Roman Catholic Church. Laud's conduct displeased a very large number of Englishmen.

The Civil War and the Republic. But Charles could not for long carry on the government of the country, without fresh supplies. He was in 1640 compelled to summon parliament. Charles I had quarrelled with the Scottish Presbyterians, and he wanted money to suppress them. The new parliament began by sending Laud a prisoner to the Tower. They declared him guilty of Treason, and he was executed in 1645. Parliament also tried to strengthen its position by passing the Triennial Bill, which provided that it should meet at least once in three years, even if not summoned by the king. After this parliament drew up a "Grand Remonstrance" in which all of Charles' errors were enumerated and a demand was made that the kings should thereafter be responsible to parliament. This document parliament ordered to be printed and circulated throughout the country. Exasperated at the conduct of the Commons, Charles attempted to intimidate the opposition by undertaking to arrest five of its most active leaders whom he declared to be traitors. Both Charles and Parliament now began to gather troops for the inevitable conflict, and England was plunged into a civil war. The supporters of Charles were called *Cavaliers*, and the parliamentary party was known as the *Roundheads*. The Roundheads soon found a distinguished leader in Oliver Cromwell, a country gentleman and member of Parliament. The War lasted till 1649. Charles was defeated and taken prisoner. He was executed in 1649. For eleven years after this there

was a republican form of government in England. But in 1660 the monarchy was again restored. Charles II son of Charles' I was restored to the throne.

The Restoration. Charles II ruled from 1660 to 1685. During his reign several Acts were passed to put the established church of England on a proper footing. He was succeeded by his brother Jame II, who ruled from 1685 to 1688. But he again began to follow a Catholic policy. So there was another revolution in England.

The Revolution of 1688. Mary, daughter of James II, had married her cousion William of Orange, who was the ruler of the Netherlands. Invitations were sent by a group of Protestants to William of Orange, asking him to come and rule over England. William landed in November 1688, and marched upon London, where he received general support from all the English Protestants. James II started to oppose William, but his army refused to fight and his courtiers deserted him. He was compelled to take refuge in France. A new Parliament declared the throne vacant, on the ground that James II "By the advice of the Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fnndamental laws and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government." A Bill of Rights was then drawn up, condemning James's violation of the constitution and appointing William and Mary joint sovereigns. This Bill of Rights once more stated the fundamental rights of the English nation and the limitations which the Petition of Rights and the Magna Charta had placed upon the king. By this peaceful revolution of 1688, the English people got rid of the Stuarts, and their claim to rule by divine right. A Bill of Toleration was passed by parliament which freed Dissenters from all penalties for failing to attend services in Anglican Churches and allowed them to have their own meetings. Even

Catholics were permitted to hold services undisturbed by government.

The Later Stuarts. Very soon after this, William III went to war against Louis XIV of France. In the war of Spanish Succession, both France and Spain were weakened very much, with the result that now the English navy was superior to that of any other power. It has already been seen that in the Seven Years' War, England succeeded in driving the French both from North America as well as from India. With the accession to the throne of William III, and Mary II, England may be said to have settled two questions. In the first place, the nation had clearly shown that it proposed to remain Protestant, in spite of the Catholic sympathies of Stuart kings. In the second place, the power of the king had been carefully defined and from the opening of the 18th century, to the present time, no English monarch has ventured to veto an Act of Parliament. William III, was succeeded by his sister-in-law, Queen Anne, who ruled from 1702 to 1713. It was during her reign that England and Scotland were united. These two countries had, it is true, been under the same ruler since the accession of James I, but each country had maintained its own independent parliament and system of government. At length in 1707, both nations agreed to unite their government into one. Forty-five members of the British House of Commons were after this to be chosen in Scotland and sixteen Scottish lords were to be added to the British House of Lords. In this way the whole of Great Britain was placed under one government.

The House of Hanover. Since none of the children of Queen Anne survived her, she was succeeded by her nearest Protestant heir. This was a son of Princes Sophia, a grand-daughter of James I, of England. She

had married the Elector of Hanover. So the new king of England, George I, was also Elector of Hanover, and a member of the Holy Roman Empire. He ascended the throne of Great Britain in 1714. For a quarter of a century after the Treaty of Utrecht,* signed in 1713, England enjoyed peace. Under the administration of the first British Prime Minister, Walpole, peace was maintained within and without. But in 1740, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Louis XV of France, attacked Maria Theresa, of Austria. The sympathies of England were with the injured queen. George I had been succeeded by his son George II in 1727. As Elector of Hanover, George II, led an army of German troops against the French, and defeated them on the river Maine. In 1745, the French defeated the English and Dutch forces in the Netherlands. This encouraged Prince Charlie, the young pretender, a grandson of James II, to invade England. But he was soon forced to take refuge in France. Soon after the close of the War of Austrian Succession in 1748, England entered upon a series of wars which was destined profoundly to affect not only her position, but also the fate of distant parts of the globe. In the Seven Years' War, (1756-1763) Great Britain obtained a commanding position in India, and she also conquered Canada in North America. But in 1776, the English colonies in North America revolted against the mother country, and in 1783, they became independent under the name of the United States of America. Then came the French Revolution, and Great Britain remained fighting against France from 1793 to 1815.

British System of Government. In the 18th century England seemed to possess, in comparison with other countries, a model of free government. By the Bill of Rights (1689) the king was forbidden to make any new laws, or go against any old ones, or levy any taxes, or keep a standing army, without the consent of

parliament. He was not to interfere with freedom of speech, or refuse to receive respectful petitions from his subjects. Even the right of veto of the British monarch fell into disuse after 1707. It meant that at a time when continental countries were ruled by benevolent despots, in Great Britain the powers of making laws were taken over by the British parliament. The British monarch could not arbitrarily arrest and punish his subjects. The Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 provided that any one who was arrested should be informed of the reasons and should be speedily tried by a regular tribunal and dealt with according to the law of the land. In France, right up to the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, there were none of these restrictions placed upon the king. The English people had, therefore, won during the 17th century, two important safeguards for their liberties—a parliament to make their laws, and a good system of courts of justice to see that the laws were properly carried out.

Industrial Revolution makes British Parliament Unrepresentative. But in the 19th century after the close of the Napoleonic. Wars it became clear that there was a great need of reform in both these branches of government. The reform of the parliament was the most pressing need, for parliament had ceased to represent the nation at large, and had become a council of wealthy landlords and nobles. This was due to two things. In the first place, there were the so-called "rotten boroughs." In the time of king Henry III and Edward I, each borough was required to send two representatives, and so was each county required to send two representatives in the House of Commons. During the Industrial Revolution, the bulk of the population shifted from the south eastern parts of England to the neighbourhood of coal and iron mines in the north and the north west. A large number of the old towns and villages were deserted, but they continued

to send their representatives to parliament. The new towns that had come into existence were not given the right of representation. Secondly, even in the towns which did possess the right of representation, few persons had the right to vote. Many of the boroughs were owned outright by the members of the House of Lords, who were able easily to force the few voters to choose any candidate they proposed. Bribery was rampant and was fostered by the system of open voting.

The Reforms of 1832. The reform of the suffrage proved a very difficult matter. Those in control of the parliament managed to prevent any reforms being introduced. The excesses of the French radicals filled conservative Englishmen with deep distrust of all innovations in government or in society. The long Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars also delayed reform movements in England. The Tories had a majority in the House of Commons throughout this period, from 1789 to 1815, and Tory statesmen were dead opposed to democracy. The rich business men and labouring classes in the new industrial towns had no votes. This led to a very strong agitation in the country. In 1819, a big meeting at Peterloo was dispersed and large number of people there were massacred. At length in 1832, after two years of debate, a Reform Bill was passed, in spite of the strong opposition of the House of Lords. This Reforms Act abolished many "rotten boroughs" and gave representation to large towns which had never before possessed this privilege. It also increased the number of voters to include shopkeepers in the towns, and rent payers as well as owners of land in the rural areas. But even under these reforms all industrial workmen and agricultural labourers were excluded from the franchise. It were only the middle classes that were now included in the electorate.

The Chartist Movement. The great Reform Bill of 1832 was, therefore, not really a triumph for democracy. The disappointment among the poorer classes over their exclusion from the vote was great and widespread. This led to what as known by the name of the Chartist movement. These Chartists made six demands that is to say, universal suffrage, vote by secret ballot, annual election of parliament, payment of salaries to members of parliament, abolition of property qualification for members, and equal electoral districts. This Charter soon won thousands of adherents. Great meetings and parades were held all over England. The Charter was transformed into a petition, for which, it was claimed, over a million signatures were obtained. This petition was presented to parliament, but was rejected by an overwhelming majority. After this, some of the Chartists began to advocate violent revolutionary methods. Riots took place, but they were easily suppressed. The Revolution of 1848 in France gave the signal for the last great outburst of Chartist enthusiasm. Owing to the hard times in that year, thousands of workmen were unemployed, and the poor were roused to bitter hatred for a government that replied to demands for reform by calling out the police. Preparations were made to present another gigantic petition to the House of Commons, for which it was claimed six million names had been secured, and the Chartist leaders wanted to overawe parliament by a march on London. But this show of force was frustrated by the aged Duke of Wellington, who was put in command of the troops in London. Parliament refused to take action, and the movement collapsed. But there was another reason why the Chartist movement failed.

The Free Trade Movement. Simulteneously with the Chartist Movement there was going on in England another movement. That was the move-

ment in favour of Free Trade. In 1815, England believed thoroughly in protection. Hundreds of articles were subject to duties as they entered England. English shipping was also protected by the navigation laws. Since the parliament at that time consisted mainly of landlords, they naturally protected agriculture. The import of corn into the country was subject to heavy duties. This kept the prices of food-grains high. On the other hand, it was the interest of the factory owners and labourers to get food-stuffs cheap. High prices of food compelled the factory owners to pay higher wages to the workmen, and import duties on all articles raised the prices of the raw materials used by the manufacturers. They wanted the import duties to be removed so that food and raw materials may become cheaper. An Anti-corn League was formed, and a huge propaganda was started in favour of Free Trade. Just about this time there took place a fearful famine in Ireland. The Potato crop had failed. The government was compelled to remove duties on food-stuffs. By 1846 import duties on a large number of articles were removed, and after this England became more and more a free trading country. These measures eased the situation a good deal. The poorer classes of people could now get cheap food. It was this more than anything else which killed the Chartist Movement in England.

British Parliament Becomes Democratic. But in spite of the failure of the Chartist Movement, the demand for a more democratic government spread, and finally in 1867 at the instance of Disraeli, the Prime Minister, the House of Commons passed a Reforms Bill which doubled the number of voters. This Act extended the franchise to workingmen in the towns. Disraeli's rival, Gladstone, extended in 1884 and 1885 the franchise to agricultural labourers as well. It is true these measures did not establish complete manhood franchise, still they went far towards making the

House of Commons a truly representative and democratic body. In 1911 the House of Lords was deprived of all control over money bills. The Reforms Bill of 1911 also provided that every other bill passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions, extending over two years at least, and rejected by the House of Lords at each of the three sessions should become law. The House of Commons has thus secured the final word in legislation. In 1918, the right to vote at parliamentary elections was granted to women as well, and in 1919 they were declared eligible for any office, thereby making their legal status equal to that of men.

General Reforms in the nineteenth century. Besides reforms in the parliament, there have been other great reforms in England. In the eighteenth century, England was a country of religious freedom, but still the Roman Catholics, and the Dissenters were excluded from holding public offices. After long agitation this restriction was removed. In 1828, the old laws directed against Dissenters were repealed on condition that those seeking office should take an oath not to use their influence to injure or weaken the established Church of England. In 1829, the Catholics were put on the same level as the other citizens by the passage of the Emancipation Act, which admitted them to both houses of parliament, and to almost all public offices upon condition that they would renounce their belief in the right of the Pope to interfere in secular and temporal affairs, and would disclaim all intention of attacking the Protestant religion.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, the English criminal law was very harsh. There were no less than two hundred and fifty offences for which the penalty of death was prescribed. By a general process of abolishing one death sentence, after another, the long list of capital offences was in 1861, reduced to only three. Then again in the beginning

of the nineteenth century, the condition of prisons was horrible. In 1835, a law was passed providing for government inspection and improvement of their administration. This marked the beginning of prison reform, which includes sanitary buildings, separation of the sexes, segregation of the hardened criminals from the younger offenders, and a more enlightened treatment of criminals, with a view to reforming them and protecting society rather than to wreaking vengeance upon them. Lastly as a result of the teaching of the English socialists, a number of laws were passed with a view to ameliorate the condition of factory labourers. In 1833, Parliment, after much investigation, reduced the hours of labour for children in cotton and woollen mills, to nine a day. In 1842, women and children were forbidden to work in the mines. In 1847, the labour of women and children in all mills was reduced to ten hours a day. After that much has been done to improve the condition of labourers in England. Bills have been passed to grant pensions to those who on account of old age are not able to work.

Summary

1. *The Stuarts, 1603—1714.* The Stuart period in English history is known fcr the struggle between the king and the parliament. The kings of this dynasty were great believers in the theory of Divine Right. The quarrel with parliament began in the reign of Charles I (1625—1649). When the parliament refused to make grants to the king, he began to take from the people forced loans, and gifts. In 1628, the House of Commons drew up a Petition of Rights, in which it was laid down that the king should not take from the people any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge without the consent of parliament, and should not imprison any one without trial. But Charles had Roman Catholic sympathies, so the conflict between the king and the parliament continued. In 1629, the House of Commons was dissolved, and for the next 11 years the king ruled England without parliament. He now began to force his Roman Catholic views on his Presbyterian subjects in Scotland. This led to riots. Since he had no money to put down this insurrection in Scotland, he was compelled in 1640 to summon parliament. But the parliament first ordered Laud,

the Archbishop of Canterbury to be sent to prison. He was tried for treason, and executed in 1645. Then a triennial act was passed, which provided that it should meet at least once in three years. After this the Commons drew up a "Grand Remonstrance" in which all the illegalities of the king were enumerated. This document was printed and circulated throughout the country. Charles tried to arrest the leaders in the House of Commons but they escaped. On this began a war between the parliamentary party and the king's party. This civil war resulted in the defeat and capture of the King. He was executed in 1649. For the next 11 years from 1649 to 1660, England lived under a republican form of government. But in 1660, Charles II, son of Charles I was restored to the throne. He ruled from 1660 to 1685. During his reign the established church of England was put on a proper footing. He was succeeded by his brother James II. But he began to follow a Catholic policy. So there was another revolution in 1688. He was driven out, and his daughter Mary II, and son-in-law William III were jointly put on the throne of England. William III went to war with Louis XIV of France. He was succeeded by his sister-in-law Anne, who ruled from 1702 to 1714. In her reign in 1707 England and Scotland were united under one parliament and one government. She was succeeded by George I of Hanover, who was a son of Princess Sophia, a grand daughter of James I of England.

2. *The House of Hanover, 1714—1901.* George II intervened in the war of Austrian Succession, which ended in 1748. Shortly after this broke out the Seven Years' War (1756—1763). In this war England obtained a prominent position in India, and she drove the French out of North America. But in the American War of Independence, (1776—1783), Great Britain lost her North American colonies, which now became independent under the name of the United States of America. Then came the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. England remained engaged in these wars from 1792 to 1815.

3. *Constitutional Reforms in Great Britain, 1815—1918.* In the 18th century England seemed to possess in comparison with other countries, a model of free government. By the Bill of Rights (1689) the king was forbidden to make any new law, or go against any old ones, or levy any taxes, or keep a standing army, without the consent of parliament. He was not to interfere with freedom of speech, or refuse to receive respectful petitions from his subjects. The Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 provided that any one arrested should be informed of the reasons and should be speedily tried by a regular tribunal and dealt with according to the laws of the land. But with all this, it was found

that by the beginning of the 19th century the British parliament had become unrepresentative of the people. The industrial revolution had by shifting the population, made the representation very unequal. For some time the excesses of the French radicals delayed the reform of the House of Commons. In 1819, a meeting of the demonstrators at Peterloo was dispersed, and a large number of the people were massacred. At length in 1832, the rotten boroughs were abolished, and the new industrial towns were given representation. By these reforms it were only the middle classes that got representation. The poor workmen got nothing. Hence there arose the Chartist Movement. The Chartists demanded universal suffrage, vote by secret ballot, annual election of parliament, payment of salaries to members of parliament, abolition of property qualification for members of parliament, and equal electoral districts. This Chartist Movement became very popular, because, there was after the Napoleonic Wars a very great amount of unemployment, and the poor labourers suffered very much. Simultaneously with the Chartist Movement there was started in England the Free Trade Movement. By the abolition of duties, on the import of food-stuffs and on raw materials, the manufacturers and the workmen both benefited. This was the policy which was adopted by parliament. England became free trader. Food now became cheaper, and the Chartist Movemont collapsed. But in spite of the failure of the Chartist Movement, the demand for a more democratic form of government spread. In 1867, Disraeli extended the right of vote to workmen in the towns, and in 1884—5, Gladstone extended the vote to the agricultural labourers in the rural areas. After this, the British House of Commons became for all practical purposes a democratic body. In 1911, the House of Lords was deprived of many of its powers. In 1918, the right of voting was also extended to women.

4. *General Reforms in Great Britain in the 19th Century.* In the 19th century, all religious disabilities have been removed from the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics. English criminal law has during this period been made more humane, and capital punishment has been abolished for all offences excepting murder or treason. The administration of prisons has been reformed, and a large amount of factory legislation has been undertaken to ameliorate the condition of the labourers.

CHAPTER XXIV

DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. A. SINCE 1783

The Birth and Expansion of the United States. It has been seen in Chapter XII that the revolted colonies in North America of England became independent in 1783. The original thirteen colonies lay in between the Atlantic Ocean in the east and the Alleghanies mountains in the west. The treaty of Paris signed in 1783 added all the territory in between the Alleghanies and the banks of the Mississippi river also to these colonies. The next addition of territory to the United States of America was the territory of Louisiana, watered by the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers. This immense region, originally claimed by France in virtue of La Salle's discoveries, had passed to Spain as a result of the Seven Years' War. It was re-acquired by Napoleon Bonaparte. But as has already been seen the Peace of Amiens signed in 1802 was practically a truce. War was certain to break out again between France and England. Napoleon realized that he could not defend Louisiana, against Great Britain, which had by this time attained complete supremacy over the sea. Rather than make a forced present of Louisiana to Great Britain, he sold it in 1803 to the United States of America for about four crores and a half of rupees. The possession of Louisiana gave to the United States an outlet on the Gulf of Mexico. A stream of immigration from the original thirteen colonies in the east, and to a less extent from Europe was pouring over the Alleghanies, and occupying the vast central plains. Between 1783 and 1815, the population of the United States rose from 20 lakhs to 90 lakhs, which was mainly of British stock. But this population included a certain

portion of French and German elements as well. It also contained a large number of Negro slaves too. In 1819, President Monroe managed to obtain by purchase Florida from Spain. But there were still vast areas of land west of Louisiana, stretching away to the Pacific, which were still outside American control. In these days the Spanish colonies in Central and Southern America were in revolt, and Metternich was thinking of re-conquering these colonies for Spain. There was a possibility that either Great Britain or France might take some of the unoccupied territory on the Pacific coast of North America, or that France, having restored in 1823, Ferdinand VII, to the Spanish throne, might help him to regain Spanish America. It seemed Alexander I, of Russia had also an idea of sending a fleet to act as an arm of the Holy Alliance to restore peace in South America. The British Government was very anxious to prevent any extension of the Holy Alliance to America, for during the Napoleonic wars, the entire foreign trade of the Spanish colonies in America had been captured by her. On the restoration of the old regime, England would have lost all these trade facilities in the New World. So Canning, the Foreign Minister of England, tried to induce Duc de Polignac, the French Foreign Minister, to desist from interference in America. Canning would have liked to act in concert with the government of the United States of America also, but President Monroe chose to adopt a bold course of stating American policy, not as a temporary measure of alliance with any other power, but as a permenant enunciation of the United States determination. On the 2nd of December, 1823, he sent a message to the Congress, intimating that any extension of the dominion of a European State in America would be resisted by war on the part of the United States of America. Thus the great west was saved for the United States, and Central and Southern America for the Latin Americans. The European States system, with

its perpetual crises and alarms, was kept away from the whole American continent, except where the European states had already possessed colonies. The United States had recognised the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies in 1822, and the British Government did the same in 1825. When J. K. Polk, a southerner (from Carolina), became President of the United States of America, in 1845, the great western movement of the United States became a very strong and powerful current. In 1835, a large province of Mexico, called Texas, had revolted from that country. Sparsely inhabited, undeveloped, and mismanaged, Texas soon became bankrupt and was unable to defend itself. At length in 1845, President Polk induced Congress to accept the frequently made application of Texas for admission to the United States. This Act produced a war with Mexico, in the course of which the United States drove the Mexicans not only out of Texas, but out of California. That was in 1846. Next year General Scott landed at Vera Cruz, with 12,000 men, and after defeating the Mexican dictator, Santa Anna, dictated peace in 1848. As a result of this treaty, the United States annexed California, and New Mexico. The Rio Grande became the boundary with Mexico. President Polk thus carried the application of the 'Monroe Doctrine' one step further than its author had done. Not merely was the interference of European States to be prevented, but to make the doctrine impregnable, the whole North American continent from the isthmus of Panama to the Canadian border was to be under one common flag of the United States of America. The discovery of gold mines in 1849 in California, soon made that territory, and the entire Pacific coast active by the occupation of a large number of American settlers. Just about this time the boundary dispute with Great Britain was also settled. By the treaties signed in 1818, and 1846, the whole of the Oregan country in the north western corner, became part of the United States of America. Every

part of this great western country is now linked by transcontinental railway with the Mississippi valley and the states on the Atlantic shores. In 1867, the United States obtained another territory, Alaska. This had been a Russian province since Bering's voyages in the 18th century. Russia, however, never realised the value of her distant dependency, and in 1867 she sold it to the United States of America for a little more than two crores of rupees. Thus another European power was removed from America. Since then the Americans have taken from Alaska in gold alone, many times the original cost of the territory. Its resources in coal, lumber, agricultural land, and fisheries are also very great, though as yet very little has been done to exploit them. In the last decade of the 19th century the United States began to secure possessions beyond the sea. The Hawaiian islands, lying about two thousand miles off the coast of California, were annexed in 1898. The same year saw the annexation of the Philippines islands, in the eastern parts of Asia, and Guam and Porto Rico as the results of a war with Spain. Part of the Samoan archipelago and the Danish West Indies have also come into American hands.

The Constitution of the United States. The United States came into existence in the rebellion of the thirteen colonies against England in 1776. Its independence was recognised by France in 1778, and by Great Britain in 1783. During and after the war of Independence, the union of these colonies was a very feeble one. Each ef the thirteen colonies, or states as they were now called, enjoyed full sovereignty within its borders. Congress the representative body of the Union was only a voluntary body of delegates from the thirteen states. In 1787, the State of Virginia proposed that the congress should summon a special convention of delegates at Philadelphia to consider how the commercial relations of the states should be adjusted.

This convention was presided over by George Washington, who had taken such a prominent part in the War of Independence. Besides him, the other important members of this great convention, were Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Edward Jennings Randolph, and Gouverneur Morris. The Convention spent something like four months in discussion, and in September 1787, it produced a draft constitution, which decided in favour of not only a closer commercial union, but also in favour of a much deeper political union as well. This draft was passed in the congress, and then accepted by five states. The new constitution was after this enforced. This constitutiog 'was modelled, with certain striking differences, upon the British Constitution. Its outstanding characteristic is that it is *written* and *rigid*. It is a precise document, and can be changed or amended only by a special and lengthy process. In the first fifty years of its existence, the constitution was amended only twelve times. From 1805 to 1865, it was not amended at all. The total number of amendments made so far are nineteen The Constitution of the United States has the merit of being a very short document of Seven Articles consisting of 24 sections. They are easily understood, and easily grasped as a whole. Article I, Section I. grants all legislative power to a congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Sections II to IX regulate the duties of these two chambers. The Senate represents the individual states, and the House of Representatives, represent the people as a whole. Section X forbids any state to make treaties or to coin money, or to impose customs duties. Article II, Sections I to IV, regulates the election, which is held after every four years, and duties of the President. Article III, Section I to III establishes the Supreme Court to decide 'all cases, in law and equity, arising under the constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under its authority'.

Article IV defines the rights of the individual states. Every state is guaranteed a republican form of government. The remaining Articles deal with amendments, debts, and the ratification of the constitution. In this way a new political community. which at that time numbered only 20 lakhs, produced a constitution which has proved to be the most stable constitution in the world. The union was fortunate in its first President, George Washington. Having led the colonies through the difficult times of the war, he retired to his estates in Virginia, when he was sent as a delegate in 1787 to the constituent convention convened at Philadelphia. When this new constitution was put into force, he was elected as the first President. An aristocrat in the best sense of the word, he was the one man fit to lead a new democratic community. He was recognised by all to be a great man and a judicious minded man. He served two terms as President, 1789-93, and 1793-97. He died in 1799, at the age of sixty seven.

The United States and the French Revolution. The second President of the United States was John Adams, who was a resident of New England colonies. He served from 1797 to 1801. It was with great difficulty that President Adams was able to maintain the neutrality of the United states during the French Revolutionary Wars, for the younger and "heady" politicians wanted this new democratic country to come to the assistance of the new French Republic. His successor was Jefferson who ruled from 1801 to 1809. It was during his time that Louisiana was purchased from France. Although not a great naval power the United States had a comparatively large sea-faring population along the new England Coast, and its merchantmen sailed far and wide. The war between France and England greatly interfered with their trade. The restrictions of the French Directory and of the British Government on

Commerce were extremely distasteful to the Americans. In 1798, the Congress was on the point of declaring war on France, but President Adams managed to maintain neutrality, and after Napoleon Banaparte gained complete control of French policy, the Franco-American relations improved very much. In the later stages of the Napoleonic wars, Franco-American relations again became strained. The Decree of Berln (1806), and of Milan (1807), and Napoleon's continental system, pressed very hard upon American shipping. But the British Orders in Council with regard to the trade of the Neutrals with the continent of Europe also interfered very much with American trade. At length, war actually broke out between England and the United States of America in 1812. The Anglo-American War of 1812-14, benefited neither England, nor the United States of America. During this war the Americans invaded Canada, but this invasion was repelled by the Canadians single-handed. Although the Americans were not able to stop British commerce, or to prevent the British navy from maintaining its strict blockade of Europe, still, the American Navy conducted itself well, and it held its own. The British government sent during the peninsular war, an expeditionary force to United States also, and it succeeded in burning the Capitol at Washington. But shortly after this, while attacking Baltimore, the British general Ross was killed. The British attack on New Orleans also failed. At length peace was signed at Ghent in December, 1814. This treaty of peace restored the *status quo ante bellum*.

President Monroe. James Monroe became President in 1817, and he occupied this office till 1825. It was Monroe, who had in 1803 arranged the sale terms of Louisiana. In 1819, he purchased Florida from Spain. Uptil the time of President Monroe, the United

States had permitted practically free trade. This free trade policy suited the Southern States, for they had no manufactures of their own, and consequently imported large quantities of goods from outside. But the Northern states, were industrial, and under free trade they had to face a considerable amount of competition from England and other countries. So these northern states were in favour of the imposition of protective customs duties on the import of goods from foreign countries. Thus there arose great differences between the north and the south in connection with the tariff policy of government. In 1824, the closing year of Monroe's presidency, a moderate tariff was sanctioned by the Congress on the import of goods into the United States.

Growth of Political Parties. But this controversy concerning tariffs, along with other things, strengthened the difference of feeling between North and South, that is to say, between the Industrial states and the Agricultural states. In the thirties and forties the question of slavery also became prominent. The north was in favour of the abolition of slavery and the South was in favour of maintaining it. The fact is that the northern states are colder, possessing almost the same climate as England. The British settlers were able to do manual labour in the northern states without any inconvenience. But the southern states are warmer in climate. They are mostly agricultural, and here the landowners held big estates, which were cultivated not by the white settlers, but by the Negro slaves imported from Africa. These differences were favourable for the growth of political parties. So during the first half of the nineteenth century, something like party system was growing up. The people of Southern states organised themselves for voting purposes as the party of Democrats. The people of the northern states organised a party which was known by the name of the

Republicans. These two parties were for a long time divided on the question of the abolition of Negro slavery.*

The American Civil War. Shortly after the close of the Italian War of Liberation, began the American Civil War. This was a war fought between the northern and southern states. It really began on the issue of the abolition of Negro slavery. The two parties were also divided on the question of tariffs. All these differences led the people of the southern states to think of seceding from the union. The question was; did the southern states have the right of secession? The war was fought with great determination on both sides. It continued for four years from 1861 to 1865. This war produced in America a national hero in the person of Abraham Lincoln, who was President of the United States of America from 1861 to 1865. The earlier stages of the war were fought on the question of secession rather than on that of slavery. The sympathies of the governing classes in Great Britain, were in favour of the south, partly because it was the weaker side, and partly because of the magnificent fighting powers which it had shown. The northern states moreover, by blockading the southern ports, prevented the export of cotton, which led to terrible distress is Lancashire. The British Government, however, maintained a strict neutrality, though two incidents nearly produced a war with the northern states. A battle ship belonging to the northern states violated British neutrality by taking on the high seas from a British mail steamer—the Trent—two agents of the southern states who were coming to Europe with the object of obtaining European assistance. The British people were furiously indignant, and the British Governments sent the Guards to Canada, and forewarded to the government of the United States a Dispatch demanding the surrender of the agents and an immediate apology. In the other incident

the British Government was at fault. A vessal was being built at Birkenhead for use as a cruiser on the side of the South. The British Government was given information about it, but it neglected to take steps in time, and consequently the steamer, called the *Alabama*, was able to leave Birkenhead in 1862, and for the next two years played havoc with the merchant ships of the northern states. The States demanded compensation, and eventually after long and critical negotiations, the matter was finally ended in 1872 by Great Britain paying over three crores of rupees to the United States in compensation. In this Civil War the northern states came out victorious, and as a result of this war Negro slavery was abolished. Abraham Lincoln was assassinated a few days after the restoration of peace.

The Monroe Doctrine at work. It has been seen that the Monroe Doctrine came into being in December, 1823, in connection with the attempt of the Holy Alliance in Europe to reconquer the Spanish colonies in America for Spain. When the United States were engaged in Civil War, Napoleon III of France attempted to establish a French protectorate over Mexico. A French army had been sent to Mexico, and Maxmillian, an Austrian prince, was put on the throne of Mexico by the French army. The American Government protested vigorously against this high-handed proceeding of the French Emperor, and after the close of the Civil War in 1865, required Napoleon III, under threat of hostilities, to withdraw his troops from Mexico. Thus the dreams of a French Empire in Mexico vanished. The enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine makes it necessary for the United States not only to defend the Latin American republics against foreign aggression, but also to intervene from time to time in their domestic affairs. American warships and soldiers have been repeatedly sent to the West Indies, Mexico, and Central America, for the purpose of protecting American

and European citizens and their property from rioters or revolutionaries. Though grateful to their mighty neigbbour, the Latin American republics have trembled lest, her intervention to restore order should pass into downright conquest. In order to remove misunderstandings, a series of Pan-American conferences have been held. Delegates from all the independent nations of the New World have attended these conferences. With the assistance of the Latin American republics, the United States of America have also established the Pan-American Union at Washington, which seeks to spread information about the resources and trade of the different countries, and also to cultivate friendly relations between them. The completion of the Panama Canal in 1914, has profoundly affected the relations of North and South America. The canal shortens very much the distance between the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific coasts of the New World. This means lower freights and improvement in the passenger and mail services. Increased commerce, travel, and communication, is likely to do much in bringing together and keeping together the two Americas.

The Foreign Policy of the U. S. A. Since the American War of Independence, by means of which the English colonists shook off their connection with the old world, the Americans have developed a peculiar mentality. The Americans think that Liberty is something peculiar to herself, something which the "effete monarchies" of the Old World did not and could not fully understand or share, something which exempted her from responsibility for the non-American world, and from the duty of aiding and defending liberty beyond her own limits. In the abounding prosperity of this fortunate land, liberty was apt to be too readily identified merely with the opportunity of securing material prosperity, and the love of liberty was apt to become a purely self-regarding emotion. The great distance of the

United States of America from Europe, and its controversies, its economic self-sufficiency, and its apparent security against all attacks, has fostered and strengthened this feeling. While the peoples of the Old World have moved towards freedom and liberty with great difficulty, its reactions have hardly influenced American life. To the citizens of the Middle West and the Far West, who have during the last century been very busy in developing the vast natural resources of the soil, the affairs of the outer world have appeared quite remote and insignificant. Even their newspapers tell them very little about these far-off events. Naturally the vast majority of the people in the United States of America think that the function of this great western republic is to till its own agricultural land, and to afford a haven of refuge to the oppressed and the impoverished, who have during all this time been pouring into the country from the different countries of Europe. In this way a very large number of Russians and Germans have during the 19th century come and settled in this country. This attitude of aloofness from, and contempt, of, or indifference to the Old World, has further been encouraged by her history. The story of American history begins with the colonisation of the Atlantic coast by Englishmen. During the colonial period the only foreign connection of the colonists was with Englishmen. The Navigation laws of England did not allow them to have any connection with other peoples. When the connection of these colonies with England was broken by the American War of Independence, the Americans were completely cut off from Europe. So this feeling of the aloofness has induced the Americans to think very little about European wars and European controversies, and European colonies in other parts of the world. So when the Great War began, the bulk of the Americans were very slow to realise its significance. But the acquisition of colonial possessions in the Pacific Ocean has drawn the United States

of America inte closer relations with the problems of the Far East. Its rule in the Philippines and elsewhere has acquainted her with the difficulties of introducing western methods of government among backward peoples. It seems the Americans have also, like the Europeans, caught the spirit of imperialism. The Monroe Doctrine has now begun to be interpreted in a new way. Some of her public men seem to think that the United States are practically sovereign in the New World, that is to say in both the Americas, North as well as South, and that the will of the United States must prevail wherever, in the New World, it chooses to intervene. Such a gigantic imperial claim has never so far been made by any European power. But it appears the bulk of the people in the United States do not like to make this claim. It intervened in the Great European War, but soon after the conclusion of the peace, it has again relapsed into its traditional aloofness. It has refused to become a member of the League of Nations.

America during the 19th Century. Before 1878, the greater part of Europe was indifferent to extra-European affairs. So by this time America was able to develop into a vast state wherein American freedem, and law were developed. Again during this period it has served as a huge melting pot wherein diverse peoples were being gradually unified and turned into a new nation under the moulding power of a great tradition of liberty. By 1878, the population of the United States of America had become five crores, more than any other European power, excepting Russia, possessed. During the 19th century there has been a great commercial and industrial development in the United States of America. Huge and powerful Pools and Trusts have been formed to control industrial and commercial operations. Economically the United States are not only self-sufficient, but it has also now become a great manufacturing and exporting country.

Machinery is used in this country to an extent not used in any other country of the world. The United States are now considered to be the richest country in the world.

Summary

1. *The Birth and Expansion of the United States.* The United States became independent in 1783. It purchased Louisiana in 1803, Florida in 1819, and Alaska in 1867. It received Texas in 1845, and in 1846, as a result of war with Mexico, the territories of New Mexico and California. In the last decade of the 19th century, she, as a result of war with Spain, obtained Philippine islands in the Far East, and Guam and Porto Rico. The Hawaiian islands in the mid Pacific were annexed in 1898.

2. *The Constitution of the United States of America.* On the declaration of independence in 1776, the thirteen American colonies united themselves in a Confederation, which lasted till 1789. During this period each of these states enjoyed full internal sovereignty. In 1787, a constituent convention consisting of delegates from the different states was convened at Philadelphia, for bringing about a more intimate commercial union. But this Convention evolved a new constitution, which established a Federal form of government. The constitution of the United States is *written* and *rigid*. It is a short document of seven Articles and 24 Sections. It grants all legislative power to a congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate represents the states and the House of Representatives the people as a whole. The states cannot make treaties, coin money, or impose customs duties. The President is elected after every four years, and according to the convention, he cannot be elected more than twice. A Spreme Court is established to decide all cases in law and in equity, arising under the constitution, the laws of the United States, and the Treaties made under its authority. Every State is guaranteed a republican form of government. The first President of the Republic was George Washington.

3. *The United States and the French Revolution.* When the French Revolution broke out John Adams was President. It was with very great difficulty that he was able to maintain the neutrality of the young Republic. The sympathies of the Americans as a whole were in favour of the French. At length in 1812, on account of the restrictions that were put on American trade in Europe, war broke out between England and the United States. But when peace was signed at Ghent in December 1814, ***status quo ante bellum*** was restored.

4. *President Monroe, 1817-25.* He had arranged the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, and he purchased Florida in 1819. He also started the policy of imposing customs duties on the import of foreign goods. It was he who laid down the principle that in the New World no outside power was to be allowed to acquire possessions. This is known by the name of the Monroe Doctrine.

5. *Growth of Political Parties in America.* The imposition of customs duties on the import of foreign goods led to great differences between the northern and the southern states. The southern states being agricultural were advocates of free import of manufactured goods. On the other hand, the northern states being industrial, wanted to protect their home industries against England by means of protective tariffs. Then again in the southern states, which were warmer in climate, all cultivation was done by Negro slaves imported from Africa. In the northern states, the climate being colder the white settlers could do manual labour themselves. They did not require slaves. So the southern states were in favour of Slavery, and the northern states were opposed to it. These differences led to the orgnisation of political parties. Democratic Party was formed in the South, and the Republican Party in the north.

6. *The American Civil War, 1861-65.* The American Civil War started on the issue of slavery. The southern people wanted to secede from the Federation. So the war was mainly fought on the issue of the secession. It lasted for four years, and this war produced a national hero in the person of Abraham Lincoln. When the northern states blockaded the coast of the southern states, the export of cotton from the southern states was stopped. It caused a great amount of distress in Lancashire in England. The sympathies of England in this war were with the southern states. There was a good deal of tension between England and the northern states. It caused two incidents, that of the Trent and of Alabama, but England maintained her neutrallity. For the Alabama incident England was compelled to pay compensation to the United States. On the conclusion of this war Negro slavery was abolished.

7. *The Monroe Doctrine at Work.* The Monroe Doctrine was first proclaimed in December 1823. It was intended originally to prevent the Holy Alliance from conquering the American colonies of Spain. But now it is interpreted to mean that in case of need the United States of America must come to the assistance of all American republics whenever any of them is threatened with foreign invasion or internal disturbance. Pan-American conferences have been held to bring

about greater amount of union among the different republics of the New World. A Pan-American Union has been established at Washington. The Construction of the Panama Canal in 1914, will bring about a greater amount of union among the different American republics.

8. *The Foreign Policy of the U. S. A.* The Americans think that the ideas of Freedom and liberty are American ideas, and that such ideas are not shared by the monarchical countries of the Old World. The Americans think that their special function is to develop the natural resources of their own country, and to give in their country a safe refuge to the oppressed peoples of Europe. They think it is not their business to bother themselves about what happens in Europe or in any other part of the world. This has produced among Americans a policy of aloofness. They do not want to entangle themselves in European politics and European controversies. That explains why they took so long to decide upon intervention in the Great European War. But after the conclusion of this War, they refused to join the League of Nations, and they have once again relapsed into aloofness. The acquisition of colonial possessions in tbe Far East have, however, brought her into intimate touch with Far Eastern problems. Her rule in the Philippines has made her acquainted with the difficulties in the way of introducing western methods of government among backward peoples.

9. *America during the 19th Century.* While during the first three quarters of the 19th century, Europe was engaged in her own problems, the United States of America were able to develop themselves into a vast state, wherein American freedom and law prevailed. Again it was during this period that a very large number of people from the different countries of Europe came and settled in the United States. In 1878, the population of the United States was about five crores and now it is more than 12 crores. It has during the 19th century grown into a very big industrial and commercial country. The United States are now considered to be the richest country in the world.

CHAPTER XXV

THE NEW IMPERIALISM: PARTITION OF AFRICA

European Possessions in Africa before the nineteenth century. Africa falls naturally into two great regions. The northern coast, separated from the main mass of the continent by the broad belt of deserts which runs from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean has always been far more intimately connected with the other Mediterranean lands than with the rest of Africa. Throughout the course of history, the northern coast lands have belonged rather to the realms of Western or of Asiatic civilisation, than to the primitive races of the Hamitic stock. In the days of the ancient Carthaginians and the Romans, all these north African lands, from Egypt to Morocco, were highly civilised. These lands were racially as well historically distinct from the rest of Africa. In the fifth century these lands were devastated by a German tribe the Vandals and in the middle of the seventh century these lands were conquered by the Arabs. On the conquest of Egypt in 1517, by the Turks, all these lands became parts of the Ottoman Empire. But in the 15th century the Portuguese had begun to explore the western coasts of the African continent. When the Portuguese after the discovery of sea-route to India in 1498, established trading centres in the different eastern countries, a large number of such trading centres were established on the coasts of Africa also. Some of these territories which Portugal still possesses, are Guinea on the west coast, Angola south of the Congo river, and Mozambique on the east. Spain had also in the same century taken possessson of Rio de Ore

on the western coast south of Morocco. Soon after came into this field the Dutch people. They drove the Portuguese out of Cape of Good Hope, in 1652 and occupied it themselves. It long remained a port of call for the Dutch ships trading in the east. When in 1795, Holland was annexed to France by the French revolutionaries, the British Government took possession of this Dutch colony of the Cape, which now contained a large Dutch population. It was finally annexed to the British dominions in 1814. The Dutch traders to the East were followed by the French and the English. The French built a station at the mouths of the river Senegal, and the British Government built stations at Gold Coast in Guinea, and at Sierra Leone. The rest of the vast cantinent remained unexplored and unoccupied. The reason for this apparent indifference of the Europeans towards Africa is not far to seek. In the first place we must remember that the temperate northern coastlands of Africa were inhabited by white peoples who were Muslim in religion, and therefore, hostile to the introduction of Christians into their countries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century most of these lands belonged to the Turkish Empire. Then secondly, just south of these northern coastlands, there lay the Great Desert, the Sahara, which was hardly suitable for colonisation or for trade activities. South of the Sahara, Africa seemed to be mainly a country of tropical forests, and elephants, gorillas, baboons, crocodiles, hippopotami, and deadly fevers —a land fit only for savage negro tribes. Healthy plateaus in South Africa, fit for European colonisation, for long remained hidden in the interior.

South Africa. Before 1880, there was only one colony planted by the Europeans, in Africa, and that was the Cape colony in South Africa. It were originally the Dutch who first settled in Cape Colony. It was founded in 1652, as a port of call for Dutch ships trading with the Orient.

Many French Huguenots came here and settled among the Dutch settlers, when in 1685 in the reign of Louis XIV, the Edict of Nantes was revoked. These Frenchmen were gradually completely absorbed in the Dutch population; and they lost all distinguishing characteristics. On the close of the Napoleonic Wars in 1814, this colony which was first occupied by England in 1795, was annexed to the British Dominions. It now became a port of call for British ships going to India. In 1814, the population of Cape Colony consisted of 27,000 people of European descent, mostly Dutch, and of about 30,000 African and Malaya slaves, owned by the Dutch, and about 17,000 Hottentots, an aboriginal African people of South Africa. But there soon arose friction between the Dutch (called Boers, *i.e.*, peasants) and the new English settlers. The forms of local government to which the Boers were accustomed were abolished and new ones established. English was made the court language. The Boers irritated by these measures, became indignant when, in 1834, slavery was abolished. The Boers did not consider slavery wrong. Moreover, they felt defrauded of their property as the compensation given was considered to be very inadequate. So the abolition of slavery meant to the Boers a very great loss of property. These Dutch settlers therefore resolved to leave the colony and to settle in the interior, where they could live unmolested by the English intruders. This migration or the Great Trek, as it is called, began in 1836, and continued for several years. In this way some 10,000 Boers withdrew from Cape Colony. Rude carts drawn by several pairs of oxen transported their families and their possessions into the wilderness. Some went northeastward and settled in Natal, only to find that here too they were not to be free from English control. In 1842, the British Government sent troops into Natal, and in 1843, proclaimed it a British colony. Many of the Boers trekked again to join their fellow Boers who had gone into the Orange

River country. Such were the beginning of the Orange Free State, whose capital was Bloemfontein. But again they were followed by the English. The English Government declared this region also to be a part of the British Empire in 1848. Many of the Orange River Boers, refusing to live under the British flag, trekked again, and joined those who had gone further north across the river Vaal. Here they founded the new Dutch Republic of Transvaal. But in Transvaal the Boers were allowed to enjoy for many years the independence which they had made such great efforts to secure. In 1852, Great Britain recognised the independence of the Transvaal. Two years later in 1854 the British Government abandoned the Orange river colony also. From this time came into existence the two Boer Republics of South Africa, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. From 1854 to 1899 the Orange Free State pursued its peaceful career unmolested. The Transvaal, too, was left in the splendid isolation it so much prized. But under the administration of Lord Beaconsfield, England suddenly declared in 1877, the Transvaal annexed to the British Empire. The fact was that the Boers were frequently involved in wars with the aborigines, who once aroused constituted a general menace for all white settlers. It was, therefore, considered that the independence of the Boer Republic was a menace to the peace of the other South African possessions of Great Britain. A Boer delegation was consequently sent to England to protest and demand the restoration of their independence. But the delegates returned back without any success. The Boers now began to hate Englishmen still more intensely. But, in 1880, Lord Beaconsfield was overthrown, and Mr. Gladstone once again came into power. Mr. Gladstone denounced the annexation of the Transvaal. He began to negotiate with the Boer leaders, and was trying to arrive at a solution, which might be satisfactory to both sides, when in December 1880 the Boers rose in revolt,

and defeated a small detachment of British troops at Majuba Hill in February 1881. The peaceful negotiations became more difficult, but Gladstone could not be diverted from his purpose by such considerations as prestige. So he restored to the Boers their independence, but with the express reservation of the "suzerainty" of the British Crown. This action of Gladstone was severely criticised. The Boers, on the other hand, considered that they had won their independence by arms, and were consequently elated. After long discussions the word 'suzerainty' was removed from the treaty in 1884. But by the new treaty it was provided that "white men were to have full liberty to reside in any part of the Republic, to trade in it, and to be liable to the same taxes only as those exacted from citizens of the republic." This new treaty was considered a victory by the Boers, although it was expressly provided that the foreign relations of the Republic were to be controlled by the British Government. The unrestricted permission for other whitemen to settle in the state, was, however, to raise many difficulties in the future, and these difficulties resulted in the violent overthrow of the republic, and its final absorption in the British Empire. The South African Republic of the Transvaal was originally entirely peopled by the Boers. They were a people exclusively interested in agriculture, and grazing. They were solid, sturdy, religious, and freedom-loving people, but they were unprogressive, ill-educated, and suspicious of foreigners. The peace and contentment of this rural people were disturbed by the discovery in 1884 of gold mines in their territory. Immediately a great influx of miners and speculators began. These men were mostly Englishmen. The city of Johannesburg, which was in the very heart of the mining district, grew rapidly, and in a few years it had a population of 1,00,000 inhabitants. Thereafter troubles quickly arose between the Boers and the aggressive and energetic Uitlanders or foreigners. The Uitlanders gave a wide publicity to their grievances. It was a

fact that great obstacles were put in the way of their naturalization; they were given no share in government, not even the right to vote. Yet in many parts of the Transvaal, the Uitlanders were more numerous than the Boers, and they bore the larger share of taxation. In addition they were forced to render military service, which in their opinion implied citizenship. So they looked to the British Government to push their demands for reforms. The Boer government was an oligarchy, but the Boers felt that it was only by refusing the suffrage to the unwelcome intruders, they could keep control of their state, which at the cost of much hardship they had created in the wilderness In 1895, occurred an event, which deeply embittered them. Dr. Jameson, the Administrator of Rhodesia had in that year invaded the Transvaal from the north west. His intention probably was to aid the Uitlanders and to overthrow the Boer republic. The raiders were easily captured by the Boers, and handed over to the English for punishment. But they were very lightly punished, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who had really incited this raid, was shielded by the British Government. Under these circumstances the Boers were not likely to accept the demands of the Uitlanders. In 1897, a special commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, was sent from England, to enquire into the grievances of the Uitlanders, who were double the Boers in population. Milner reported that the Boers were aiming ultimately at nothing less than the union of all the Boers, including those of Cape Colony, the ultimate expulsion of the English from South Africa, and the establishment of a great Boer State. On this the British Government demanded the grant of suffrage to the Uitlanders in the Transvaal. But the Boers refused to grant this. They believed that the bestowal of this right would simply mean the handing over of the country to the foreigners. They thought that in the interest of self-preservation, they should refuse this demand. The

result was that war broke out in 1899. The Orange Free State, which was no party to the dispute, threw in its lot with its sister Boer republic. This war lasted for three years. In the end the English won by sheer numbers. It is estimated that something like 4,50,000 men were sent from England to South Africa. Peace was finally concluded on 1st June, 1902. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State lost their independence, and became colonies of the British Empire. But the Boers were allowed the use of their own national language. Soon after, when the Liberal Party came into power in England, Self-government was granted to the Transvaal in 1906, and to the Orange River Colony in 1907. This liberal conduct conciliated the Boers, and in 1909, all the four British colonies in South Africa, Cape Colony, Natal, Orangia, and Transvaal were united into a self-governing Dominion, within the British Commonweath of Nations. This South African Union has a population of 15,00,000 whites, and 55 lakhs of people of non-European descent.

Egypt. It has been seen in Chapter XVIII, that in 1840 Ibrahim Ali Pasha was recognised by the Sultan of Turkey as the hereditary governor of Egypt. The fifth ruler of this dynasty, founded by Ibrahim Ali, was Ismail Pasha, who ruled from 1863 to 1879. In 1866, the Pasha assumed the title of Khedive. It was in his reign that the Suez Canal, whose construction had been started in 1859, was in 1869, completed. It had been designed by the French engineer, Ferdinand de Lessepe, and the money came largely from European investors. The opening of this canal shortened very much the route to India, and it began very soon to be used mostly by English ships. But now the troubles of Egypt also began. The Khedive, Ismail was a very extravagant prince. He contracted heavy loans to meet his personal expenditure: As a result of all this, the Egyptian debt rose with extraordinary rapidity,

from three million pounds in 1863 to eighty nine million in 1876. This as well as the increased taxation which characterised the reign of Khedive Ismail, was a crushing burden for a poor and ignorant population. Since the Khedive was in urgent need of money, he sold in 1875 his shares in the Suez canal to British Government for about four million pounds. But this was only a temporary relief to the Khedive. Fearing the bankruptcy of Egypt, the governments of France and England, intervened in the interest of their investors, and succeeded in imposing their control over a large part of the administration. This was the famous dual control, which lasted from 1879 to 1883. The Khedive, Ismail, resented this tutelage, and so he was forced to abdicate in 1879. He was succeeded by his son Tewfik, who ruled from 1879 to 1892. The new Khedive did not struggle against the Dual Control, but certain sections of the population did. The bitter hatred inspired by this intervention of the foreigners resulted in a national movement, that had as its war cry. "Egypt for the Egyptians." This movement was led by Arabi Pasha, an officer in the Egyptian army. The Khedive was helpless, and he could not suppress this movement. It was evident that the foreign control, established in the interest of foreign investors, could only be perpetuated by the supression of Arabi Pasha and his followers. It was also clear that this movement could be suppressed only by the foreigners against whom this movement was directed. Thus financial intervention led directly to a military intervention. England sought the co-operation of France, but France declined. England then proceeded alone to supress the Egyptian national movement. British fleet bombarded Alexandria, and in July 1882 forced its abandonment by Arabi Pasha. After this, Arabi Pasha and his troops withdrew. But now England sent an army under General Wolseley, who, with great swiftness and precision, marched from the Suez Canal westward across the desert to Cairo. Wolseley

defeated Arabi Pasha at Tel-el-Kebir on 13th September 1882, and immediately took possession of Cairo. Arabi Pasha was captured and sent as a state prisoner to Ceylon. After this the rebellion collapsed. The English had intervened nominally in the interest of the authority of the Khedive against his rebel, Arabi Pasha, though they had not been asked so to intervene, either by the Khedive himself, or by the Sultan of Turkey, the legal sovereign of Egypt, or by the powers of Europe, who represented the investors. Having suppressed the insurrection, what were the British to do? Were they to withdrew their army? To withdraw was to leave Egypt a prey to anarchy; to remain there was certainly to offend the European powers. Such action would be particularly resented by France and by the Sultan of Turkey. So the British Government decided neither to annex the country to the British Empire, nor to proclaim a British protectorate over it, but to assume the position of "adviser" to the Khedive. Under British "advice" the Khedive would himself carry out the reforms considered necessary for the prosperity and welfare of the country. This word "advice" was to have a peculiar meaning. In 1883, Lord Granville, the British Foreign Minister wrote to Sir Evelyn Baring, later on known as Lord Cromer, who was British representative in Egypt in the following words:—"It should be made clear to the Egyptian ministers and governors of provinces that the responsibility, which for a time rests on England, obliges Her Majesty's Government, to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend, and that it will be necesary that those ministers and governors who do not follows this course should cease to hold their office." This position which the British Government assumed in Egypt in 1883, continued to prevail right up to the outbreak of the Great European War in 1914. The British forces continued to remain in occupation of the country, and their advice to the Egyptian

government had to be followed. The Dual control ended in 1883, and thereafter England began in right earnest the work of reconstruction and reform, which was carried forward under the guidance of Lord Cromer, who was British Consul-General in Egypt till 1907. In intervening in Egypt in 1882, England became immediately involved in a further enterprise which for the moment ended in a disaster and humiliation. Egypt possessed a dependency in the south, the Soudan, a vast region comprising chiefly the basin of the Upper Nile. But this territory was poorly organized, and contained a varied, semi-civilised, nomadic population. Its capital was at Khartoum. This province, long oppressed by Egypt, was in revolt. The people of Soudan found a leader in an Arab Sheikh, 'Muhammed Ahmed, who claimed to be the Messiah, and had won a large number of followers, who called him El Mahdi. "the leader." The insurrection broke out in 1882. General Gordon was sent to protect the British garrison at Khartoum. But he was besieged by the followers of the Mehdi and in 1885, after a memorable defence, he fell a victim to their fury. An expeditionary force had been sent for the relief of General Gordon, but it reached Khartoum too late to save the life of Gordon. Public opinion held Gladstone responsible for this disaster, and so his ministry was overthrown in 1885. For the next decade the Soudan was left in the hands of the Dervishes. At length in 1896, an Anglo-Egyptian army was sent into the Soudan under General Kitchener. Building a railway as he advanced, in order properly to supply his army, he slowly progressed southwards. The power of the dervishes was completely destroyed at the battle of Omdurman fought on 22nd Septemper, 1898. Thus the Soudan was recovered, but it was recovered not for Egypt alone, but for England and Egypt jointly. The British and Egyptian flags were both raised over the conquered field. So technically speaking the position of England in the Soudan rested on

a different basis than it did in Egypt. On the outbreak of the Great European war in 1914, Egypt and the Soudan were annexed to the British Empire. The Khedive was deposed and a new Khedive was put on the Egyptian throne. Egypt was now to be treated like a protected Indian state. But this protectorate was ended in 1922. During this year Egypt was granted independence subject to certain reservations in favour of the British Government. The Egyptian nationalists have not accepted these reservations, and so the dispute has not yet been settled.

The African Explorers. The penetration, in modern times, of the continent of Africa has been accomplished by exploring the courses of its four great rivers. In the last decade of the 18th century, the African Association, then recently founded, sent Mungo Park to Niger. He and his immediate successors explored the basin of the river and revealed the existence of the mysterious city of Timbuktu, an Arab capital, never previously visited by Europeans. In the middle of the 19th century, interest was aroused in the exploration of the sources of the river Nile. It was explored by Captain Speke, who found that the river rose in a lake which he called Victoria Nyanza. Another English explorer, Sir Samual David, found a smaller lake, called by him Albert Nyanza, which gives rise to another branch of the river Nile. Meanwhile the energetic Scotch missionary David Livingstone, had traced the course of the Zembesi. Starting from the Cape, he worked his way northwards, found the wonderful Victoria Falls, and crossed the continent from sea to sea. Livingstone's work was carried further by an American, Mr. Henry M. Stanley, who was a newspaper correspondent. He discovered Lake Albert Edward Nyanza, and showed that Lake Tanganyika drained into the Congo river. He followed this mighty river all the way to its mouth. Stanley's fascinating

narrative of his travels given in "How I found Livingstone" (1872), "Through the Dark Continent" (1878), and "In Darkest Africa" (1890), did much to arouse European interest in Africa. Immediately after its exploration, Africa was partitioned among the different nations of Europe. Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Germany, Italy, France, and Great Britain, all profited by this scramble for African territory. Towards the close of the 19th century, the Europeans began to take a new interest in Africa. Four reasons may be given for this. In the first place the patriotism of European nations had been roused during the years 1848-1871, especially by the wars of Italian and German unification, and as a result of this, the ardent patriots of France, England, Germany and Italy, were eager to extend their respective nation's possessions. Secondly, the abolition of Slavery had caused a remarkable outburst of missionary zeal among Catholics and Protestants, who now wished to raise the social status of the Heathens by converting them to Christianity. Thirdly, the Industrial Revolution by increasing the production of the manufacturers had made European manufacturers anxious to open up new markets for their goods, and secure new lands for getting cheap raw materials. Fourthly, daring explorers led by scientific curiosity or by love of excitement, travelled in the interior, mapped out the country, where they met with thrilling adventures among the cannibals and the strange wild beasts of the forests. The story of how David Livingstone, the kind-hearted Scotch missionary-explorer was lost in the interior and was found by Henry M. Stanley, is well worth reading. The result of all this was that European Powers now rushed to obtain territories in Africa.

The French in Africa. Barring a few passessions on the coasts, and the territories of Egypt and South Africa, very little of the interior of Africa was known to the Europeans in the first half of the nineteenth century.

But the beginnings of French dominions in Africa reach back to the 17th century, when Louis XIV began to acquire trading posts along the western coast. and in Madagascar. It was not until the 19th century, however, that the French entered seriously upon the work of colonisation in Africa. The northern coast of Africa, from the Gulf of Syrtis to the Atlantic, which has been in modern times divided into the three districts of Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, forms essentially a single region, whose character is determined by the numerous chains of the Atlas mountains. In the Roman times they constituted the most civilized provinces of the Roman Empire. Their civilisation was destroyed by the Vandals in the 5th century A D. It received only a partial and temporary revival after the Muslim conquest at the end of the 7th century. But these provinces soon relapsed into Barbarism. During modern times these lands were chiefly known as the homes of ruthless and destructive pirates, whose headquarters were at Algiers. These people owned a nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey. They had continued to terrorise the trade of the Mediterranean, to seize trading ships, to pillage the shores of Spain and Italy, and to carry off thousands of Christians into a cruel slavery. The powers at Vienna endeavoured to concert action against them in 1815. They were attacked by a British fleet in 1816, and by a combined British and French fleet in 1819. But all such temporary measures were insufficient. The only cure for the trouble was that the headquarters of the pirate chiefs should be conquered and brought under civilized government. This task had to be undertaken by the French. The French conquest of Algeria grew out of a dispute concerning a loan given by the Dey of Algeria to the French Directory in 1797. This dispute ended in insults by the Dey to France, with the result that in 1830, France sent a fleet of a hundred ships and five hundred transports across the Mediterranean and seized the capital. France at first did not

intend to conquer the whole country, but wanted only to punish the insolent Dey. But she was led, step by step, to subdue the whole country. This process was continued all through the reign of Louis Philippe, and a continuous struggle was maintained by the local leader Abdul Qadir, who had proclaimed a Holy War against the French. At length in 1847, he was forced to surrender, and Algeria was annexed to the French Dominions.

Under French rule Algeria soon began to recover. Peace and a reign of law were established in the country, and the wild tribes were taught to lead peaceful civilised lives. The great natural resources of the country now began to be developed. At length Algeria was actually incorporated in the mother country, and its elected representatives began to sit in the French Parliament. But in the nature of things the conquest of Algeria could not stand alone. Algeria is separated by merely artificial lines from Tunis in the east, and Morocco in the west. In both these countries anarchy still prevailed. And the establishment of peace and order in the middle area of Algeria was difficult, so long as the areas on either side remained in disturbed conditions. In 1844, France made war on Morocco, because of the support it had given to a rebellious Algerian chief. In 1881, France sent armies into Tunis, and assumed the protectorate over that misgoverned region. France had not only large trade interests in Tunis, but the country was separated from Algeria only by an artificial line. But Italy had also her eyes on Tunis. There were more Italians than French residents in the country, which is separated from Sicily only by a narrow belt of sea. The result was that ill-feelings arose between Italy and France. Consequently in 1882, Italy joined the Triple Alliance, with Germany and Austria, which was practically a counterblast against the Dual Alliance between France and Russia, which had recently been formed. After the annexation of Tunis, France was not willing to offend any other power in Europe.

So when trouble arose in Egypt, she refused to take part in the suppression of insurrection there.

Under Napoleon III, a beginning of conquest in another part of Africa was made. France had possessed since the time of Louis XIII, one or two small ports on the western coast. Port Louis was the more important one. Under Napoleon III, the annexation of the Senegal valley was carried through.

From her foothold in Senegal, France in the late seventies began to push inland towards the upper waters of the river Niger. Further south, her energetic explorer, de Brazza, was penetrating the hinterland behind the French coastal settlements north of the mouth of the Congo river. France showed an immense activity not only on the Congo, but on the Guinea coast and its hinterland as well. It seemed as if France was threatening to reduce to small coastal *enclaves* the old British settlements on this coast. It was only the energy shown by a group of British merchants, who formed themselves into a National African Company in 1881, that prevented the exclusion of British interests from the greater part of the Niger valley. In olden times the French had small coastal stations on the island of Madagascar in the east. After 1880, the ambitions of France were revived in this quarter also. Thougn British trading and missionary activities in the island were just at this time greater than French, France claimed larger rights. These claims drew her into a war with the native power of the Hovas, which began in 1883, and ended in the recognition of French suzerainty, in 1885. On the east coast of Africa, France took possession of a portion of Somaliland in 1884. The main features of the years from 1884 to 1900, were the rapidity with which the territories held by France on the western coasts expanded in the east. In the ninetees her dominions extended from the Mediterranean to the Guinea Coast, and it was during this period that she

conceived the ambition of extending them also across Africa from the East to the West. This ambition led her into a new and more acute conflict with great Britain, who, having undertaken the reconquest of the Egyptian Soudan, and the upper valley of the Nile, held that she could not permit any other power to occupy the upper waters of the great river or any part of the territories that belonged to it. So when the active French explorer, Marchand, after a toilsome expedition which had taken two years, planted the French flag at Fashoda on the upper Nile in 1898, he was promptly warned by the British general, Lord Kitchener, who had just succeeded in reconquering Khartoum from the followers of the Mahdi. Marchand was compelled to withdraw. But this incident caused a severe tension of feelings between the two peoples, the French and the English. But in the end, the dispute was settled by the Anglo-French Agreement of 1898, which may be said to mark the conclusion of the progress of the partition of Africa. By this agreement France renounced all her claims on Egyptian Soudan. A few years after this, in 1904 another agreement was signed between England and France. By this agreement England and France publicly announced that they would no longer oppose each other in Africa. Secretly France consented to England's obtaining control of Egypt, even if England desired to strengthen her hold on that country. In return, England secretly agreed to allow France to acquire control over Morocco, which lay to the west of Algeria. Further more the two powers promised to give each other diplomatic support in carrying out these aims. France promptly took advantage of the Agreement of 1904. Assured of England's support, she began to interfere in Moroccan affairs and to tell the Sultan of Morocco what he should or should not do. But the German Emperor William II, visited Morocco in 1905, and declared that he considered Morocco an independent state. With German encouragement, the Sultan

of Morocco refused to obey French "advice," and asked all the powers to hold a conference about Moroccan affairs. The French knew that opposition to this request would mean trouble with Germany, and France was not ready for trouble, for Russia, her ally, had just been defeated by Japan. France, therefore, consented to have the Moroccan situation dealt with by an international conference, which met at Algeciras in 1906. It was arranged at this conference that French and Spanish officers should train the Moroccan military police force, but Morocco was definitely recognized as an independent country. But five years after this, France got an opportunity to tear up the treaty of Algeciras. It happened that some of the native tribes had rebelled against the Sultan. Claiming that the lives of foreigners in Morocco were in danger, France sent an army into the country, and kept it there. Again Germany intervened. A German gunboat, the *Panther*, was sent to the port of Agadir on the Moroccan coast, ostensibly to protect Germans citizens, but really to show France that Germany must not be left out of account. War would have broken out between Germany and France, but, England announced her intention of supporting France, and Russia could also be counted upon to come to the assistance of France. At length a compromise was arrived at. France was permitted to establish a protectorate over Morocco, but a small strip on the northern coast was given to Spain, and the town of Tangier was made an international town. France, on the other hand, was induced to cede about 100,000 square miles of French Congo to Germany. In 1912, French Protectorate over Morocco was proclaimed.

The English in Africa. It has already been stated how South Africa and Egypt came into the hands of Great Britain. It now remains to describe how England obtained her other possessions in Africa. The partition

of Africa really began in 1880. Before this Great Britain held small territories of Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, and a few other stations on the western coast, and in Upper Guinea. But after 1880, she also joined in that general scramble of Africa. She had in 1873, extended her rule from Gold Coast over Ashanti, and in 1885, she took possession of the entire territory in the lower courses of the river Niger, and thus founded the present great crown colony of Nigeria. In the south she began to extend her dominions from the side of South Africa. It was about this time that Cecil Rhodes formed the plan of a Cape-to-Cairo route all through British territory. With this object Bechuanaland was occupied in 1885, and Rhodesia in 1888. Nyasaland was taken in 1890. At the same time the territories in the south inhabited by the aborigines were brought more intimately under the control of government. Swaziland, Zululand, Besutoland, and Griqualand, were all absorbed. In the east also several territories fell to the share of Great Britain. A portion of Somaliland was occupied in 1884, Kenya was taken in 1885, and in 1890, she took Zanzibar and Uganda. After this it was only the German colony of East Africa, which separated the northern and southern psssessions of Great Britain. So the German colony of East Africa was a serious obstacle in the way of the all-British Cape-to-Cairo route. But on the outbreak of the Great European War, the German colonies of Africa fell into the hands of the English and the French. German East Africa and German South West Africa are British possessions, and now there is no obstacle in the way of an All-British Cape-to-Cairo route. The dreams of Cecil Rhodes have thus been realised.

The Portuguese in Africa. All the possessions of Portugal in Africa are old ones. She was the first to explore the coasts of Africa. She had taken possession of Madeira islands in 1420. She then built a station on

the west coast, south of the river Gambia. It is known by the name of Portuguese Guinea. In the south west she occupied Angola, south of the Congo river valley, and in the east she took possession of Mozambique. In the general partition of Africa, she was allowed to extend her possessions in Angola and Mozambique from the coast line more into the interior. She did not get any fresh territories in any other quarter of the continent.

The Belgians in Africa. The possessions of Belgium grew directly out of the discoveries of Stanley. It was Stanley who realised what sources of wealth might be tapped in the rubber, ivory, and palm-oil of the vast Congo basin, and he persuaded king Leopold II, of Belgium in 1876, to supply the funds for the establishment of trading stations in that part of Africa. The Congo Free State, which thus came into being, formed the private property of a company financed mainly by King Leopold. The Company thus promoted by Stanley required native chiefs to furnish a certain number of workmen, and on their failure to supply the demand, their villages were very often burned. The native workmen were required to deliver a certain quantity of rubber each year. Failure to comply with this demand was cruelly punished. In order to tap resources in the interior, railway lines had to be constructed. This too was done by the forced labour supplied by the natives. The savage natives, accustomed to a free life in the jungle, hated collecting rubber juice, draining swamps for Belgian business men, and laying railways. At length protests in Europe and America led the Belgium ministry in 1908, to assume complete ownership of this territory, which was so far called the Congo Free State. It was now given the name of the Belgian Congo.

The Germans in Africa. Soon after Germany attained national unity, she made her appearance among colonial powers. In 1883, the Bremen merchant

Luderitz, appeared in South Africa where there were a few German mission stations and trading centres, and annexed a large area which Bismark was persuaded to take under the formal protection of Germany. This region had hitherto been regarded within the British sphere, but she had not so far taken this region officially under her protection. In 1884, another German agent Dr. Nachtigal was commissioned by the German Government to report on German trade interests on the West Coast, and the British Government was formally acquainted with his mission, and requested to instruct its agents to assist him. The real purpose of this mission was shown when Nachtigal made a treaty with the chief of Togoland, on the Guinea Coast, whereby he accepted German suzerainty. A week later a similar treaty was made with some of the native chiefs in the Cameroons. A little later another German agent, Karl Paters, with a few companions disguised as working Engineers, arrived at Zanzibar on the East Coast, with a comission from the German colonial society to peg out German claims. In the island of Zanzibar, British interests, had long heen overwhelmingly predominant. Karl Pater's luggage consisted largely of draft treaty forms, and he succeeded in making treaties with native princes, whereby some 60,000 square miles on the mainland of the east coast were brought under German control. But before the German Government accepted protectorate over these lands, a conference met at Berlin to confirm and recognise the spheres of influence of the different European powers in Africa. This conference met in 1884-5. In this way the Germans secured four colonies in Africa ;—Togoland, Cameroons, German South West Africa, aud German East Africa. But all these colonies were lost in the Great European War which broke out in 1914.* German East Africa, and German South West Africa were taken by Great Britain, and Togoland and Cameroons were taken by France and England.

The Italians in Africa. Italy had been very indignant in 1881, when France took Tunis, which lies so close to Sicily. In 1883, she obtained her first foothold in Africa in Eritrea, on the Red Sea. In 1885, with the assistance of Great Britain she enlarged her possessions in Eritrea by an annexation of territory which formerly belonged to Egyptian Soudan. But the Italian claims in Eritrea soon brought her into conflict with the neighbouring native state of Abyssinia, the only independent native power on the continent. In spite of a sharp defeat at Dogali in 1887, she succeeded in holding her own in this conflict. In 1889, Abyssinia accepted a treaty which Italy claimed to be a recognition of her suzerainty. But the Abyssinians repudiated this interpretation, and in a new war which broke out in 1896, they inflicted on the Italians so crushing a defeat at Adowa, that they were forced to recognise the complete independence of Abyssinia. Meanwhile in 1889, again with the assistance of Great Britain, Italy secured in East Africa a share in Somaliland. At the present moment, there are three powers in Somaliland, Italy on the eastern coast, England, on the Gulf of Aden, and France towards the west of British territory. Just adjoining the French Somaliland, there lies on the Red Sea the Italian possessions of Eritrea. In this way the possessions of these three European powers shut out Abyssinia entirely from the sea. It has been reduced to the position of an entirely land locked country.

The Spaniards in Africa. The Spaniards have obtained only two possessions on the African continent. She possesses the Canary islands and Rio de Oro on the mainland, just south of Morocco, and a small slice of territory in northern Morocco, near the straits of Gibraltar, which she obtained in 1906, after the Algeciras conference.

The whole of Africa is now partitioned among the different

European powers. There are only two territories left on the continent which are completely independent. They are Liberia, a Negro Republic on the Upper Guinea coast, and Abyssinia in the East. But Italy is trying to establish a protectorate over Abyssinia. Great Britain, however, does not like this idea, since Blue Nile, one of the branches of the Nile, rises in the highlands of Abyssinia.

Summary

1. *European Possessions in Africa before 19th Century.* Africa is naturally divided into two regions, one in the north, in between the Mediterranean aud the Sahara, and the other south of the Sahara. The northern region was in ancient times a part of the Roman Empire, and so was highly civilised. This ancient civilisation was in the 5th century destroyed by the Vandals, a German tribe. In the 7th century these lands were conquered by the Arabs. In the 16th century they became part of the Ottoman Empire. The Europeans, therefore, could not colonise these territories. In the extreme south, however, the Cape of Good Hope was occupied by the Portuguese, who were in 1652 ousted by the Dutch. Some Dutch peasants, called the Boers, settled in these parts. They were soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, joined by the French Huguenots. This Cape Colony came into the hands of Great Britain during the Napoleonic wars. Beyond South Africa, the rest of Africa was during the greater part of the 19th century unexplored and unoccupied. The Europeans possessed only a few trading stations on the coasts.

2. *South Africa.* It was first occupied by the Portuguese, then in 1652, it came into the possession of the Dutch. Great Britain occupied it in 1806. On the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, the Congress of Vienna gave this colony to Great Britain in 1814. But soon after this the Dutch and the English came into conflict. The Boers did not want the abolition of slavery. So they left their homes in Cape Colony, and migrated in 1836 some towards Natal, and some towards the north across the River Orange. But Natal was declared a British colony in 1842, and Orange river territory was annexed to British dominions in 1848. After this the Boers migrated still further northward and settled across the river Vaal. Great Britain recognised the independence of Transvaal in 1852. In 1854, the British government abandoned Orange river colony as well. But in 1877, Lord Beaconsfield suddenly annexed, Transvaal, because he held that the frequent wars between the Boers

and the native tribes, were a menace to the peace of British territories in South Africa. But Gladstone, his political rival, denounced this annexation, and when he came into power in 1880, he restored the independence of Transvaal. It was agreed, however, that all white people were free to settle in the Transvaal, and they were to possess equal civic rights. When in 1884, gold mines were discovered in the Transvaal, there was a great rush of people into this country. In a very short time the population of English people became double of what the Boers had. The Boer government was, however, not willing to give the right of vote to the new immigrants, who were called the Uitlanders. At length in 1899, war broke out between Great Britain and the two Boer Republics. As a result of this war the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were annexed to the British Dominions, in 1902. When the Liberal Party came into power in England in 1905, they granted Self-government to the Transvaal in 1906, and to Orangia in 1907. All the four South African colonies, of the Cape, Natal, Orangia, and the Transvaal were united in the self-governing dominion of the South African Union in 1909. Its population consists of 15 lakhs of white people and 55 lakhs of Black Africans.

3. *Egypt.* A military officer, Ibrahim Ali Pasha, who was a native of Albania, had been recognised hereditary Pasha of Egypt in 1840. The fifth ruler of this dynasty founded by him, was Ismail Pasha, who ruled from 1863 to 1879. It was in his time that the Suez Canal, which had begun to be constructed in 1859, was in 1869 completed. It was constructed by a French Engineer, Ferdinand de Lessepes, and it was financed by a company, which had raised its capital from France, England, and some other countries in Europe. But Ismail Pasha was a very extravagant prince. He had contracted heavy debts, and in 1875, he sold his shares in the Suez Canal Company to the British Government, for four millions of pounds. But that was only a temporary relief to Ismail, who had since 1866, assumed the title of Khedive. He had contracted not only heavy debts, but he had also increased the taxes to such a great extent, that at length the people became rebellious. So in order to safeguard the interests of the investors, France and England intervened, and imposed their control over a large part of the administration. This control is called by the name of the dual control, which lasted from 1879 to 1883. Ismail resented this tutelage, and so he was forced to abdicate in 1879, He was succeeded by his son Tewfik, who ruled from 1879 to 1892. This foreign intervention caused the rise of a national movement in Egypt. The Egyptian nationalists rose

into rebellion under the leadership of a military officer Arabi Pasha. In order to suppress this insurrection, England sought the co-operation of France. But France declined, and in 1882 England was compelled to put down this insurrection single-handed. The nationalists were defeated, and Arabi Pasha was captured, who was now sent as a state prisoner to Ceylon. In 1883, France entirely withdrew from Egypt, and after this, England alone began to administer the affairs of Egypt. Lord Cromer was appointed Consul General, and he remained in the country till 1907. Shotly after the suppression of the Egyptian insurrection, England became engaged in the Soudanese War. Soudan was a dependency of Egypt, but in 1883, it rose in revolt under the leadership of an Arab Sheikh the El Mahdi. British reinforcements were sent to the Soudan but the British general, Gordon, was besieged at Khartoum, and he was in 1885 killed. After this, the Soudan was abandoned for about 11 years. At length Lord Kitchener was sent to reconquer the Soudan. The followers of the Mahdi were finally defeated, and the Soudan was now occupied in 1898 by an Anglo-Egyptian army. Just about this time they came into conflict with the French also, who had planted their flag at Fashoda on the banks of the Nile. But the French were induced to withdraw. The British Government has entirely reorganised the administration of Egypt. In 1914, when the Great War broke out, the Khedive was deposed, and another one was put on the throne. A British protectorate was established over Egypt. This protectorate lasted till 1922, when Egypt was granted independence, subject to some reservations in favour of Great Britain. The Egyptian nationalists have not yet agreed to these reservations. The dispute, therefore, has not yet been settled.

4. *The French in Africa.* Before 19th century, France possessed a few coastal stations at the mouth of the Senegal in the west, and on the island of Madagascar in the east. She conquered Algeria between 1830 and 1847. She took possession of Tunis in 1881. But her this action displeased Italy. In 1883, she established a protectorate over the whole of Madagascar. She obtained a portion of Somaliland in 1884. On the western coast from her foothold in Senegal, she gradually established her control over the upper Niger territories, and over the whole of the Sahara. She also took a large portion of the territory in Lower Guinea north of the Congo river basin. In 1904 an Anglo-French agreemnet was signed by virtue of which France recognised the paramountcy of England in Egypt and the latter country recognised similar rights of France in Morócco. France began to interfere in

the affairs of Morocco from 1905. At length in 1911 a French Protectorate was established in Morocco.

5. *The African Explorers.* The interior of Africa has been penetrated by the explorers through its four great rivers. Mungo Park explored the regions watered by the Niger. Captain Speke and Sir Samuel David explored the regions watered by the Nile, and traced its course right up to its sources in Central Africa. David Livingstone, a Scotch missionary explored the regions watered by the Zembesi, and discovered the Victoria Falls. Mr Henry M. Stanley explored the regions watered by the Congo. In this way the whole of Africa was explored. The writings of Stanley did much to arouse the interest of the Europeans in Africa. It was now discovered that many parts of Africa were fit for European colonisation, and that these lands could serve as markets for European manufactures, and as producers of raw materials. So from 1880 Africa began to be partitioned among the different nations of Europe.

6. *The English in Africa.* Besides South Africa and Egypt, Great Britain has obtained many other possessions also in Africa. Before 19th century, she possessed Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, on the western coast and Gambia in Upper Guinea. After 1880, she took possession of Ashanti north of the Gold Coast, and the territories watered by the lower courses of the Niger. She also began to extend her territories from South Africa, northwards. Cecil Rhodes wanted to connect the South African teritories with Soudan and Egypt in the north. With this object, Bechuanaland, Rhodesia, and Nyasaland were occupied. On the Eastern Coast, she already possessed a protectorate in Zanzibar islands, but now she took possession of Kenya and Uganda as well, On the outbreak of the Great European War, she took over German East Africa, and German South West Africa. The Cape to Cairo route is now entirely within British territory.

7. *The Portuguese in Africa.* Whatever possessions Portugal now has in Africa, were obtained in the 15th and 16th centuries, when she was engaged in exploring the coasts of Africa. She took possession of Madiera islands, and Gambia on the west coast, Angola south of the Congo Basin, and Mozambique in the East. During the 19th century she has only been allowed her coastal stations in Mozambique and Angola to be extended into the interior.

8. *The Belgians in South Africa* Immediately after the discoveries of Stanley, a Belgian company was formed for exploiting the resources of the Congo basin. Leopold II of Belgium financed this company to a very great extent. The natives of Congo were compelled to do forced labour, and they were very badly treated by the officers

of the Company. At length in 1908 the Congo Free State was taken over by the Belgian Government.

9. *The Germans in Africa.* After attaining national unity, Germany also turned her attention towards acquisition of oversea possessions. She had after 1880 obtained four colonies. Togoland, and Cameroons in the west, and South West Africa, and East Africa. On the outbreak of the Great European War all these four colonies were lost by Germany. East Africa and South West Africa were taken by England, and Cameroons and Togoland by France.

10. *The Italians in South Africa.* Italy obtained Eritrea in 1883. She enlarged these possessions by obtaining a small slice from Egyptian Soudan in 1885. She obtained a portion of Somaliland in 1889. In 1887, she had a war with Abyssinia, in which the latter was defeated. In 1896, there was another war between Italy and Abyssinia. In this war Italy was defeated, and Abyssinia was recognised as a completely independent country. But there is still a dispute between these two powers. As the sources of the Blue Nile are within Abyssinia, England evidently does not want Italy to establish a protectorate over Abyssinia.

11. *The Spaniards in Africa.* Spain possesses only two colonies, in Africa, Rio de Oro on the west coast and a small slice of the northern coast which she obtained in 1906.

12. The whole of Africa is now partitioned among European powers. There are only two independent countries left in Africa, Liberia, a Negro Republic, and Abyssinia,

CHAPTER XXVI

RUSSIA 1815—1917

The Russians. The Russian people form three groups, speaking different Slavic dialects. The largest group is that of the Great Russians, who occupy the interior, the north, and the east of the country. Their historic centre is the ancient capital of Moscow. Next come the Little Russians, or Ruthenians of the Ukraine. They centre about Kiev. The Cossacks are mainly Ukrainian colonists. The White Russians dwell to the west, in lands which once belonged to Lithuania. These three groups comprise more than half the population of European Russia. The Non-Russians are found principally along the frontier. Most of them entered the Russian empire in the 18th century, during the reigns of Peter the Great, and Catherine the Great. Early in the 19th century, in 1809, Alexander I took Finland from Sweden, and in 1812, seized Bessarabia from Turkey. The subject peoples of Russia now included Lapps and Finns in Finland, Esthonians, Letts, and Germans in the Baltic provinces, Poles, Lithuanians, Rumanians in Bessarabia, and Mongols and other Asiatics chiefly in the south eastern part of the empire. There were also many Jews in the cities

Alexander I 1801-1825. Alexander I began as a monarch of liberal tendencies and enlightened views. When in 1815, he returned from the Congress of Vienna, he could view his position and achievements with pride. He had participated in the overthrow of Napoleon, and had succeeded in uniting the rulers of western Europe in that Holy Alliance, which he had so much at heart. He was

the undisputed and autocratic ruler of more than half the entire continent of Europe. He granted a constitutional system of government to his Polish subjects. But it seems these reforms did not satisfy the Poles. They continued to oppose the Czar. The revolution of 1821 in Spain and in Italy made him more apprehensive. So after some time his enthusiasm for liberalism cooled down. He now began to rely more and more on Metternich. It was with his full approval that Austria suppressed revolution in Italy, and France put it down in Spain. He died in 1825, and was succeeded by his brother Nicholas I.

Nicholas I 1825-1855. Nicholas never felt any sympathy for either nationalism or democracy. At the very commencement of his reign there was a rebellion in Poland. This was crushed in 1830. He revoked the Polish constitution, dissolved the Polish Diet, and suppressed the Polish national flag. To all intents and purposes, Poland after this became merely a province of Russia. Nicholas I sincerely believed that Russia could only be saved from the "decay" of religion and government, which he believed to be taking place in western Europe, by maintaining autocracy. It was only by autocracy that disruptive movements, like democracy, and revolutionary ideas like liberty and freedom, could be checked. He wanted the Russian Greek Church and all its beliefs to be defended, for that was a great instrument for keeping the masses under restraint. The Czar Nicholas accordingly adopted strong measures to check the growth of liberalism. The officials were required to prevent in every way the admission of western ideas into Russia. Books of religion and science were carefully examined by the police or the clergy, and foreign works containing reference to politics were confiscated or the objectionable passages blotted out by censors. The government officials did not hesitate freely to open private letters sent through post. During his reign of

thirty years, thousands of Liberals were either put into prison or sent as exiles to Siberia. Nicholas I waged two wars, against Turkey, one in 1828-9, and the other in 1854-6. He intervened decisively to suppress the Hungarian revolutionaries in 1849. After 1849, his prestige was very great. Russia alone, of all the great powers of Europe, had passed through the turbulent years of 1848-9 without any commotion. She had aided in the restoration of the old order elsewhere. The Russian army was considered to be the best in Europe. In 1854, the efforts of Russia to increase her influence in Turkey led to a war with France and England. The Russians were defeated and their strong fortress of Sebastopol, in the Crimea was captured by the allies. Nicholas I died in the midst of these reverses in 1855. He was succeeded by his son, Alexander II.

Alexander II 1855-1881. The first task before Alexander II was to sign the Peace at Paris in 1856, which was imposed on Russia by the allies. By this treaty Russia, relinquished a part of Bessarabia, abandoned her claims to a protectorate over Roumanians and other Christian nations of Turkey, and lost the right to keep a fleet in the Black Sea. Having freed himself from this humiliating war, Alexander turned his attention to internal reforms. He relaxed the censorship of the press, and removed most of the restrictions which had been imposed upon the universities and on travel. But the greatest thing connected with his reign is the emancipation of the serfs.

Emancipation of the Serfs, 1861. To understand the significance of the Edict of Emancipation, one must understand the old Russian system of land tenure. Nearly nine tenth of the culturable land was owned by the Crown, the royal princes, and a small class of the nobles consisting of only one hundred and forty thousand,

The land was, therefore, held in large estates. It was owned by a small minority, but cultivated by millions of Russians, who were serfs. The method of cultivation was rather peculiar. Each estate was, as a rule, divided into two parts one part reserved by the owner for his own use, and cultivated directly under his supervision ; the other assigned to his serfs. These serfs generally lived in small villages, going out into the fields to cultivate them, and returning to their villages at night. The village communities, or *mirs*, regulated for their members the cultivation of those lands which were especially allotted to them. The serfs did not own the land, but enjoyed the use of it, and were entitled to whatever they raised. In return the *mir* paid the landlord a fixed sum annually. About one half of the *mirs* were on crown lands, and one half on lands belonging to the nobility. Serfdom was the basis of the economic and social life in Russia. The serfs numbered about five crores. The serfs in this way cultivated the lands allotted to the *mir*, and from what they raised, they got their sustenance. But they had also to cultivate the land set apart for the use of the landlord. They were to work for him three days in the week. They were not slaves in the strict sense of the word, for they could not be sold separately. But they were attached to the soil and could not leave it without the consent of the owner, and passed, if he sold his estate, to the new owner. The landlord had the right to inflict corporal punishment which was practically unrestricted. If a landlord considered any of his serfs unduly troublesome he could usually get the government to force them into the army, or exile them to Siberia. The nobles looked upon the serfs as their chief source of income. The crown serfs were in a better position than the serfs on private estates. Practically their only duty was to pay certain dues each year to the State or the imperial family, which were very much smaller than those paid by the others to their lords. They were in a

sense tenants owing rent for the lands they held. To free them, all that was necessary was to abolish these dues, and to recognise the serfs as owners of the holdings, which they had been cultivating, and to grant them personal freedom. No one could question the right of the state to do what it would with its own property. The liberation of these serfs was begun in 1859, though the process was not completed until 1866. Another class of serfs who were in domestic service, could be easily freed, but the serfs belonging to private landlords and attached to the soil presented great difficulties. It was not merely a question of giving them personal freedom, but it was also a question of giving them land. The Edict of Emancipation concerned the serfs of private landowners, the nobles. This Edict was issued on 3rd March 1861, and it abolished serfdom throughout the empire. This manifesto did not merely declare the serfs freemen. It undertook to solve the far more difficult problem of the ownership of the soil. The Czar felt that merely to give the serfs freedom, and to leave all the land in the possession of the nobles, would mean the creation of a great proletariat class, possessing no property. They would it was feared again fall into a position of economic dependence upon the nobles. Under such circumstances the gift of freedom would be a mere mockery. Moreover the cultivators were not willing to relinquish the lands they and their ancestors had cultivated for centuries. But, on the other hand, to give the lands to the serfs would mean the ruin of the nobility, So there was a great conflict of interests. Hence a compromise was arrived at. The lands were divided into two parts. The landlord was to keep one, and the other was to go to the peasants. The house and lot of each peasant was to become his personal property, the lands surrounding the village were to become the property of the village, or *mir*, to be owned by the community collectively, but to be divided periodically among its members according to the

Russian fashion. Such divisions were made by lot, and were merely temporary, for a period, varying also in different districts, from three to twelve years, and varying with the size of the family. Collective ownership of general farming land, and private ownership of house and lot, were thus the modes of land tenure adopted at the Emancipation. But the lands, whether going to peasants individually, or going to the *mir*, collectively, were not given to them outright. The peasant and the *mir*, had to pay to the landlord for their respective acquisitions. As they could not do this themselves, the state was to advance the money, which was to be paid back in instalments during a period of forty-nine years. Thus in time the peasants would become individually and collectively the owners of a part of the soil, and yet the former landlords were to be paid for what was taken from them. This arrangement was a great disappointment to the peasantry. Their newly-acquired freedom seemed a doubtful boon in the light of this method of dividing the land. It was difficult to see whether the peasant benefited by this change. Personal liberty could not mean much, when the conditions of earning a livilihood became harder than before. The peasant ceased to be bound to the landlord, but he was bound to the *Mir* all the more closely, because the *mir* was bound to the state for at least forty-nine years by its obligation to pay to the state for the communal lands. This meant a heavy land tax on the peasant. They ceased to be serfs to the noblee, but now they became a kind of serfs to the State. The peasants did not at all like this new arrangement. But anyhow the abolition of serfdom was the greatest act of Alexander II.

Administrative Reforms of 1864. But this was not his only act. In 1864, the Czar issued a decree establishing a certain measure of self-government. This decree was based upon the results of investigations made by a commission appointed in 1859. Russia is divided

into provinces and the provinces are sub-divided into districts. In each district a popular assembly was now established. It was called by the name of the Zemstvo, and it was to be chosen by the landlords, the Bourgeoise and the peasants in the villages. The district Zemstvos were to choose representative bodies. These representative bodies were to meet regularly once a year, and were to aid the government in administration. But these assemblies were not political bodies. It was not the intention of the emperor to divide or reduce in any degree his autocratic powers. They were to serve as a part of the local administration, discharging certain functions which the smaller areas, the *mirs*, could not perform, such as the control of the highways, primary schools, and hospitals, and the taking of precautions against famine; in short to contribute within strict limits to the material and moral well-being of the people. These Zemstvos were introduced gradually during the next twelve years, from 1864 to 1876. Though not intended as political or legislative bodies, the Zemstvos became nevertheless, training schools in political education.

Judicial Reforms, 1864. This Reform in the Administration was followed by one in the Judicial system. It was based upon a study of the systems of Europe and the United States of America. The old judicial organisation was both corrupt and inefficient. Judges were poorly paid, and could be removed by the Crown at any moment. The trials were conducted behind closed doors and in writing, a method, which greatly facilitated bribery. It was a system favourable to the rich, but oppressive to the poor. In November 1864, it was decided that henceforth the judges should serve during good behaviour, that court proceedings were to be public and oral, and that for criminal cases, trial by jury should be instituted. This was a great improvement on the old system. But soon after this, a period of reaction

began. The peasants had not received all they hoped to get. The nobles thought they had been deprived of a valuable property in lands and in serfs. The politicians were dissatisfied with the reforms in the administration. The officials also did not like these reforms. The result was that there was a wave of dissatisfaction everywhere The Czar was disappointed with the attitude of the people.

Insurrection in Poland, 1863. While his enthusiasm for reform was cooling down, there took place another insurrection in Poland, in 1863. But the Poles were hopelessly divided. The nobles and the peasants were practically two peoples. The nobles were the dominant class, and were regarded by the peasants as despots and oppressors. As a consequence the Polish people did not act together as a whole. The insurrection of 1863, was the work of the nobles. These peasants remained inactive, unmoved by the appeals of those who turned to them in adversity, but who treated them contemptuously, and harshly in ordinary times. The Czar decided to take advantage of this division. In March 1864, he issued a decree effecting a sweeping agrarian change. Nearly half of the lands belonging to the nobles were handed over to the peasants as freeholds. The peasants were released from all obligation to cultivate the estates of the nobles. In this way a large portion of the property of the nobles was confiscated. The clergy had supported the nobles in the insurrection. They were punished by the suppression of monasteries, and confiscation of their lands. and by the subjection of the priests to political supervision. The process of Russification was now vigorously pursued The Russian language was prescribed for the correspondence of officials and the lectures of the university professors. The use of the Polish language was forbidden in churches, schools, theatres, newspapers, on business sign-boards, in fact everywhere.

Anarchism and Terrorism This policy had reactions in Russia proper also. Here too a reactionary policy began to be followed. The result was that attempts were now made to assassinate him. One attempt was made in 1866 and the other in 1867. It was during this reactionary regime that prisons were again crowded, and hundreds of people were sent as exiles to Siberia. Reading the works of the more radical philosophers and scientists of western Europe, and reflecting on the foundations of their own national institutions and conditions, the "intellectuals" became most destructive critics of monarchy. They became "*Nihilists*". The fundamental principle of Nihilism was absolute individualism. In the name of individual liberty, it was considered necessary to deny all obligations imposed on the individual by society, by family life, and by religion. A Nihilist does not submit to any authority, and he does not accept a single principle merely on faith, however high such a principle may stand in the eyes of men. The Nihilists hold that every human institution or custom must be tested by reason. Theirs was an attitude, first of intellectual challenge, then of revolt against the established order. They did not properly form a party of action, but their criticism of government, religion, marriage and ethics brought down upon them the wrath of the authorities. Alarmed, they fled to other countries. Forced to live abroad, mainly in France and Switzerland, the refugees came into contact with other advanced schools of thought. One of these was Bakunin, a Siberian exile, who had escaped and was living in London. Bakunin was an Anarchist who advocated the immediate destruction of all existing institutions, governments, churches, the family, private property, codes of law, in the interests of human freedom. In this way socialism was combined with anarchism. The movement now began to have a constructive programme as well. The party founded by Bakunin now

made up its mind to institute an educational campaign in Russia, realizing that nothing could be done unless the millions of peasants were shaken out of their stolid acquiescence in the existing order which weighed so heavily upon them. This movement became very active after 1870. Young men and women, all belonging to the educated classes, and frequently to noble families, became day labourers and peasants, in order to mingle with the people, to arouse them to action, and to found on the ruins of the existing social organization the empire of the working classes. They showed the self-sacrifice, and the heroism of the missionary, labouring under the most discouraging conditions. It is estimated that between 1872 and 1878, something between two and three thousand missionaries were active in this propaganda. Their efforts, however, were not rewarded with success. The peasantry remained stolid, if not contented. Moreover this campaign of education and persuasion was broken up wherever possible, by the omnipresent police. A pacific propaganda being impossible, one of violence seemed to the more energetic spirits the only alternative. They now proposed to declare war on government, which as a body was cruel, corrupt, and tyrannical, and wanted to keep Russia always in darkness. They argued that the atrocious acts of the officials must be exposed, the government intimidated, and the eyes of the world opened to the horrors of the situation by startling acts of violence. So these Reformers became terrorists, not because they were depraved men or loved bloodshed, but because they were convinced that there was no other way to save their beloved land from the fearful oppression under which it groaned. These *Terrorists* perfected their organisation, and entered upon a period of violence. Numerous attempts, often successful, were made to assassinate the high officials, chiefs of police, and others, who had rendered themselves particularly odious. On the other hand, many of the revolutionaries were executed.

Finally, the terrorists decided to kill the Czar, as the only way of overthrowing the whole hated arbitrary and oppressive system. Several attempts were made. At length on 13th March 1881, he died as a result of the injuries he received by the explosion of a bomb that was thrown at him. Towards the closing years of his reign there was another war which Russia fought against Turkey. Alexander II wanted to come to the assistance of the southern Slavs, the Serbians, the Montenegrans, and the Bulgarians who wanted to free themselves from the control of the Turks. Successful in arms, Russia was, however, compelled to relinquish most of her gains and those of her allies by a congress of the European powers held at Berlin in 1878. He was succeeded by his son Alexander III.

Alexander III 1881-1894. The new Czar was not intimidated by the activities of the revolutionaries. So the police redoubled their activities. The terrorists also realised that the country was as yet not ready for a revolution. The reign of Alexander was a period of quiet, during which little progress seemed to be made. The people suffered the oppression of government officials without active opposition. Their occasional protests were answered by imprisonment, flogging, or exile. Alexander III and his advisers believed that freedom and liberty could only serve to destroy a nation. So they considered it necessary to keep all ideas of democracy, which had produced revolutions in western Europe out of the country. The reign of this Czar is chiefly known for the efforts made by the government to "Russify" the whole empire, so that its non-Russian inhabitants should have one law, one language, and one religion. This policy led to a severe oppression of the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Esthonians, the Letts, the Germans, and the Jews. The persecution of the Jews resulted in their large emigration to the United States of America. But there came another change in Russia in the reign of Alexander III. So far Russia,

in spite of her vast mineral resources, had lagged far behind her western neighbours in the use of machinery. She had little capital, and no adequate means of transportation across the vast stretches of land which separated her chief towns. The governing classes had no taste for manufacturing enterprises. But the liberation of the serfs favoured the growth of factories, for the peasants were sometimes permitted to leave their villages for the manufacturing centres which were gradually springing up. Along with this business development went the construction of great railway lines, built largely by government with money borrowed from capitalists in western Europe. Some of the railway lines were constructed chiefly for political and military purposes, but others were designed to connect the great factory centres. Railway building was first seriously undertaken in Russia, after the disasters of the Crimean war, when the soldiers suffered cruel hardships in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining supplies. After this railway lines began to be constructed, connecting the capital with all the frontiers. The Trans-Siberian Railway was completed between 1892 and 1905. The industrial revolution began in Russia in the reign of Alexander II. Factories were mostly concentrated in a few industrial regions. such as the western parts of the Russian Poland, Petrograd, the region around Moscow, and the coal country between the Don and the Dnieper rivers. This concentration meant that the proletariat could be more easily united, and more readily stirred to revolt. The industrial proletariat was a very good soil for the Socialist doctrines which the disciples of Karl Marx began to spread in Russia after 1880. The working-men, being discontented, were easily converted to socialism. The Russian Social Democratic party was at length formed in 1898.

Nichols II 1894-1917. Czar Nicholas II, who was the last emperor of Russia, continued the repressive policy of his father. The first thing he did was to begin

the Russification of Finland. This led to the assassination of the Russian governor of Finland. Shortly after this took place the massacre of the Jews. The repressive policy of government displeased not only the fanatical terrorists but also professional men, the university professors, the enlightened merchants, and manufacturers, and the public-spirited nobility. These were at first not organised into a distinct party, but in time they came to be known as the Constitutional Democrats. They demanded freedom of speech, and of the press, the right to hold public meetings to discuss public questions, and the abolition of the secret police system, and of arbitrary imprisonment, and religious persecution. In the towns a socialist party had been growing up which advocated the theories of the western prophet of socialism, Karl Marx. It desired all the reforms advocated by the Constitutional Democrats, but also looked forward to the time when the working men would become so numerous and powerful, that they could seize the government offices and assume the management of lands, mines, and factories, which should thereafter be used for the benefit of all people, rather than for the small class of rich men who then owned them. But these socialists did not believe in terrorism or in murderous attacks on unpopular government officials. Lastly there was the Socialist Revolutionary Party, which was well organised, and was responsible for the chief acts of violence during the past few years. They maintained that it was right to make war upon the government, which was oppressing them, and extorting money from the people to fill the pockets of the officials. The more the Czar tried to stamp out all opposition against his autocracy, the more his enemies increased. At last in 1904 began the open revolution. Von Plehve, the unpopular minister of the interior was assassinated. On this the Czar appointed a liberal as his successor. It was soon after decided to permit the representatives of the different provincial Zemstvos to meet

together at St. Petersburg for the purpose of stating and discussing what they considered was needed by the country. The press was also given more freedom. There was immediately set up a great agitation for the grant of constitutional reforms. At length in August 1905, the Czar announced, that "while preserving the fundamental law regarding the autocratic power" he had resolved to call in January 1906, a State Council, or Duma, consisting of elected representatives from the whole of Russia. But it was stated that this Duma was to be a merely consultative body. Moreover the working and professional classses were not enfranchised, and the sessions of the Duma were not to be public. The people were not satisfied with these reforms. So in October a general strike was organised. This sharp, sweeping suspension of the ordinary and necessary activities of life created an insupportable situation and exerted a terrific pressure on the government. The Czar had to yield. On the 30th of October, 1905, the Czar issued a manifesto granting freedom of speech, of conscience, of association, and extending the suffrage to those who then lacked it. The question of fixing the permanent franchise was left to the Duma. It was also announced that in future no law could come into force without the approval of the Duma. It was also to take part effectively in the supervision of the legality of the acts of the officials. But before the Duma met, the Czar proceeded to clip its wings. He issued a decree constituting a Council of the Empire, that is a body consisting largely of nominated officials or nobles. This was to serve as an upper chamber of the Russian Parliament. The elections to the Duma were held in March and April 1906, and resulted in a arge majority of Constitutional Democrats. But the first thing done after the elections was to issue on behalf of the Czar, certain "Organic Laws," that could not be touched by the Duma. In this way even before the Duma had met, its powers were restricted. The Duma first met in May 1906,

but it was destined to have a short and stormy life. From the beginning it showed that it desired thorough-going reform of Russia along the well-known lines of western liberalism. It from the first received strong opposition from the bureaucracy and the court party. The Duma lasted a little more than two months. The Czar dissolved the Duma in July 1906. The second Duma was elected in March 1907, but there was again a conflict between the representatives of the people and the government. This Duma was also dissolved in June 1907. But before the new elections were ordered, an imperial manifesto was issued altering very radically the electoral law. The franchise was now confined to a small class of landowners. This third Duma elected on a very limited and plutocratic suffrage, was opened in November 1907. It was composed largely of reactionaries, so it proved to be a docile assembly. The Duma now continued to exist, but was more a consultative than a legislative body. It had very little influence on the life of the people. The old governing classes continued to rule the country in a despotic manner. Thus the revolution in Russia had failed. It required another war to re-kindle it. Another Revolution, and this time a successful one broke out in 1917, during the Great European War, when monarchical form of Government in Russia came to an end.

Expansion of Russia. It has already been stated in Chapter XVIII, how during the Greek War of Independence (1828-29), and the Turkish War of 1878, Russia, extended her dominions at the expense of Turkey. In the 18th century she had taken from Turkey, Crimea and in 1783 the territory in between the Dnieper and the Dniester. In the 19th century she took from Turkey, Bessarabia, in 1812, a portion of Caucasia in 1829, and a portion of Armenia in 1878. In 1809, she had taken Finland from Sweden. But all these annexations gave Russia an entrance to the Baltic Sea

in the west and Black Sea in the south. Both these seas are inland seas. The doors of the Baltic Sea towards the Ocean are obstructed by Denmark and the islands in its neighbourhood. The doors of the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, are closed by the straits of Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. As a result of the Crimean War Russia was not allowed to keep even a naval fleet on the Black Sea. On the northern side the coasts of Russia and Siberia were along the Arctic Sea, which were closed for a greater part of the year. So under these circumstances, Russia was in need of such warm ports which had free access to the Ocean. Since she could not have these facilities in the Baltic and the Black Seas, she began to search for warm ports elsewhere. The only alternative before her was to expand in the direction of the Persian Gulf, or the Sea of Japan. It was with this intention that she began in the 19th century to expand in the direction of Persia and China. She conquered the northern portion of the Persian province of Azerbaijan, lying in between Armenia and the Caspian Sea, between the years 1801 and 1859, and she took possession of the whole of Caucasia in 1864. After this she began to increase her influence in the court of Persia. Her effort was to obtain trade concessions in this kingdom. Towards the east her expansion had been rapid. It was in 1580 that she had crossed the Ural mountains, and taken possession of the Mongol capital Siber. She founded the city of Tobolsk in 1587, Tomsk in 1604, Yenissieisk in 1620, Yakutsk in 1630, and Okhotsk in the province of Kamaskatchka in 1638. In this way she had by the middle of the 17th century reached the Pacific Ocean. But here also she had obtained only ice-bound ports. So in order to get warm water ports, Russia began to move against China. She first took possession of the territories surrounded by Lake Baikal, and in 1858, while China was engaged in a war with Great Britain, she occupied the territory on the northern banks of the river Amur. Two

years later in 1860, she took possession of the territories east of the Amur province, on the shores of the sea of Japan. At the southern end of this new province, she built a port, called by the name of Vladivostok. This port could be free of ice for some part of the year. After this, in order to get an all year-round ice-free port she began to build up an influence in Manchuria and Korea. But here she came into conflict with the rising power of the Japanese. South of her Siberian possessions, Russia had the wild Kirghiz steppes of Central Asia inhabited by the predatory Turks and the Mongols. They were in the habit of making raids into the Russian territories. So it was necessary to subdue them. These parts of Central Asia were conquered between the years 1840 and 1860. Russia now came into contact with the Central Asian Muslim kingdoms of Turkistan. The valley of the Jaxertes (Sir Darya) was conquered in 1864-68. Bokhara and Samarkand were taken under control in 1868. Khiva and the Turkoman territories of the Transcaspian were occupied in 1873. The province of Farghana was taken in 1876. At length Merv on the Afghan border was reached in 1881-85, and the Pamirs on the Indian frontiers, near Gilgit, in 1891-3. In this way her territories now extended in Central Asia right up to the Oxus (Amu Darya), and the eastern reaches of the Hindukush range of mountains. So in these quarters it was natural for Russia to come into conflict with Great Britain.

Summary

1. *The Russians.* They are divided into three groups, the Great Russians, the Little Russians, and the White Russians. The non-Russians are found mostly on the borders, who include, the Lapps, the Finns, the Esthonians, the Letts, the Germans, the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Rumanians, the Mongols, and the Jews.

2. *Alexander I, 1801-1825.* He first started as a liberal monarch. He granted a constitutional system of government to Poland. But the revolutions in Spain and Italy, and then agitation of the Poles for more reforms cooled very soon his enthusiasm for reforms.

3. *Nicholas I, 1825-1855.* He had the training of a soldier, and he believed in autocracy. He had very little sympathy for democracy. In his time there was a rebellion in Poland, which was suppressed in 1830. After this, reforms were withdrawn from Poland, and now it became merely a province of Russia. Like Metternich he followed a repressive policy in Russia. He twice went to war with Turkey, once in 1828-29, when Greece became independent, and Serbia became autonomous, and the second time in 1854-56, which led to the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War.

4. *Alexander II, 1855-1881.* His first business was to sign the humiliating peace of Paris in 1856, whereby he abandoned Bessarabia, and the protectorate over other Balkan states. He relaxed the censorship of the press, and removed most of the restriction upon universities.

5. *Emancipation of the Serfs, 1861.* The greatest thing connected with the reign of Alexander II, was the emancipation of the serfs. In old Russia nine-tenths of the culturable land belonged either to the crown or the small class of nobility. The land was held in large estates. The estate was divided into two parts, one part reserved by the owner for his own use and the other assigned to the serfs. The village communities or *mirs* regulated the cultivation of the lands for the members. The land was periodically allotted among the different families. The serf did not own the land, but enjoyed the use of it. He had to pay fixed sum to the landlords annually. He was attached to the soil, and when a land was sold, he became the serf of the new owner. The serfs had to work three days in the week on the lands kept by the owners. In 1859, the Czar began to liberate the serfs. At first he exempted the serfs on the crown lands from the payment of rent to the crown. In 1861 he abolished serfdom throughout the empire. The lands were divided into two parts. The landlord was to keep one, and the other was to go to the peasants in full ownership. The house and lot of each peasant became his personal property, the lands surrounding the village, became the property of the village or the *mir*. owned collectively by the people. The peasants and the *mir* did not get these lands as a free gift, but they were to pay for them to the landlords. The money was advanced by the state, and that was to be repaid in 49 annual instalments. The payments of these instalments proved a heavy land tax on the peasants, so they did not like this new agreement.

6. *Administrative Reforms, 1864.* In this year a certain measure of self-government was introduced. Russia is divided into provinces and the provinces into districts. In each district there was now

established a popular assembly, called Zemstvo. These local bodies were to aid the government in the administration. They were to control highways, primary schools, and hospitals, and take preventive measures against famine. These zemstvos were established between 1864 and 1876. These local bodies gave a good deal of political training to people.

7. *Judicial Reforms, 1864.* The old judicial system was corrupt and inefficient. The judges could be removed any time by the crown. In 1864, it was decided that henceforth the judges should hold office during good behaviour. Trial by jury was introduced. But since these reforms did not satisfy the people, reactionary policy again began after 1870.

8. *Insurrection in Poland, 1863.* There was insurrection in Poland in 1863, but as the Barons and the peasants did not co-operate, the Czar took advantage of this disunity. Nearly half of the agricultural lands were handed over to the peasants, who were now made independent of the landlords. The monasteries were suppressed, because the clergy had helped the nobles. Now there began a policy of Russification of the Poles. Their language was suppressed, and they were compelled to carry on all their business in the Russian language.

9. *Anarchism and Terrorism.* A repressive policy had also been started in Russia proper. The Czar now became very unpopular, and several attempts were made to assassinate him. There now arose a school of thinkers, who began to attack the very institution of monarchy. They attacked all kinds of control whether of the state, or of the church, or of the family. They were known by the name of the *Nihilists.* A very large number of these Nihilists were exiled. They took refuge in France and Switzerland. Here they came into contact with the Socialists. The teachings of socialism became combined with anarchism. Bakunin, a Russian refugee, was the leader of this new type of socialism. They were to employ all methods for the attainment of their objects. The leaders of this movement undertook the task of educating the mass of the people A large number of educated young men, very often belonging to good families, began to work as labourers, so as to get an opportunity of preaching the new doctrines to the people, But this kind of work was not permitted by police. The result was that the people now thought of employing violent methods, Thus began *Terrorism.* These terrorists now began to assassinate high government officials and police officers. At length even the Czar was killed in 1881.

9. *Allexander III, 1881-1894.* His time was rather a quiet time. There was great industrial progress in the country in his time. He

entered upon a policy of building railway lines. He continued the policy of Russification of the alien peoples living in the border provinces of the empire.

10. *Nicholas II, 1894-1917.* He continued the repressive policy of his father. He also tried to Russify the alien populations in the empire. There were three political parties in his time, the Constitu-ional Democrats, the Socialist party, and the Revolutionary party. As the policy of the Czar became more and more repressive, the strength of the opposition also increased. At length in 1904, shortly after the outbreak of the Japanese war, a revolution broke out in Russia. In 1905, shortly after the conclusion of the war, the Czar was compelled to announce a scheme of reforms. The first Representative Assembly, called by the name of the Duma, was convened in 1906. But along with this he created a Council of the Empire, a body which consisted entirely of nominated officials and barons. But there soon arose a conflict between the Duma and the Government. The Duma was dissolved after a short existence of two months. The 2nd Duma was elected in 1907, but that had also to be dissolved on account of the opposition it offered to the Czar's government. After this a radical change was made in the electoral law of the country. The suffrage was now limited only to the small class of the nobles. The Assembly elected under this law proved to be a very docile body. But it had very little influence on the life of the people.

11. *Expansion of Russia.* One great disability from which Russia suffered was that it was a land-locked country. The White Sea in the north was ice-bound for the greater part of the year. The Baltic Sea and the Black Sea were both inland seas, one blocked by the possessions of Denmark, and the other by the possessions f Turkey. So the chief need of Russia was to get warm water ports which should have free access to the ocean. With this object in view Russia in the 19th century began to expand in the south towards Persia, and towards the east in the direction of China. Before 1859, she took possession of the territories in between the Caspian and the Black Seas. She conquered the Kirghiz steppes of central Asia between 1840 and 1860. She subdued the Muslim states in Central Asia between 1865 and 1885. Pamirs were occupied by her in 1891-3. In the east she took possession of Amur province in 1858, and she built Vladivostock on the western shores of the sea of Japan in 1860. Her Trans-Siberian Railway was completed in 1905. She was in the meanwhile building up her influence in Persia, and in Manchuria and Korea. So she come into conflict both with Great Britain and Japan.

CHAPTER XXVII

RISE OF JAPAN AS A WORLD POWER

The Japanese Archipelago. Nippon or the Land of the Rising Sun is the name which the Japanese give to their country. It consists of six large islands, and four thousands of smaller ones, stretching like a crescent off the coast of Eastern Asia. The country is of a mountainous character, and only about one-eighth of the archipelago can be cultivated. Rice and tea form the principle crops, but many fruits are also found in the country. The deep inlets of the coast provide convenient harbours, and the numerous rivers supply abundance of water. Japan contains also mines of coal and many other metals. The modern Japanese are descended from Koreans and Chinese, who displaced the original inhabitants of the archipelago. The immigrants are supposed to have arrived in the country in the early centuries of the Christian era. Except for their shorter stature, the Japanese closely resemble the Chinese in physique, and personal appearance. They are, however, more quick-witted and receptive to new ideas than their neighbours on the mainland. They have for many centuries been under a despotic government, and so they are habitually obedient. They are intensely patriotic, and they possess a martial spirit. The Japanese civilisation is built more or less on Chinese civilisation. They have adopted a simplified form of Chinese writing, and they have more or less borrowed from China, their literature, learning, and art. The moral system of Confucius has found ready acceptance in Japan, which has already strengthened the already-existing Japanese feelings of reverence for parents, and the worship of ancestors. Buddhism was imported into

Japan from Korea, and so there were introduced into the country the Hindu ideas of the nature of soul, of heaven and hell, and of salvation by prayer. Buddhism is still the prevailing religion of Japan. Monarchy was established in Japan at a very early period of her history, and the dynasty to which the emperor of Japan, called the Mikado, belongs is the oldest dynasty in the world. But after some time the Mikado lost all administrative powers, which began gradually to be concentrated in the hands of the Shogun. But there existed in the country a large number of nobles, called daimios, who possessed feudal powers. Their followers, the Sumarai, were a strong military class. They oppressed their serfs, and waged private wars against one another. The result was that neither the Mikado nor the Shogun exercised much power over them.

European intercourse with Japan. The first European visitors to Japan were Portuguese merchants and Jesuit missionaries, who came in the 16th century. At first the Japanese government welcomed them. The Japanese soon began to be converted to the faith of Christ. It is said that in 1581, there were in the country 200 churches, and 50,000 converts. But it seems the bishops were tactless enough to engage in political intrigue. Naturally a reaction now set in. Finally a bitter persecution of the Christians broke out. More than 20,000 converts were in 1591 put to death. At length this anti-foreign feeling grew so strong in the country, that in 1638, Japan adopted a policy of isolation, even more vigorous than that of China. Foreigners were forbidden to enter the country under pain of death, and the Japanese were forbidden to leave the country. They were forbidden to buy foreign goods, and they were allowed to sell only such articles which the government permitted. The Dutch, however, were allowed to have a small trading station on the peninsula of Deshima. This place was for over

two centuries the only point of contact between Japan and the outside world. In modern times the foreign intervention began in 1853-54. It appeared that American ships, cruising in the north Pacific Ocean for whales, were shipwrecked off the Japanese coasts or forced to put in Japanese ports for supplies and repairs. On these occasions the American sailors were very often badly treated. Accordingly, Commodore Perry was sent with four American warships, in 1853, to demand better treatment for American sailors. When he appeared off the Japanese coast and presented his demands, the Japanese government was panic-stricken. When Perry returned for his answer, next year, with more warships, and a display of cannon, the Japanese agreed to sign a treaty, opening two ports to American ships. A few years later, another American, Townsend Harris, persuaded Japan to open Nagasaki and Yokohama as ports where Americans could freely reside and trade. Other nations were now tempted to obtain similar rights in Japan. But the Japanese, especially the feudal lords, regarded the foreigners as "barbarians," who ought to be expelled from the country. Some foreigners were actually attacked by them in 1863. When in order to punish these hostile barons, European and American warships bombarded Japanese towns, the vainglorious Japanese warriors found themselves completely at the mercy of the foreigner's superior artillery.

Transformation of Japan. The Japanese now realised the necessity of acquainting themselves with European science and inventions, for otherwise they now became convinced they could not protect their country against foreign encroachments. Shortly after this, the Shogun died in 1866, and the Mikado died in 1867. A new Mikado, Mutsuhito by name, ascended the throne, when he was only 15 years old. The bulk of the people blamed

the Shogun for the weak policy he had followed in connection with the foreigners. After the death of the old Shogun in 1866, they wanted to abolish the shogunate, and to vest the entire power in the hands of the Mikado. So a civil war broke out between the representatives of the Mikado and the supporters of the Shogun. The latter were repeatedly defeated, At last the Shogunute was abolished. Henceforth the Mikado was the real as well as the nominal head of the state. He abandoned the retirement in which his predecessors lived for long, left Kioto to emphasise this fact, and established himself in Yedo, which had so far been the headquarters of the Shogun. Yedo was now given the name of Tokio. The collapse of the Shogunate, and the restoration of the Mikado to absolute power constituted the initial step of a remarkable and sweeping transformation of Japan. It was the beginning of a new era, which the Mikado called as the era of "Enlightend Rule." In a few years Japan revolutionised her political and social institutions, adopted the material and scientific civilisation of Europe, and entered upon an international career. So complete, so rapid, so hearty an appropriation of an alien civilisation, is a change unique in the history of the world. The entrance upon this course was a direct result of Perry's expedition. Once begun with the abolition of the Shogunate, the Japanese Revolution proceeded with great rapidity. In 1871, the Daimios, or the barons, most of whom had sided with the Mikado's party, voluntarily relinquished their feudal rights and thus the feudal system, which had lasted in Japan for eight hundred years, was abolished. The old military class, the Samurais, numbering about four lakhs, gave up their class privileges, and became ordinary citizens. All this cleared the way for the adoption of European institutions. In place of the old military class, there now arose an army, based on European models. Military service was declared universal and obligatory in 1872. The German system of conscription, which has revolutionised Europe, now began to

revolutionise Japan. Soldiers entered upon military service at the age of twenty, served three years in the active army, and four in the reserve and were liable to be called out in any time of crisis until the age of forty. Thus there came into existence a national army. European officers were imported to train this army in European methods of warfare. A navy was started on the model of the English navy and dockyards and arsenels were constructed. The first railway line was constructed in 1870, between Tokio and Yokohama. A telegraph system had been started in 1868, a postal system was instituted, and steam navigation was also begun. The educational system too was re-organised, and a university was established at Tokio, and later on another was established at Kioto. Professors were imported from foreign countries. The study of English was introduced in Japanese schools in 1884. Newspapers were first permitted in 1869. In 1873, the Japanese adopted the European calender. The codes of Law, civil and criminal, and the codes of judicial procedure, were thoroughly re-modelled after an exhaustive study of European systems. The equality of all citizens before the law was proclaimed, and at length a constitutional system of government was established in the country. In 1881, a commission under the presidency of Marquis Ito, went to Europe to study the political systems in operation there. After the return of this commission, the information gathered was carefully studied by a special body, appointed for the purpose. This body then drafted a constitution, which contains elements taken from the constitutions of Great Britain, the United States of America, and Germany. This constitution was finally proclaimed in 1889. It established a parliament of two chambers, a House of Lords, and a House of Representatives. But this constitution reserves very large powers for the Crown. Thus in a few years Japan emerged completely revolutionised, and immensely strengthened. The test of this increased strength of Japan

came when in the last decade of the 19th century and in the first decade of 20th century, she came out successful in her wars against China and Russia.

Chino-Japanese War, 1894-95. Having Europeanised her army, navy, and administration, Japan now entered upon the task of industrialising herself. The abundant water power, good harbours, and cheap labour, facilitated the introduction of European methods of manufacturing. Factories sprang up on every side, and machine-made goods began to displace the artistic productions of hand-workers. Japan thus became a modern industrial nation. Once in possession of European arts, sciences, and industries, Japan entered upon a career of territorial expansion in eastern Asia. Her merchants and capitalists wanted opportunities for money-making abroad. Her rapidly increasing population required new regions suitable for colonisation, beyond the narrow limits of the Japanese archipelago. She began to look enviously across the sea to Korea, a tributary state of China. So there soon arose friction between China and Japan concerning their respective rights in Korea. The result was war. It was a brilliant success for Japan. Every battle was a Japanese victory. The Japanese drove the Chinese out of Korea, defeated them in the battle of the Yulu, invaded Manchuria, and took possession of the peninsula of Liotung in southern Manchuria. After this the Japanese troops began to advance towards Peking, the capital of China. Alarmed for their capital, the Chinese now agreed to make peace, which was signed at Shimonoseki, on 17th April 1895. By this treaty of peace, China ceded to Japan the Liotung peninsula, the island of Formosa, and the Pescadores islands. She also paid to Japan a war indemnity of more than fifty crores of rupees. China at the same time recognised the complete independence of Korea. But in this hour of her triumph, Japan was thwarted by a European intervention, and deprived of

the fruits of her victory. Russia now entered upon the scene. She induced Germany and France to join her in forcing the Japanese to give up the most important rewards of their victory, to which the Chinese had consented in the treaty. These three European powers were determined that Japan should not have Liotung peninsula, in fact any foothold on the continent of Asia. They, therefore, demanded that the territorial integrity of China must be maintained and that the treaty be revised. The Japanese were forced to give up the possession of Liotung peninsula. This was a bitter blow to the Japanese. But recognising that it would be folly to oppose the three great military powers of Europe, they yielded, and restored Liotung peninsula to the Chinese, and withdrew from the mainland. Japan was very indignant, and she now redoubled her activities in strengthening her army and navy.

European Intervention in China. The insincerity of the European powers in talking about the territorial integrity of China, and the peace in the East was soon shown by their actual conduct. Russia immediately after this, secured from China the right to run the eastern end of the Trans-Siberian Railway across Manchuria, a Chinese province, to Vladivostock, and also to construct a branch line south from Harbin into the Liotung peninsula. This was the beginning of the Russian control over Manchuria. She poured tens of thousands of Russian troops into that Chinese province, and began to treat Manchuria as a Russian province. In 1897, two German missionaries were murdered in the province of Shantung. The German emperor immediately sent a fleet to demand re-dress. As a result, Germany secured on 5th March 1898, a ninety-nine years' lease of the fine harbour of Kiauchau with a considerable area round about from China. She also obtained extensive commercial and financial privileges in the whole province of Shantung. So this province became a German "sphere of influence." This action of Germany encouraged Russia to make further demands. On 27th March

1898, she acquired from China a lease for twenty-five years of the Liotung peninsula. Here she immediataly proceeded to build the Port Arthur. Russia was thus eventually successful in acquiring a warm water port, open throughout the year. After this the European powers forced China to open a dozen new ports to the trade of the world, and extensive rights to establish factories and build railway lines and develop mines. France obtained a sphere of influence in Kwangchauwan, and Great Britain acquired Weihaiwei, in between Kiauchau and Port Arthur. It seemed in the summer of 1898, that China was about to undergo the fate of Africa, and that it was to be partitioned among the various powers. But this process of the partition of China was checked by a national movement in China. A secret society called the "Boxers", whose members claimed to be invulnerable, spread rapidly through the provinces and urged war to the death to the "foreign devils." Encouraged by the Government, the "Boxers" murdered many Earopean traders and missionaries. The foreigners in Peking took refuge within the legations, where after a desperate defence they were finally relieved by an international army composed of European, Japanese, and American troops. The allies then made peace with China, and promised henceforth to respect her territory. They insisted, however, on the payment of a large indemnity for the outrages committed during the anti-foreign outbreak.

Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905. The activities of Russia in Manchuria and in Port Arthur alarmed Japan very much. It was becoming increasingly clear that Russia wanted to annex Manchuria, and later on Korea. But that was a menace to the very existence of Japan as an independent country. Moreover this would absolutely cut off all chance of possible Japanese expansion in this direction. The ambitions of the two powers, therefore, clashed. Meanwhile the other powers observing the increasing Russian

control of Manchuria, repeatedly asked Russia her intention. England and the United States of America urged the policy of open door in all parts of China. They, therefore, did not want the annexation of Manchuria by the Russians. It was under these circumstances that in 1902 Anglo-Japanese alliance was concluded. According to the terms of this treaty of alliance, the powers, "actuated solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the extreme East, being, moreover especially interested in maintaining the territorial integrity of the empire of China, and the empire of Korea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations," agreed among other things to remain strictly neutral in case either power became involved in a war concerning these matters, but also agreed that if a third power should join the enemy against the ally, then the second power would drop its neutrality and come to the assistance of its ally, making war and peace in common with it. This meant that if France or Germany should aid Russia in a war with Japan, then England would aid Japan. In a war between Russia and Japan alone, England would be neutral. This treaty was of great practical importance to Japan, and it also increased her prestige. For the first time in history, an Asiatic power had entered into an alliance with a European power on a plane of entire equality. Japan had entered the family of nations, and it was a remarkable evidence of her importance that Great Britain saw advantage in making an alliance with her. After the Boxer rising in China, Russia had with other powers, recognised the territorial integrity of China. But she still maintained a large army in Manchuria, a Chinese province, and a lease-hold of the strong fortress of Port Arthur. She had definitely promised to withdraw from Manchuria, when order should be restored, but she declined to make the statement more explicit. On the contrary her military preparations went on increasing. On this Japan demanded from Russia the date by which she

intended to withdraw her troops from Manchuria ; for order had now been restored in the province. These negotiations dragged on from August 1903 to February 1904. Japan believing that Russia was merely trying to gain time to tighten her grip on Manchuria by elaborate and intentional delay and evasion, and to prolong the discussions until she had sufficient troops in the province, to be able to throw aside the mask, suddenly broke off diplomatic relations, commenced hostilities, and her troops at once entered Korea. This Russo-Japanese war thus begun, lasted from February 1904 to September 1905. It was fought on both land and sea. The Russian armies were repeatedly defeated in the battle-fields of Manchuria. The supposedly impregnable fortress of Port Arthur was forced to surrender, and a large Russian fleet, which had sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, to the Far East, was destroyed the moment it entered the Japanese waters. The Russians had one great difficulty. The Russian troops and supplies had to be transported thousands of miles across Siberia by the single track Trans-Siberian Railway. Moreover the Russian military system was quite inefficient. The troops were poorly fed, badly equipped, and hopelessly mismanaged. The war was also very unpopular among the mass of the Russian people. It was during this war that revolution broke out in Russia. At length at the invitation of President Roosevelt, Russia and Japan sent delegates to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for peace negotiations. The treaty of peace which was signed at this place, on the 5th of September 1905, recognised Japanese influence paramount in Korea, which, however, was to remain independent. Both the Russians and the Japanese were to evacute Manchuria, but the Japanese were given the rights in the Liotung peninsula and Port Arthur, which Russia had hithertoo enjoyed. Russia also ceded to Japan the southern half of the island of Sakhalin, just to the north of the Japanese archipelago. No indemnity was paid by either

country. This treaty was a great blow to Russian pride. Since then Japan is considered to be one of the great powers of the world. She annexed Korea in 1910, and her influence in southern Manchuria has gone on increasing.

Awakening of China. In China also events now moved rapidly, Educated Chinese many of whom had studied abroad, saw clearly that their country must adopt western ideas and methods, if it was to become a great power. The demand for thorough reforms in the government of the country, soon became a revolutionary propaganda directed against the unprogressive Manchu dynasty, which had ruled China for nearly three hundred years. The youthful emperor was eventually forced to abdicate, and in 1912, a republic was proclaimed in China. The Chinese have now abolished long-established customs, such as the torture of criminals, and the foot-binding of women. The Chinese government has now prohibited the consumption of opium, a vice which sapped the vitality of her people. Her temples have been turned into schools teaching the sciences and foreign languages, and her students have been sent in large numbers to foreign universities. But so far no stable government has been established in the country.

Summary

1. *The Japanese Archipelago.* Japanese call their country Nippon and it consists of six large islands and about four thousand of small islands. Its main crop is rice, and it possesses mineral resources. It possesses good harbours. Its culture and civilisation are derived from China. Buddhism is the prevailing religion. In the middle of the last century, the Mikado was a mere figurehead and all administrative power was in the hands of the Shogun.

2. *European Intercourse with Japan.* The earliest European visitors were the Portuguese merchants and Jesuit missionaries. When it was found that a large number of the Japanese had been converted to the faith of Christ, there arose an anti-foreign feeling in the country.

At length the Portuguese were driven out from Japan, and from 1638, she adopted a policy of isolation. No European could enter Japan, and no Japanese could leave his country. In modern times European intercourse with Japan began with the expedition of Commodore Perry, who had been sent by the American government to demand redress for the ill-treatment mated out to the American sailors shipwrecked in Japanese waters. The Shogun was compelled to open a few ports to American trade. This madethe Shogun very unpopular.

3. *Transformation of Japan.* The Shogun died in 1866 and the Mikado also died in 1867. The people now wanted that the office of the Shogun should be abolished and all power should be concentrated in the hands of the Mikado. This practically led to a civil war, in which the barons who had taken the part of the Mikado came out successful. After this a huge revolution took place in the administration of the country, Feudalism was abolished in 1871. Conscription or compulsory military service was introduced in 1872. European calender was adopted in 1873. In the meantime telegraph wires had been laid, railway lines had been constructed, and the army had been modelled after German fashion, and the navy after British fashion. In 1889, a constitutional system of government was established in Japan.

4. *Chino-Japanese War, 1894-5.* Since Japan now wanted markets for her manufactures, she and China came into conflict in connection with Korea. This led to war, in which China was defeated. Korea was now recognised independent of China. Liotung peninsula, and the island of Formosa were ceded to Japan. But now some of the European powers, like Russia, Germany, and France, intervened and forced Japan to restore Liotung peninsula to China.

5. *European Intervention in China.* Shortly after the Chino-Japanese war, Russia built a railway line through Manchuria, and took on lease the Liotung peninsula. Germany took Kiauchau, in the Province of Shantung. Great Britain obtained Weihaiwei, and France created a sphere of influence in South China. It appeared that China too was going to be partitioned like Africa. But this movement was checked by the Boxers, a national movement. The Europeans were attacked and killed in many places. This led the powers to send an international force, consisting of European, Japanese, and American soldiers to China for the suppression of this Boxer movement. When peace was again restored, the allies promised to respect the territorial integrity of China, but a large indemnity was imposed on her for outrages committed by the Boxers.

6. *Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5.* During the Boxer troubles the Russians had poured large number of troops into Manchuria, and there were no signs of these troops being withdrawn even after peace and tranquillity had been established in that Province. In 1902, Japan and England formed a defensive alliance. After this Japan demanded the Russian troops to be withdrawn. But since there was no satisfactory response from Russia, war broke out between Russia and Japan in February, 1904. It lasted till September 1905. The Russian armies were defeated and her navy was destroyed. At home there was revolution in Russia. At length peace was signed at Portsmouth in America on 5th September, 1905. By this treaty Liotung peninsula was taken by Japan. Japanese paramountcy in Korea was recognised and the southern half of the island of Sakallin was ceded to Japan. Since then Japan is counted as one of the great powers of the world.

7. *Awakening in China.* After the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war, there has been a great change in China. The old Manchu dynasty was overthrown in 1912, and a Republic was proclaimed. China is being rapidly Europeanised, but so far no stable government has been established in China.

CHAPTER XXVIII

DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTION OF 19TH CENTURY: TRIPLE ALLIANCE, AND TRIPLE ENTENTE

Nationalism and Internationalism. Modern civilisation creates an international current, which draws the peoples of the entire globe together, in art, literature, science, and industry. But at the same time it cannot be denied that nationalism, which keeps the different peoples, apart, is also a product of modern civilisation. Internationalism or cosmopolitanism lays stress on our common humanity, on the brotherhood of man. Nationalism or patriotism emphasises love of country and devotion to one's own country. National rivalries and antipathies were never stronger than in the nineteenth century, and in the twentieth century they resulted in the World War. It has already been stated that the national movement in Europe, arose during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era. It was this nationalist movement, which caused popular revolutions in 1815, 1830, and 1848. Again, it was this movement which brought about the unification of Italy, and Germany. The creation of a United Italy, and United Germany, upset very much the delicate equilibrium of European politics, as it was established at the Congress of Vienna. The old balance of power disappeared, for the new German Empire created in 1871, became the most powerful state on the continent of Europe.

Germany and France. It has been stated in Chapter XX, that the "blood and iron" policy of Bismark, had brought on a war with Denmark in 1864, with Austria in 1866, and with France in 1870. These wars brought about the birth of the new German Empire. After

this Bismark became a man of peace. His policy, henceforward depended on France. The Franco-German War of 1870-71, weakened France very much, but under a Republican government, she recovered rapidly, and soon paid off the indemnity imposed upon her by the treaty of Frankfort. But it appeared France could never be reconciled to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. So long as she entertained this mentality, she was a source of very great danger to Germany. It must be remembered that in 1870-71, France had fought alone, and was beaten. Had she been able to secure the support of Austria-Hungary, Italy, or Russia, the result of the Franco-German war would have been different. It was, therefore, the policy of Bismark to keep France in isolation. That way lay the safety of Germany. On the other hand, it was the aim of Bismark to increase for Germany friends among the nations of Europe.

Austro-German Relations. Bismark first turned towards Austria-Hungary. Although he had inflicted a crushing defeat on Austria in 1866, and had been instrumental in driving her out of the German Confederation, yet he had prepared the way for good relations by his moderation in arranging the terms of peace with Francis Joseph I, at the close of the Prusso-Austrian War. After 1871, the Hapsburg emperors of Austria began to seek compensation in the Balkans, for the territory they had lost in Germany and Italy. In the congress of Berlin, which was held in 1878, after the Russo-Turkish War, Bismark supported the pretensions of Austria-Hungary. Here he successfully opposed the extension of Russian influence in the Balkan peninsula, and agreed to an Austrian occupation of the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A year later Germany and Austria-Hungary made a secret alliance binding themselves to aid each other if either should be attacked by

Russia or by another power which had the help of Russia. In this way Bismark obtained one ally for Germany.

The Triple Alliance. It has already been seen that France had taken possession of Tunis in 1881. This was not liked by Italy. This Turkish province of Tunis, the region of ancient Carthage, contained a large Italian population, and Italy had hoped herself to snatch it from the feeble hands of the Sultan of Turkey. But she was forestalled by the French. Bismark took advantage of this. Bismark at once approached Italy, and induced her to throw her lot with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Thus was the triple alliance formed. Italy joined the Central Powers, chiefly because of resentment against France.

Germany and Russia. Bismark also did his best to convince Russia of Germany's good will. At first the two countries actually bound themselves to benevolent neutrality in case one or the other should be attacked. This pact was signed in 1884, and was renewed in 1887 for another period of three years. In 1888, Russia wanted some loan to be advanced to her, but Germany after the retirement of Bismark refused to accommodate her. This was an opportunity for France to make Russia friendly to her.

The Dual Alliance But this policy of isolating France, and gathering friends for Germany lasted only so long as Bismark remained in power. But when in 1888, Kaiser William II ascended the throne, things changed. The diplomacy of Bismark did not satisfy his new master. Friction between them led to the forced retirement of Bismark in 1890. William believed that the triple alliance sufficiently guaranteed the security of Germany, and that there was no need for gathering more friends for his country. So he made no efforts to renew in 1890, the pact with Czar Alexander III. The

result was that now Russia and France came together in the Dual Alliance, which was concluded in 1891, and publicly announced in 1896. Both countries were in need of such an alliance, not only because of their fear of Germany, but also on account of their antagonism to Great Britain This treaty of Alliance provided that if France should be attacked by Germany, Russia would help France, and similarly, if Russia should be attacked, France would go to her aid. This alliance was further strengthened by large loans from France to Russia. The latter power at this time required funds for the construction of her railways. After this, France was not entirely isolated. She had at least one ally.

Anglo-German Relations. Ever since the conclusion of the Crimean War it had been the policy of Great Britain to keep aloof from continental entanglements. She was no friend either of Russia or of France, for the colonial aspirations of these powers clashed with her own. The British attitude towards Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Italy, on the other hand, was most amicable so long as Bismark remained in power. It was the policy of Bismark to gather friends for Germany, and to isolate France. Italy was estranged from France, France from England, England from Russia. In 1890, there was every likelihood of increasing friendly relations between Germany and England. In that year Lord Salisbury effected the final partition of Africa without the shedding of blood. Germany obtained a large share in the partition of Africa, and in addition she received Heligoland from England. Nowhere did the interests of England and Germany clash. On the other hand, there was friction between England and France, in connection with Egypt, and between England and Russia in connection with Russian advance in Central Asia. Under such circumstances, an alliance between England and Germany

was natural. It is true Bismark deeply mistrusted the English Parliamentary system of government, but he made several overtures in the direction of an Anglo-German alliance. In order not to offend Great Britain, Bismark did not violate the neutrality of Belgium in the Franco-German War, and for the same reason he opposed the acquisition of colonies by Germany. But after the retirement of Bismark, the two countries began to draw apart, especially when the Kaiser William II declared that the future of Germany lay upon the sea, and that she must have a great navy as well as a great army. The sympathetic attitude of the Emperor and his associates towards the Boers during the South-African War also disturbed the serenity of Anglo-German relations. It was after this that England began to give up her policy of "splendid isolation". She also now began to look out for allies.

England and Japan. England first obtained Japan as her ally. Japan had been deprived of the fruits of her victories over China in 1894-5, mainly by Russia, which was now a growing danger on the western shores of the Sea of Japan. But the advances of Russia in China was not the only danger, which Japan feared. The progress of the United States of America in the Pacific Ocean also alarmed Japan. The United States had taken the Philippines in 1898, and she also had trade interests in China. Under these circumstances, Japan needed a friend. She found one in England. On the other hand, recent events, specially during the South African War, had convinced England, that under the changing conditions of the world, isolation was harmful. The advance of Russia in Central Asia was also making Great Britain uneasy. Under these circumstances England also needed friends. So the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was concluded in 1902. It was renewed and strengthened in 1905, and then again in 1911. It proved a source of strength to Japan in her conflict with Russia, and it proved very valuable

to Great Britain during the World War. Without the help of the Japanese Fleet the transport of Australasian contingents to Europe would have been very difficult.

The Entente Cordiale. The fact that France retired easily from the Soudan, after the Fashoda incident in 1898. prepared the way for reconciliation between France and England. The two nations found it possible to adjust in 1904, their conflicting claims to African territory and to arive at a "cordial understanding", or *Entente Cordiale.* France recognised the paramount position of England in Egypt, and England recognised the paramount position of France in Morocco. This was not a formal alliance, but it paved the way for joint action in the future.

The Triple Entente. From the middle of the 19th century, Great Britain and Russia had jealously watched the advance of each other in Asia. But now Russia and England also proceeded to settle their differences. In 1907, they agreed that Russia should take northen Persia under her sphere of influence and South Eastern Persia was to be under the sphere of influence of Great Britain. So was Afghanistan also to be under the sphere of influence of England. The territorial integrity of Tibet was to be respected both by England and Russia. Other disputes between the two powers were also settled amicably. Thus England was bound to France and Russia by Ententes, which was almost equal to alliances, while France and Russia were bound together by a firm alliance. This group of three great powers was usually called the Triple Entente. There was a dua alliance between England and Japan, and a dual alliance between Russia and France. But the triple alliance could count on the help of Japan. So Japan was virtually a member of the Entente The position of Italy was very curious. She was in secret agreement with the Triple Entente, although she continued

to be a member of Germany's Triple Alliance. In 1902, Italy signed a secret treaty with France, by which the former was permitted to conquer Tripoly, and the latter to take Morocco. In case of a war between Germany and France, Italy agreed to remain neutral.

Germany and Turkey. It has been seen that in 1878, Roumania, Montenegro, and Serbia were recognized as independent states in the Balkan Peninsula. But since then things had changed considerably. Eastern Roumelia was united with Bulgaria in 1885, and in 1897, the island of Crete was declared independent of Turkey. In 1908, it was united with Greece. In the meanwhile a new factor had also begun to influence the Near Eastern problems. Outwardly Bismark had always disclaimed any interest in Balkan questions. But William II from the very commencement of his reign in 1888, took an entirely different attitude. In 1888, he paid a ceremonial visit to Sultan Abdul Hamid at Constantinople. It happened so that just about this time both England and France were out of favour in Constantinople. William II proposed to cultivate intimate relations with the Sultan, Baron von der Goltz, a great German soldier, who was also a great scholar, was sent to reorganize the armies of the Sultan. The result was that the Turkish armies were able to defeat the Greeks in 1897. He again visited Constantinople in 1898. After this German financiers, and traders entered the territories of the Sultan. A branch of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin was established in Constantinople. German commercial travellers now penetrated every nook and corner of the Ottoman Empire. In 1902, a convention was concluded for the construction of a Railway line from Constantinople to Baghdad. That railway line was only a link in a long chain intended ultimately to join Hamburg, on the north sea, with Basra, on the Persian Gulf. By this great enterprise Germany hoped to turn the flank of the British Empire.

The "Middle Europe" Scheme. The practical annexation of Asiatic Turkey formed only a part o the Kaiser's ambitious policy. According to his plan, Europeon Turkey, the Balkan States, and Austria-Hungary, were to unite with Germany into a huge combination for purposes of offence and defence. In this way "Middle Europe" might ultimately draw within its embrace Holland, Sweden, Norway. Denmark and Poland. In this way German commerce would exploit and German militraism would dominate every one of these countries. The success of the "middle Europe" project depended on the attitude of the independent Christian states of the Balkans. It was essential that they should be amenable to German, or at any rate to Austro-Hungarian influence, and that the influence of Russia should be entirely eliminated from their councils. Dynastic relations seemed to make this possible. Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria was a German ; King Charles of Roumania was a kinsman of the Kaiser ; and the wife of the future king of Greece, Constantine, was the Kaiser's sister. Even Serbia had a pro-Austrian ruler till 1903, when a revolution at Belgrade brought to the throne King Peter, who leaned towards Russia. The Balkan policy of the Central Powers consequently received a set back, for Serbia lay on the line of the railway from Berlin to Constantinople. But events now moved rapidly in the Balkans. In 1908, there occurred in the Near East a series of events fraught with the gravest conseqence to the Balkans. First came the "Young Turks" Revolution. A committee composed mainly of Young Turks had for some time been working on a scheme for giving Turkey a parliamentary constitution. So in 1908, they deposed Sultan Abdul Hamid and set up their constitution. Liberals in western Europe applauded this change, But the Kaiser William II feared that the Revolution might interrupt his "Middle Europe" schemes Enver Pasha, the head of the new government, however, was very friendly to

the Germans. But the revolution was not confined to Constantinople. On 5th October 1908, Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria proclaimed the independence of Bulgaria, and assumed the ancient title of Czar of Bulgaria. In April 1909. the Turkish parliament formally recognized its independence. On 12th October 1909, the Cretan Assembly voted the union of the island with Greece. In the meanwhile the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, had annexed the two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to his empire. Excluded from Germany, and driven out of Italy, Austria had been at last obliged to come to terms with the Hungarians, and now she received territories in the Balkans as a compensation for her losses. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13, produced another international crises. The Turks were driven out of European Turkey. But the treaty of Bukharest was extremely distasteful to the Central Powers. It left Germany's vassal, Turkey, with only a foothold in Europe, it humiliated Bulgaria, the friend of Austria-Hungary, and it planted a hostile Serbia squarely in Macedonia, where she blocked still more effectively the " Middle Europe " scheme.

The Balance of Power. Such in short was the tangled political situation in Europe, which gradually developed during forty years after the Franco-German war in 1870 1. The Triple Alliance, under the guidance of Bismark had dominated Europe without a competitor, until the creation of the Dual Alliance in 1891. After the conclusion of the Dual Alliance, there was something like a balance of power in place of the earlier supremacy of Germany. The Triple Alliance, however, continued to be far stronger than the new Dual Alliance, until Great Britain joined herself with France and Russia. Germany, resentful at what she described as the " encircling policy " of her enemies, at the " iron ring" which she professed to see being forged around her, now bent

every effort to break up the Triple Entente by diplomatic action, and by military threats. Germany now redoubled her efforts in completing her "Middle Europe" scheme which with Asiatic Turkey as an adjunct, she thought would eventually separate Great Britain and France from their Russian ally. These German projects raised new colonial problems and re-opened the Eastern Question. As a result of these Alliances, Ententes, and projects, Europe was now divided into two well balanced armed camps. Neither group was quite certain of its ability to vanquish the other. Really speaking Germany's triple alliance was only a dual alliance, after Italy made a secret bargain with France. But Germany's military strength was very great. On the other hand, France and Russia could never be absolutely sure that in case of war they could be aided by England, the third member of the Entente, or by Japan, the ally of England. Consequently on both sides there was much nervousness and suspicion. Whenever a member of one coalition increased its army or launched a new battleship, the members of the rival league felt that their safety would be threatened unless they increased their armament even more. Between 1904 and 1914, armies and navies grew at an alarming pace. The worst feature of this balance of power was its insecurity.

Secret Diplomacy. The one great characteristic of the international relationships in Europe during the 19th century was Secret Diplomacy. The foreign ministers and ambassadors of the various nations usually conducted international negotiations secretly and refused to publish the terms of alliances and agreements. The common people never knew when or why they might be called upon to shoulder arms. Under these circumstances they might be plunged into war at any time in order to aid an ally to whom they were bound by a secret alliance. The chances

of war were doubled by the fact that a nation had to fight not only its own quarrels, but also in those of its allies. It were this secret diplomacy and secret alliances which brought about the great World War.

Summary

1. *Nationalism and Internationalism*. Art. Literature, science, Industry, and Commerce, have during the 19th century promoted internationalism in the world. They have brought the different nations of the world nearer together. But, on the other hand, the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars of France, caused the birth of national movements in different countries of Europe. This movement caused the revolutions of 1815, 1830 and 1848, and it also caused the unification of Italy and Germany, which upset very much the balance of power created by the Congress of Vienna.

2. *Germany and France*. France was defeated by Prussia in 1871, because Bismark had taken care to isolate France. This policy of keeping France insolated was followed so long as Bismark remained in power.

3. *Austro-German Relations*. While it was the policy of Bismark to keep France isolated he went on gathering friends for Germany. He rst approached Austria-Hungary. He gave very lenient terms to Austria when she was defeated in 1866. When Austria began to seek compensation in the Balkan peninsula, for the loss of her territories in Italy, and position in Germany, Bismark supported her. In 1879, a secret alliance was made between Austria and Germany.

4. *The Triple Alliance*. When in 1881 France annexed Tunis, Italy was displeased. Bismark took advantage of this situation and he invited Italy to throw her lot with the two Central Powers, Austria and Germany. Thus in 1882, was formed the Triple Alliance,

5. *Germany and Russia*. It was the policy of Bismark to rope in Russia as well. In 1884, a pact was made to the effect that if one was attacked the other would remain neutral. This pact was renewed in 1887, but after the retirement of Bismark, it was not renewed in 1890.

6. *The Dual Alliance*. When in 1888, Germany refused to give loans to Russia, France offered to accommodate her. From this time large amounts were advanced to Russia. These good feelings towards Russia developed in 1891, into an alliance between France and Russia. It was directed mainly against Germany and England.

7. *Anglo-German Relations*. Ever since the Crimean War England followed the policy of not entangling herself in continental politics. But the colonial policy of Great Britain brought her into conflict with

France and Russia. It was the policy of Bismark to be on friendly relations with England. There was no clash of interests between Germany and England. England consequently supported the claims of Germany in connection with the partition of Africa. She also handed over Heligoland to Germany. Bismark, on the other hand, took care not to offend Great Britain. But after his overthrow in 1888, there was to be a change. Kaiser William II wanted to become a rival of Great Britain in the sea. He also showed open sympathy with the Boers during the South African War. Under these circumstances England realised the necessity of making alliances with other countries.

8. *England and Japan*. In the last decade of the 19th century, Japan was alarmed by the rapid expansion of Russia in the west, and by the introduction of American influence in the Pacific Ocean. She was, therefore, in need of a friend. On the other hand, Great Britain was alarmed by the rapid advance of Russia in Central Asia. So both these powers became allies in 1902. If one was attacked by more than one powers, the other was to come to her help. This alliance was of very great help to Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, and it was of very great assistance to Great Britain in the Great European War.

9. *Entente Cordiale*. After the Fashoda incident France and England came to an understanding. France recognised the paramountcy of England in Egypt, and England recognised the paramountcy of France in Morocco. After this it was possible for both France and England to take joint action.

10. *The Triple Entente*. From the middle of the 19th century there was great rivalry between Russia and England in Central Asia. But after a cordial understanding was reached between France and England in 1904, an understanding was in 1907, arrived at between England and Russia. North western Persia was to be the sphere of Influence of Russia, and south eastern Persia was to be the sphere of influence of England. Afghanistan was also to be within the sphere of influence of England. The territorial integrity of Tibet was to be respected both by England and Russia.

11. *Germany and Turkey*. Bismark did not pay much attention to Turkey and the Balkans. But William II from the very beginning of his reign began to cultivate friendly relations with the Sultan of Turkey. He lent the services of his military officers to train Turkish armies. In 1902, an agreement was made by which Germany was allowed to construct a railway line from Constantinople to Basra. After this, German merchants and traders penetrated all parts of Turkey. This was very dangerous to British position in the East.

12. *The "Middle Europe" Scheme.* William II had planned to create a big Middle European Federation consisting of Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Balkan States, and Turkish Empire, round which it was hoped would eventually gather Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Poland. But the one stumbling block in the way of this scheme was Serbia. Unless Serbia were removed from the path, William II could not succeed in his objects.

13. *The Balance of Powers.* The Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance were almost equally balanced against each other, and each group was uncertain about its success over the other. The Triple Alliance could count upon the support of Turkey, and the Triple Entente could count upon Japan. Each group was compelled to increase its armaments.

14. *Secret Diplomacy.* The one great characteristic of this period was secret diplomacy. The terms of treaties were not published, and the people were under the circumstances required to defend not only their own country, but they were also required to fight in defence of others as well.

CHAPTER XXIX

ORIGINS OF THE GREAT WAR; PEACE SETTLEMENT; LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Growth of Militarism in Europe. For more than forty years after the Franco-German War, 1870-1, there was no war in Western Europe. But all the western powers felt the necessity of increasing their military strength, and each year they spent huge sums of money to train and equip soldiers and to build warships. All the European powers, except Great Britain, adopted the Prussian plan of building up an army by requiring all able bodied young men, that the government could afford to train, to enter the army for two or three years, after which they were sent into the Reserve, to be ready in case of war. A large number of permanent officers were maintained to see that the military education of the soldiers was properly conducted. A vast amount of money had to be spent on rifles, cannons and other arms, which were being constantly improved and rendered more and more deadly. The result of the competition in armaments was a tremendous increase in the size of the European armies and a fearful burden of taxation, which the people had to bear. The armies of Great Britain and the United States of America, alone were small in size. In these countries the armies were recruited still on a voluntary basis. Great Britain, however, relied for her protection upon her unrivalled navy, which she had maintained at a strength equal to that of any two other powers. There were two reasons for this great navy. England had a much larger population than it was possible to feed from her own farms, and so had to import most of her food. Her manufactures also depended largely on raw

materials imported from across the seas. Her markets for the consumption of her manufactured goods were also beyond the seas. If, therefore, England were defeated at sea, she would be completely overcome.

Development of German Navy. Other nations, however, were not willing to grant this naval supremacy to Great Britain. They resented her ability to secure and maintain such widely scattered dominions, and were as anxious as the British to capture distant markets for their business men and to protect their trade by naval fleets. Germany at length became the most dangerous rival of England. Kaiser William II was, from the first, interested in the navy. In 1897, a bill was passed for the development of the German navy, which was built up so rapidly that the British began to fear for their supremacy at sea, and began to increase the number and size of their ships. Other nations followed the example of Great Britain. To the crushing cost of armies was now added the burden of navies, in which the rapid progress of invention made battleships almost worthless even if they were a few years old.

Movements for Peace. The enormous cost of armaments, combined with the increasing horror at the thought of war in which so many millions would be fighting, provided with such terrible weapons as modern science supplies, led many earnest people to try to prevent war altogether. The first notable movement toward arranging for a lessening of armaments originated with the Czar, Nicholas II, when in 1898, he proposed a great conference of the powers at the Hague to discuss the problem. Unlike the Congress at Vienna, or that of Berlin, this peace conference of 1899, did not meet to bring a war to a close. It came together at a time of European peace to consider how the existing peace might be maintained and military expenditure

reduced. The Hague Conference did nothing to limit armaments. In fact Germany strongly opposed any such action. But in spite of German opposition, the conference did establish a permanent Court of Arbitration to which difficulties arising between nations "involving neither honour nor vital interests" might be submitted. But there was no way of compelling a nation to submit its grievances, and those very subjects which were most likely to lead to war were excluded from consideration. At the second Hague Conference, held in 1907, the limitation of armaments was advocated by Great Britain, but again Germany and Austria caused a postponement of any action on the question. Certain rules were established, however, in regarded to the laying of mines, the bombardment of unfortified towns, and the right of neutrals in war.

Rivalries in Trade and Commerce. There were two new conditions which had been brought into existence in the latter half of the 19th century; they were imperialism and the Near Eastern Question. It has been seen how the nations of Europe began in the latter part of the 19th century, as rivals for the world's trade, to seize colonies and trading posts in Africa and Asia, and we have also seen how they stood eyeing one another suspiciously, to see which was to profit most from the decline of Turkey. The outstanding event of the 19th century was the exploration of the interior of Africa, and its partition among the different powers of Europe. France had taken most of the Mediterrean shore, and in so doing had stirred, at different times, the rivalry of Italy, Germany, and Great Britain. This threw Italy into the arms of Bismark, and Italy now became a member of the Triple Alliance. Then France and England fell out when England got financial control in Egypt, for this was bitterly resented by the French. In 1898, war had nearly broken out between France and England in connection with the incident at

Fashoda on the upper Nile. But this rivalry was in 1904 changed into a cordial understanding. Then again, there was great rivalry between England and Russia. England was very much alarmed by the rapid advance of Russia into Central Asia and Persia, which had brought her much nearer to the frontiers of India. But this rivalry was also ended by a cordial understanding between these two powers in 1907. No understanding could, however, be arrived at between England and Germany. The Germans thought that the alliances, and ententes which England entered into were formed with designs hostile to the Triple Alliance of the Central Powers,—Germany, Austria, and Italy. She, therefore, resolved, if possible, to break them up. In 1904, therefore, Germany, supported by Austria, objected to the agreement between England and France by which the latter was to have a free hand in Morocco. Germany, too, claimed to have interests in Morocco. In 1911, Germany sent a cruiser to Agadir, on the coast of Morocco, but guranteed the independence of Morocco. This was practically a challenge to France. But war was averted. France gave up some territory on the Congo to Germany in order to be allowed a free hand in Morocco. The Agadir incident roused the imperialists in every country. The result was that all nations increased their war-like preparations.

South Eastern Europe. Although war between Germany, and England, and France, over the occupation of Morocco by France was averted in 1911, another great danger appeared in the strained relations in south eastern Europe. Austria had been permitted by the Congress of Vienna in 1873, to occupy the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For the next thirty years these provinces were governed by Austria. When the Turkish revolution took place in 1908, and there now seemed to be some chance of a new and strong Turkey, Austria made up

her mind to prevent Bosnia and Herzegovina from ever being reunited with it, and so boldly annexed them to the Austro-Hungarian empire. The neighbouring kingdom of Serbia was alarmed and indignant at this, since the annexed provinces were peopled with southern Slavs, and the Serbians had cherished the ambition of uniting with them and the Montenegrans in a South Slavonic State, which should stretch from the Danube to the Adriatic sea. Russia also was angered by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. But when Germany declared that it would support Austria, Russia refrained from taking a strong action, for she was as yet not prepared for war. So the war between the Great Powers was again averted. But this situation showed that there lurked in the Balkans a terrible danger of war. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was in another respect very serious for Serbia. It shut her off from the sea and made her dependent upon her enemy across the Danube for a market for her farm products. But as a result of the Balkan wars of 1912-13, Serbia very nearly reached the Adriatic Sea through Albania. Austria again intervened, and had an independent prince set up in Albania, merely to shut in Serbia. The Serbians after this began to hate Austria. During the Balkan Wars, the Serbians had nearly doubled their territory, and they now desired to unite all the southern Slavs living in Serbia, and in the neighbouring provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slavonia. Germany was in hearty sympathy with the plans of Austria, while Russia was supposed to be ready to support Serbia and the Southern Slavs. If Russia dominated the Balkan regions and seized Constantinople, that would put an end to the cherished plans of Germany—a railway line from Berlin to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf which was intended to control the enormous trade with the Oriental countries. Germany had already obtained a "concession" from Turkey to build this railway line, which was

practically completed when Serbia, through whose territory the trains from Germany must pass became a danger. So after the Balkan wars there was a renewed activity in armaments. Germany took the lead by increasing its standing army, and the Reichstag voted about a million marks for unusual military expenses. France replied by increasing the term of active service in the army from two to three years. Russia also provided for heavy expenditure in her military budget. On the other hand, German military experts began to train the Turkish troops. Austria-Hungary strengthened herself by improving her artillery. Great Britain spent larger amounts on her navy. When it was found that Germany was constructing railway lines right up to the borders of Belgium it became necessary for Belgium also to introduce compulsory military service in that country.

Pan-Germanism. The material development of Germany between 1871 and 1914 was perhaps unparalleled in the history of Europe. Her population increased from forty-one to sixty-five millions; her foreign trade more than trebled; and she became an industrial state second in Europe only to Great Britain. Proud of their army, navy, and police, of their beautiful well ordered cities, of their technical schools and universities, of their science, literature, music, and art, the Germans came to believe that they enjoyed a higher culture (*kultur*) than any other people. They were "the salt of the earth", so their Kaiser told them. The Russians, by comparison, were barbarians; the French and Italians, decadent; and the British and Americans were money grabbers. Such ideas found a fertile soil in the exaggerated nationalism which had been fostered by the creation of the German empire. The ardent belief in the superiority of German *Kultur* seemed to impose the duty of extending it to alien and therefore inferior peoples. This was Germany's divine mission, according to her philo-

sophers, historians, clergymen, and government officials. Even the Kaiser could say in all seriousness that "God has called us to civilise the world; we are missionaries of human progress." "Before the world could be remade on the German model, it had to be first conquered. Both backward and "decadent" nations possessed their own standards of civilisation which they would not willingly abandon even for Germany's so-called beneficent *Kultur*. But world power meant war. So the leaders of German society laboured in the press, in the schools, and on the pulpit to prove that war is a holy and righteous thing; that it corresponds in the life of nations to the "struggle for existence" in animal life; and that by war the weaker, incompetent, states are weeded out and room is made for those stronger, more efficient states which alone deserve to inherit the earth. At the same time the people were led to consider war inevitable because of the hostile attitude of Russia, the "Slavic peril"; because France wanted revenge for her "lost provinces"; and because Great Britain only waited for a favourable opportunity to take the German navy, and stifle German commerce. It was taught that Germany ought not to delay until her enemies were ready for a combined attack first and reap the advantage of her military preparedness. This idea of an offensive-defensive war particularly appealed to a people who owed their national greatness to successful conflicts deliberately incurred by unscrupulous rulers. The autocratic nature of the German Government, vesting the control of foreign affairs almost entirely with the Kaiser, made his personality a very important factor in the international situation. Kaiser William II inherited the war-like traditions of the great Elector Frederick the Great, and William I, and even the shadowy claims to world-dominion put forth during the middle ages by the Holy Roman Emperors. The German militaristic class consisting of the army and the naval officers, and of the large landowners (junkers), the merchant princes, the bankers

and manufacturers, the University Professors, diplomats and higher government officers—all who expected to profit from a greater and enormously more wealthy Germany, were in favour of German aggrandisement abroad. These men in 1890, organised the Pan-German League, which soon became the most powerful political organisation in the world. The Pan-Germanists thought that they could conquer Europe, nation by nation. They expected to overwhelm France by a sudden blow, capture Paris, seize the former Franche Comte and what remained of Lorraine, together with the Channel ports, take the French colonies, and levy an indemnity large enough to pay the expenses of the war. Then they intended to turn against Russia and annex her Polish and Baltic provinces. Their Austrian allies, meanwhile, would over run Serbia, and open the German "corridor" to the Orient. Once mistress of the continent, Germany might look forward confidently to the issue of a future struggle with Great Britain and the British Empire for the dominion of the world. Every preparation was made, and every precaution was taken, to ensure a prompt and decisive victory. By the summer of 1914 a special war tax to be spent on fortifications and equipment had been collected. The army had been increased very much. Enormous stocks of munitions had been accumulated. The Kiel canal had been reconstructed. Strategic railway lines leading to the Belgian, French, and Russian frontiers had been built. Thus every thing was made ready for "The Day."

The Sarajevo Assassination. "The Day" soon dawned. On 28th June 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The two murderers, who were Bosnians and therefore Austrian subjects belonged to a Serbian secret society, which aimed to separate Bosnia and Herzegovina from Austria-Hungary, and

add them to Serbia. The Austrian government, after conducting an investigation, alleged that they had been aided by Serbian officials, with the connivance of the Government of Serbia. This accusation has never been proved. But there is no doubt that the Sarajevo assassination was a political crime, which was the natural outcome of the propaganda among the Southern Slavs for the expulsion of Austria from the Balkans as she had been expelled from Italy and Germany. Ever since the conclusion of the Balkan, wars, it was the intention of Austria to crush Serbia, which was getting more powerful. The assassination only supplied a convenient pretext for the punitive measures which had already been decided upon by Austria. The German Government sanctioned these measures in advance. The Kaiser and his advisers had practically given to Austria, a "blank cheque", to be filled in as she pleased. It appears that the Austrian cabinet had decided to declare war on Serbia as early as the 7th of July. This was to be done by sending a note with such impossible demands that the Serbian government would be compelled to reject them. An Austro-Hungarian declaration of war would then follow in due course. The Foreign minister, Count Berchtold, who had presided at the cabinet meeting, and had afterwards signed the Note to Serbia. declared to the ministers that the Kaiser had "emphatically" assured him of the "unconditional support of Germany in case of a warlike complication with Serbia. Germany was thus prepared to support Austria-Hungary to the utmost.

War Breaks Out. On 23rd July the Government of Austria-Hungary sent a Note to Serbia, which was practically speaking an ultimatum. It demanded that Serbia should suppress anti-Austrian propaganda in Serbia, and dismiss from the civil service all those who may be found to be implicated in this propaganda. Anti-

Austrian teachers and text-books in schools were to be eliminated, and that the Serbian government was to co-operate with the representatives of the Austrian government in the suppression of subversive movements directed against the territorial integrity of the Dual monarchy. Forty-eight hours only were granted for the unconditional acceptance or rejection of this ultimatum. Efforts were at once made to preserve the peace of Europe. The Triple Entente first asked Austria Hungary to extend the time limit for the answer from Serbia. Austria declined to do so. Great Britain and France then urged Serbia to make her answer to the ultimatum as conciliatory as possible. Serbia replied on the 25th of July. She agreed to all the Austrian demands except those which required the presence on Serbian soil of representatives of the Austrian government. It was pointed out that such an arrangement would violate her rights as a sovereign state, and would practically make her an Austrian vassal. She concluded by offering to submit the entire dispute to arbitration by the international tribunal at the Hague or to the mediation of the great powers. After the Serbian reply had been delivered Great Britain suggested that the four great powers not directly involved should hold a conference in London to adjust the Austro-Serbian difficulty. France, Italy, and Russia accepted the suggestion. But Germany rejected it, saying that she would do nothing to bring Austria, her ally, before a European Tribunal. Finally, Great Britain invited Germany herself to propose some method of mediation, but the German government declared that the whole dispute concerned Austria-Hungary, and Serbia, and that Russia should not interfere in it. She declared that if Russia did interfere, then in that case she would back her ally. Austria-Hungary rejected the Serbian reply as unsatisfactory and on July 28th declared war upon her little neighbour. Russia had yielded to the Central Powers in the Balkan crisis of 1908, and then again in

1912-13. The Central Powers believed that she would do so again, when confronted with the grim prospect of war. But this time the attitude of Russia was different. As soon as the Russian government came to know that the Austrians were attacking Serbia, Russia started a partial mobilisation of her armies along the Austrian frontiers. This was soon extended into a general mobilization upon the entire western border of the Russian Empire. Russia thus showed to the Central Powers that she would fight rather than look on helplessly, while Serbia was being deprived of her independence. This meant that if war broke out it was not to be localised in the Balkans. Russian mobilization provided the leaders of the German war party with the pretext that was essential to them. They argued that if Germany were to take up arms, she must reap the full advantage of her military preparedness; she could not afford to wait until her slow moving antagonist, Russia, had brought gigantic forces into the field. So the Kaiser sent an ultimatum to Russia on 31st July, ordering that country to start demobilization within twelve hours or accept the consequences. Russia did not reply to this peremptory demand. The Kaiser, exercising his right to make "defensive warfare", immediately signed on 1st August, the document declaring that a state of hostilities existed between Germany and Russia. Asked by Germany what was to be her attitude in the coming struggle. France replied that she "would do that which her interests dictated", and began to mobilise. On 3rd August, Germany declared war on France. It is now known that had France decided to remain netural, repudiating her treaty with Russia, the Germans intended to demand the surrender of the fortresses of Toul and Verdun as a pledge of French neutrality until the close of the war. Germany was so anxious to embroil France in the conflict that she made demands which that country could not and was not expected to accept. Germany also tried to learn the attitude of Great Britain. The German

Chancellor promised that if Great Britain would stand aloof, Germany would agree not to take any European territory from France, but he refused to give assurances as to the French colonies. Great Britain did not agree to desert her friend, France, in this manner. After the German declaration of war on Russia and the German invasion of neutral Luxemburg, Great Britain promised France the help of British Fleet in case the German fleet operated against the unprotected western coast of France. In 1912, France had concentrated her entire fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, with the object of enabling the British Government to concentrate her entire fleet in the North Sea, against the possibly hostile German Navy.

The Violation of Belgian Neutrality. The neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed by the European powers in 1831 and 1839. Furthermore the second Peace Conferance held in 1907 had expressly declared that the territories of neutral states were inviolable. Germany had, on all these ocassions, agreed to this. On 1st August France agreed to respect the neutrality of Belgium. The next day, however, Germany addressed a Note to Belgium demanding permission to move troops across the country into France, and threatening, in case of refusal, to leave Belgium's fate to the "decision of arms." The Belgian government, under King Albert, declined to "sacrifice the honour of the nation and betray its duty towards Europe." The German army invaded Belgium on the 4th of August. Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor, frankly admitted before the Reichstag, the same day, that the invasion was "a breach of international law," but he stated that "necessity knows no law," and the Kaiser had to acknowledge that Belgian neutrality had to be violated on strategical grounds. An invasion of Belgium was, in fact, vital to the success of the German plan of campaign, which involved a swift, crushing blow at the

French before Russian mobilization could be completed. No rapid movement against France was possible from the east, firstly, because the high bluffs and narrow river valleys in this part of the country made defence easy; and secondly, because the eastern frontier had been protected, since the Franco-German War, by fortresses all the way from Verdun to Belfort. An attack from the north-east presented fewer difficulties, for a comparatively level plain, well provided with roads and railways, stretches from Germany through Belgium and France to the environs of Paris. Furthermore, France had not strongly fortified on the side of Belgium, having trusted to the neutrality of that country for protection.

Great Britain at war with Germany. The neutrality of Belgium has been a cardinal point in British foreign policy since the Middle Ages. It seems essential to Great Britain that the Belgian coast shall not be occupied by a strong military power, thus menacing British control of the English Channel. Over this question she fought with Philip II of Spain in the 16th century and later with Louis XIV and Napoleon. Great Britain, moreover, had her explicit treaty obligations to Belgium. When, therefore, news came that German troops were entering Belgium, the British Government sent an ultimatum to Germany, requiring assurrances by midnight of August 4th, that Belgian neutrality would be respected. Germany refused, and Bethmann Hollweg, in his final interview with the British ambassador in Berlin, complained that Great Britain was about to fight a kindred nation just for "a scrap of paper." About midnight Great Britain declared war on Germany.

Responsibility for the War. The primary responsibility of kindling war must be shouldered by the governments of Austria-Hungary and Germany. The one

government by its ultimatum to Serbia, precipitated a grave international crisis. The other government by its unconditional support of its ally, nullified every effort to avert a conflict put forth by Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia. After 1871 the opposing interests of the European powers had again and again threatened to result in war. Peace, nevertheless, remained unbroken, because there was a mutual desire to keep it. In 1914, two of the powers refused to tread further the path of peace. They flung a flaming torch into the powder magazine of Europe.

The Great War. The War quickly converted the Triple Entente into a Triple Alliance. Great Britain, France, and Russia engaged not to make peace separately and to accept a general peace only on terms agreeable to all of them. The instinct of self-preservation, which had united Europe against France under Louis XIV and Napoleon, was now aroused against the military domination of Germany under Kaiser. As on previous occasions, Great Britain, with her fleet, her money, and eventually her army, formed the keystone of the coalition. Germany and Austria Hungry, though less populous and wealthy than their antagonists, held a better geographical position, and at the outset they possessed a superiority both in the number of trained soldiers and in guns, munitions, and equipment. Above all, they were prepared. Austria-Hungry had already massed part of her army against Serbia, while Germany, by means of her strategic railway lines, could move and concentrate troops on her eastern or western frontiers with greater speed than either Russia or France. Should it prove to be a short war, the Central Powers seemed likely to win an overwhelming victory.

Western Front. Hostilities began on the western front with the converging advance of the Germans through Luxemburg, and Belgium. They occupied the

small duchy of Luxemburg without any resistance, and then threw themselves on the Belgians. The unexpected heroic resistance of the Belgians delayed by at least twelve days the arrival of the Germans on the frontiers of France. This enabled the French to gain time for completing their mobilization, and the British for sending an expeditionary force of one hundred thousand men. The Anglo- French armies retired southwards, fighting delaying actions all the way. The invaders advanced so far as to be within fifteen miles' distance of Paris. The retreat of the allied armies stopped at the Marne. Here the Germans were repulsed. After this both sides bent every effort to extend their lines northward to the sea. The Germans hoped to seize Dunkirk and Calais, two important channel ports, and thus to interrupt the direct line of communication between Great Britain and France, but the allies reached the Channel first. Near the coast the Belgians cut the dikes of the river Yser, flooding the lowlands and stopping any further advance in this direction. Trench warfare now began to replace open fighting all along the western front from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier, a distance of six hundred miles. The opponents remained facing each other all through the years of 1915, 1916, and 1917. The invaded districts of Belgium and France suffered much during this period. Civilians were massacred in order to punish or prevent resistance, villages were burned and plundered, fines and excessive taxes were put on the people, and tens of thousands of civilians were deported, both men and women, to do forced labour in Germany.

Eastern Front. On the Eastern Front the Russians mobilized more rapidly than had been expected, and put large forces in the field, under the general command of the Grand Duke Nicholas, an uncle of the Czar. Their plan of campaign involved a simultaneous advance against

the Germans in East Prussia and the Austrians in Galicia. The Russian armies which entered East Prussia, were surprised and nearly destroyed by Hindenburg at the battle of Tannenburg fought in August 1914. The Russians met better luck in Galicia. They over-ran all this Austrian province and by the spring of 1915 began to penetrate the Carpathian passes into Hungary. These successes had the further result of causing the withdrawal of German troops from the western front, with a consequent weakening of Germany's offensive power against the French and the British. In 1915, Hindenburg assumed the command of both the German and Austrian armies, and started a terrific "drive" in Poland and Galicia. The result was that enormous territory was either re-occupied or newly conquered, by the central powers. At the end of 1915 the battle line on the eastern front stretched from the gulf of Riga to the Roumanian frontier. In 1916, the Russians recovered some of this territory near Bukovina, but the outbreak of the Russian Revolution early in 1917, made it impossible to continue the offensive. From this time there was little more fighting on the Eastern Front.

The Balkan and Italian Fronts. As soon as the war broke out, Montenegro made common cause with Serbia. The three other Christian states of the Balkans at first did not declare themselves on either side. Bulgaria had no love for Austria-Hungary, but she cordially hated Serbia, her most successful foe in the Balkan War. Roumania was friendly neither to Austria-Hungary nor to Russia, for both possessed provinces which she wished to "redeem" from alien rule; *viz.*, Transylvania and Bukovina from Austria, and Bessarabia from Russia. Public opinion in Greece, as voiced by Venezelos, the prime minister, favoured the allies. But the pro-German king Constantine and the court party managed to preserve a nominal neutrality.

Turkey. Turkey, largely controlled by Germany and fearful of Russian designs on Constantinople, espoused the cause of the Central Powers in October 1914. Her entrance did not at first appreciably affect the situation, for she was still cut off from her associates by a neutral Bulgaria, and a hostile Serbia. The Sultan proclaimed a Holy War of extermination against the "enemies of Islam." But contrary to German and Turkish hopes, the Muslims of North Africa, Egypt, and India, instead of revolting, loyally supported France and Great Britain. Attempt was made in 1915 to force the Dardanelles and thus to open the way to Constantinople, but without success.

Bulgaria. Bulgaria joined the central powers in October 1915. That changed the situation in the Balkans. Brave little Serbia, who had twice expelled the Austrians, now quickly collapsed under the double attack of the Austro-Germans from the north and the Bulgarians from the east. Montenegro, the ally of Serbia, was also conquered and so also was northern Albania. These victories of the Central Powers had the important result of opening up railway communications between Berlin and Constantinople.

Roumania. On the other hand, influenced by the Russian advance in 1915, against Bukovina, and the Anglo-French victories on the western front, Roumania in August 1916, decided to join the allies. Her armies promptly invaded Transylvania. But a German-Austrian-Bulgarian counterstroke drove them out and led to the speedy conquest of two-thirds of their own territory. The Roumanian collapse brought enormous advantages to the Central Powers, who now had access to the grain fields and oil wells of Roumania. It also shortened their battle-front by five hundred miles and facilitated their communications with Bulgaria and Turkey.

Greece. After the failure of the Dardanelles campaign a large Anglo-French force had been gathered behind the

defences of Salonika in Greece, partly as a threat to Turkey and Bulgaria, and partly to prevent King Constantine from bringing Greece into the war on the side of the Central Powers. He was finally deposed by the Allies, who placed his second son, Alexander, on the throne. Venezelos, whom Canstantine had dismissed from office, became prime minister once more and immediately took steps to insure the co-operation of Greece with the Allies. Greece joined the Allies in June 1917. After this the Balkan front extended westward from the Aegean to the Adriatic.

Italy. In 1914, Italy had declared her neutrality, on the ground that the terms of the Triple Alliance did not bind her to assist the Central Powers in an offensive war. But Italy was unable to remain neutral. Union with the Allies meant an opportunity to secure *Italia Irredenta*, that is to say those regions round Trent and Trieste which were still "unredeemed," and were in the hands of Austria-Hungary. There were other glittering prospects. Great Britain, France, and Russia, in order to secure her aid, promised by a secret treaty that she should be allowed to annex part of the Dalmatian coast, besides a share of Turkish territory, if the Ottoman Empire were partitioned as a result of the War. The pressure of national interests thus helped to range Italy with the Allies, but even more compelling, perhaps, was the conviction on the part of the Italian people that the Allies were fighting in a just cause. Italy joined the Allies in May 1915. The entrance of Italy added another front, and this caused an almost complete encirclement of the Central Powers. Italian armies marched against Trieste and Trentino, but for a long time made very slow progress. But the break-up of Russia after the Revolution in 1917, freed large forces of the Central Powers for service against Italy. An Austro-German attack late in 1917, undid all that the Italians had accomplished in more than two years of hard fighting and forced them back. Most of Venetia was lost.

The Military Position in 1917. The military situation in Europe at the end of 1917, was thus clearly favourable to the Central Powers. On the western front they held Luxemburg, nearly whole of Belgium, and a broad strip of northern France, containing valuable coal and iron mines. On the eastern front they held Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, the richest industrial districts of the Russian empire. They had overrun Serbia, Montenegro, northern Albania, and a large part of Roumania. They had taken most of Venetia from Italy. Their only territorial losses to the Allies were in southern Alsace, and eastern Galicia. But quite a different picture was presented outside of Europe, and on the sea.

The War Outside of Europe. The sea power of the Allies enabled them to capture all the colonial possessions of Germany. The British and the French seized Togoland and the Cameroons in West Africa. British troops from the Union of South Africa, and in co-operation with Belgian forces took German East Africa, and the German South-West Africa. The German possessions in the Pacific, south of the equator, were conquered by Australia and New Zealand, and those north of the equator, by Japan. Very soon after the outbreak of the Great War, Japan had joined the Allies, and her special contribution to the Allied cause was the capture of Kiauchau, the German naval base and stronghold in the Far East. But Germany's ally Turkey suffered the greatest amount of loss. She lost all her outlying possessions. Great Britain proclaimed a protectorate over Egypt, and set up there a new ruler, or Sultan, who was to be quite independent of the Sultan at Constantinople. The British also encouraged a revolt of the Arabs against Turkey. Arab troops secured Mecca and Medina, the sacred places of Arabia, and established the kingdom of the Hejaz, which extends along the eastern coast of the Red Sea. An expe-

ditionary force, largely composed of Indian contingents, invaded Mesopotamia by way of the Tigris river and took possession of Baghdad in March 1917. Another British army, starting from Egypt, invaded Palestine, and took possession of Jerusalem in December 1917. After conquering Palestine, the Arab and British troops advanced into Syria, and in 1918, took possession of Damascus and Aleppo. By October 1918, the Turks had lost all Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, and Syria. On the sea, the fleets of the Allies quickly swept the merchantmen of the Central Powers from the Ocean and compelled their warships to remain confined to their home waters. The few German raiders which remained at large after the hostilities began, were either captured or sunk. Once only did the German "High Seas Fleet" slip out of Kiel harbour. But it soon met the British battle cruisers off the coast of Jutland, on 31st May, 1916. Both sides suffered heavy losses. But with the approach of darkness the German ships returned to safe anchorage and did not emerge again during the rest of the war.

Submarine warfare. The Allied control of the sea led to an immediate blockade of Germany and Austria-Hungary. The result was that the Allies were able freely to import food and raw materials from their colonies and neutral states. They kept the ocean routes safe for the transportation of troops from Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, and in preventing the return of Austro-German reservists from the United States and other countries. Finally the Allies extinguished the commerce of the Central Powers, who were henceforth hard-pressed to find the necessary war materials for their armies, and food for their civilian population. The allied blockade became more and more stringent. At first it prevented the importation into Germany only of munitions and other materials used for military purposes. In February 1915, Great Britain declared food-

stuffs contraband, and as such liable to seizure if carried from neutral countries in neutral ships to Germany. The Central Powers relied on submarines to break the blockade. At first these submarines attacked only enemy warships, but before long they began to destroy without warning enemy merchantmen. Germany declared the waters around the British Isles a "war zone," where all enemy merchantmen would be sunk. Neutral vessels were also warned against trespassing within the zone. But this declaration was only a "paper blockade."

America declares war on Germany. Early in the year 1917, Germany's submarine policy and recklesss inking of neutral ships finally involved her with a new antagonist, the great and powerful republic across the Atlantic. When the war broke out, President Wilson declared that the government would observe strict neutrality, and he urged American citizens to avoid taking sides in a conflict which did not directly concern them. But it was impossible to remain indifferent when such tremendous events were being reported from day to day. As time went on President Wilson dispatched note after note to Germany protesting against the merciless and indiscriminate way in which the submarines sent vessels to the bottom, not only British ships, like the *Lusitania*, carrying American passengers, but American ships and those of other neutral nations. There was often no warning until the torpedo actually struck the ship, and there was not sufficient time even to take to lifeboats and face the hazards of a troubled sea. The anger of the American people as a whole against Germany became hotter and hotter and President Wilson began to be denounced for tolerating diplomatic relations with Germany. The war continued, and the United States was speedily drawn into the conflict. In February 1917, President Wilson broke off diplomatic relations with the German government. The sinkings went on, and popular opinion in America was more and more

aroused against Germany. On 2nd of April 1917, the United States of America declared war on Germany. In May, 1917, conscription was introduced in the United States of America as well, and all able-bodied men between the ages of 21 to 31 were declared liable to military service. After this many other nations also declared war against Germany. The Great War now became a world conflict. Large numbers of Americans now crossed the Atlantic, and came into the battle-fields of France and Belgium.

Collapse of Russia. In March 1917, Russia, a member of the Allied Powers, underwent such a great internal change as greatly to modify the course of the war. The Great War had hardly begun before it was discovered that there was corruption, weakness, inefficiency, and even treason. in the Czar's court, and among his officials. The millions of Russian troops who perished in the trenches of the Eastern Front were not properly supported by their government. The Duma became unmanageable, and in December 1916, it passed a resolution declaring that " dark forces " were paralysing the government, and betraying the nation's interests. The Czar then proceeded to dismiss the liberals from the government and replace them by the most unpopular tyrannical officials he could find. He now seemed to be declaring war on every liberal movement and reverting to the methods of Nicholas I. There was a distressing scarcity of food in the cities and a growing repugnance to the continuance of the war. Bread riots broke out in St. Petersburg in March 1917, but the troops refused to open fire on the people, and the Czar's government found itself helpless. When ordered to adjourn, the Duma defied the Czar and called for the establishment of a provisional government. The Czar, hastening back to St. Petersburg from the front, was stopped by the representatives of the new provisional government, and on 15th of March 1917, he was induced to sign his own and his son's abdication in

favour of his brother, Grand Duke Michael. But Michael refused the crown unless it was given by a constitutional assembly. This practically meant an abdication of the Romonoffs, who had ruled Russia for more than three hundred years. The Czar's relatives renounced their rights, and his high officials were imprisoned. The revolutionaries and political prisoners in Russia and Siberia were declared free. A revolutionary cabinet consisting of men of moderate views was formed. The new cabinet declared itself in favour of many reforms, such as liberty of speech and of the press; the right to strike; the substitution of militia for the old police; universal suffrage, including that of women. Alexander Kerensky, a socialist, was appointed minister of Justice. But the more extreme socialists were not content. They demanded an immediate peace on the ground of "no annexations, no indemnities, and self-determination." The failure of the government to heed their demand, caused uprisings in St. Petersburg, and much disorder among the soldiers. Through their Council of Workingmen and Soldier's Delegates the Socialists began to exercise great power. By July, all the more moderate members of the provisional government had been forced out and their places taken by socialists. A desperate attempt to lead the half-hearted Russian troops forward to victory against the Austrians failed utterly, and was followed by further uprisings on the part of the extremists. At length the storm which had long been gathering broke. Early in the Revolution a Council of Workingmen's and soldier's deputies, or Soviets, had been set up in St. Petersburg and had begun to dispute the authority of the Duma. All over Russia similar soviets, or councils of workmen, soldiers, and peasants, were instituted. Finally, in November 1917, two leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, who had returned from exile, supported by soldiers and soviets overturned the Kerensky government and founded instead a "dictatorship of the proletariat". The faction which engineered

this enterprise was known as the Bolsheviki, or "majority men", a term which was given to them when they constituted a majority of the Russian socialists. The Bolsheviki proceeded at once to abolish capital, and private property in land and institute a "communist system". They denounced the war as an "imperialist struggle for trade and territory," and they called upon the warring powers to join them in a peace conference. Receiving no replies, they opened the Russian archives, and published secret treaties, drawn up by the European powers before and during the war, which showed up the selfish aims of the old-fashioned diplomacy. Then late in December 1917, the Bolsheviki opened peace negotiations with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk, on the eastern Polish boundary. Meanwhile Finland and, the Ukraine, which comprises a great part of southern Russia, declared themselves independent, and established governments of their own. On 3rd March 1918, the representatives of the Bolsheviki concluded a peace with the Central Powers in which they agreed to "evacuate" the Ukraine and Finland, and surrendered Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, and certain districts in the Caucasus, all of which were to exercise the right of establishing such government as they pleased. Shortly after this the capital of Russia was transferred from St. Petersburg to Moscow. The result of this peace was that Russia was dismembered and all the western and southeren regions were for the time being under the strong influence of the Germans.

The End of the War. The treaty of Brest Litovsk gave the Central Powers a free hand in the west. Great Britain, France, and Italy, recognised this fact and prepared to remain on the defensive until the United States should be able to throw the full weight of its resources into the struggle. But to the Central Powers a prolongation of the war meant ruin. Submarine warfare on the ocean had not broken the blockade against Germany, or starved Great Britain,

or interrupted the stream of transports carrying American troops in ever larger numbers to Europe. Germany realised that her supreme effort for world dominion must be made in 1918, or never. Having gathered every available man and gun, Field Marshal Hindenburg and his associate, General Ludendorff, started on 21st March 1918, a "drive" towards the west. It was their plan to split the Anglo-French forces, to roll each army back, the British upon the Channel, the French upon Paris, and then to destroy each army separately. The battle which followed surpassed in intensity every previous engagement on the western front. By terrific massed attacks, the Germans regained in a few days all the ground so slowly and painfully won by the Allied offensives in 1916, and 1917. The critical condition of affairs led the allies to establish unity of military action by putting all their forces under the command of Field Marshall Foch. The tide began to turn in June 1918. In this month the allies began the series of rapid counter-strokes, which four months later brought the war on the western front to a victorious conclusion.

Collapse of Bulgaria. With disaster impending on the western front, Germany could no longer support her confederates in the other theatres of the war. Bulgaria was the first of the Central powers to collapse. A vigorous offensive, begun during September by British, Greek, Serbian, French and Italian troops in the Balkans, split the Bulgarian armies apart, thus opening the way for an immediate advance upon Sofia. Bulgaria then surrendered unconditionally on 29th September 1918. Tsar Ferdinand of Bulgaria shortly after this abdicated.

Surrender of Turkey. Turkey, now isolated from Germany and Austria-Hungary, was the second of the Central Powers to collapse. The campaign against the Turks during September and October formed an

unbroken succession of victories. British forces keeping close touch with their Arab allies, advanced northward from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. They took Damascus, the capital of Syria, and soon entered Aleppo. The British at the same time captured the Turkish army on the Tigris. Nothing remained for Turkey but to sign an armistice which demobilized her troops, and opened the road to Constantinople for the allies. The war against the Turks ended on the 30th of October 1918.

Defeat of Austria. Just at the same time collapsed Austria-Hungary. The Italians chased the Austrians out of Northern Italy, occupied Trent and Trieste, and captured six hundred thousand prisoners and seven thousand guns. The result was that on 3rd November 1918, Austria-Hungary signed an armistice which, as in the case of Bulgaria and Turkey, amounted to an unconditional surrender. The military overthrow of the Dual monarchy quickly led to its disintegration. Separate states arose, representing the various nationalities, formerly subject to the Hapsburgs. Emperor Charles I, who had succeeded Francis Joseph I in 1916, now laid down the imperial crown.

Germany gives in. After this Germany alone could not carry on the contest. The Hohenzollerns now disappeared from the scene. As Germany during the summer and autumn of 1918, began to taste the bitterness of defeat, the popular demand for peace and democratic government became an open summons to the Kaiser to abdicate. He tried to save his crown by giving one concession after another, but red flag was eventually hoisted over the German fleet at Kiel, and the revolutionaries took possession of Berlin and other cities. The Kaiser then abdicated and fled to Holland. After this the other German crowns quickly fell. Germany soon became a socialist republic, controlled by the Social Democrats. On 11th November 1918, the armistice

which practically ended the war, was concluded by the Allies and the United States with the new German government. Germany agreed to return all prisoners of war to surrender her submarines, the best part of the fleet, and immense number of cannon, machine guns, and airoplanes; to evacuate Belgium, Luxemburg, France, and Alsace-Lorraine; and to allow the joint occupation by Allied and American troops of the Rhinelands, together with the principle crossings of the Rhine at Mainz, Coblenz, and Cologne. A neutral zone was reserved between the occupied territory and rest of Germany.

Europe in confusion. The sudden termination of hostilities found the greater part of Europe in confusion. The former empires of the Romonoffs, Hapsburgs, and Hohenzollerns, promised to break up into a large number of independent states, with new governments and new distribution of population. The problems for solution by the peace conference, included, therefore, not only the necessary arrangements for indemnities in money and territory to be paid by the Central Powers and disposition of Germany's colonial possession, but also the creation of a number of new sovereign countries with boundaries satisfying all legitimate national aspirations. The World War was to be followed by a World Settlement.

Peace Conference. The issues at stake in the World War became clearer as the struggle proceeded. On 1st August 1917, Pope Benedict XV had proposed that the belligerent nations should negotiate with one another on the basis of conditions existing before, 1914, but President Wilson answered, both for the United States and the Allies, that no lasting peace could be arranged with the autocratic and irresponsible German Government. On 2nd December, 1917, the Bolshevist envoys at Brest Litovsk brought forward their own propossals for ending the war

through a congress of delegates chosen by the parliament of each country. Then on 5th January 1918, Mr. Lloyd George, in a speech before the Trade Union Conference at London, set forth more specifically than ever before, the purpose of the Allies. He declared that permanent peace could not come until three conditions were fulfilled, firstly, the sanctity of treaties must be re-established; secondly, territorial settlements must be based on the right of self-determination of nationalities, or the consent of the governed; and thirdly, some international organanization must be created to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of future wars. This speech was followed on the 8th January 1918, by the address of President Wilson to the Congress, setting up a programme for a just and lasting settlement. His "fourteen points" met general acceptance in Great Britain, France, and Italy, as embodying the war aims of the Allied powers. The "fourteen points" included: abolition of secret diplomacy; freedom of the seas; removal of economic barriers between the nations; reduction of armaments; impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, evacuation by Germany of all conquered territories, and the restoration of Belgium, and Alsace-Lorraine; readjustment of Italian frontiers along the lines of nationality; an independent Poland; self-government for the different peoples of Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire; and finally, the formation of a general association of nations. Germany while signing the armistice agreed that the final peace settlement should be made in accordance with the principles laid down in these fourteen points. The Peace Conference assembled at Versailles, Paris on 18th of January, 1919. The direction of affairs naturally fell to the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. Two delegates from each of these five powers constituted a Supteme Council, to discuss and formulate the business of the Conference. Later on, it was found

necessary to reduce the original council of ten members to one of five. Finally, both Japan and Italy dropped from the inner circle, and the "Big Three," namely Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and President Wilson, decided among themselves the most important questions.

Peace with Germany. On the 28th of June, 1919, German delegates signed the treaty which was offered by the supreme council. It was ratified by the German Government on the 20th of January, 1920. By this treaty Germany gave back Alsace and Lorraine to France. Secondly, Germany ceded to France absolutely the coal mines in the Saar basin, north of Lorraine. But this area was to be governed by the League of Nations for 15 years, when a plebiscite was to be held to determine whether the inhabitants preferred the French or German sovereignty. Thirdly, Germany agreed that northern portions of Schleswig should return to Denmark in case a majority of the inhabitants voted for the change. Fourthly, Germany relinquished certain small districts on her western frontier to Belgium. The restoration of Poland to a place among the nations necessitated sweeping changes in the eastern frontiers of Germany. She gave up the Polish districts in Prussia, namely Posen, most of West Prussia, and a part of southern Silesia. She renounced all rights over Danzig which with its environs, became a free city under the protection of the League of Nations. Poland was to enjoy special commercial rights in Danzig, and thus secure uninterrupted access to the Baltic Sea, down the valley of the Vistula river. The narrow strip of territory which connects Danzig with Poland serves to separate East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Finally, Germany lost Memel in East Prussia, which was later on given to Lithuania. The Peace Conference thus undid much of what Frederick the Great had done for the exaltation of Prussia. Then again, Germany lost all her colonial possessions. German East

Africa went to Great Britain. German South-West Africa went to the Union of South Africa. Togoland and the Cameroons were divided between Great Britain and France. These territories are to be administered under mandates from the League of Nations. The mandate for the German Pacific islands north of the Equator, was given to Japan and that for the islands south of the Equator to Australia. New Zealand, however, received the mandates for German Samoa. Germany also renounced, in favour of Japan, all her rights in Kiauchau and in the Chinese province of Shantung Responsibility for all damages done to the Allied civilians, both on the land and on the sea, was assumed by Germany and her associates in the war. Germany, therefore, agreed to make good in money and in materials and in labour, the injuries done by her armies in the countries over-run by them. She promised, furthermore, to bear the cost of the Allied armies of occupation in the Rhinelands. The amount of reparation to be collected in money and customs duties was not fixed at first. A Reparation Commision was set up by the Allies to fix the time and manner of her contributions. Germany promised to pay 10,000 crores of rupees by instalments. The failure of Germany to make regular payments under this arrangement, led to the seizure by French and Belgian troops of the rich industrial district of the Ruhr. Besides this Germany was required to abolish conscription, and to reduce her army to 100,000 men, including officers, and destruction of fortifications west of the Rhine, those in a thirty mile zone on the east bank of Rhine, those controlling the Baltic, and those on Heligoland. The German fleet was reduced to a few ships without submarines.

Peace with Austria. The treaty with Austria-Hungary was signed in September 1919, at St Germain, near Paris This treaty did little more than record an accomplished fact, that is to say the disintegration of the Dual

Monarchy. Austria ceded territory to Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia and recognised their independence. South Tyrol, the Trentino, the city of Trieste, and most of the peninsula of Istria, were transferred to Italy. Galicia was handed over to Poland, and Bukovina was given to Roumania, who received Bessarabia from Russia, and Transylvania from Hungary. The treaty also embodied stringent provisions relating to reparations and disarmament. The remaining territory was constituted into the Austrian Republic. The new Austria is a small, inland State, German in culture and chiefly German in population. The Allies, however, have refused to allow the Austrians to unite with their great Teutonic neighbour the Germans.

Treaty with Hungary. The treaty with Hungary was signed in June 1920, at the Trianon, Versailles. It reduced Hungary to another small state inhabited almost entirely by Magyars. Czecho-Slavakia secured that part of northern Hungary which contained predominantly a Slavik population. The Slovenian and Croatian territories of Hungary were handed over to Jugoslavia. Shortly after the signing of the armistice, a republic was established in Hungary. Emperor Charles I was exiled to the Madeira islands, where he died in 1922.

Treaty with Bulgaria. The treaty with Bulgaria was signed at Neuilly in November 1919. It slightly rectified the western frontier of the state in favour of Jugoslavia. The frontier with Roumania remains as it was before the war. The most important boundary change was in the south, where Bulgaria relinquished a part of Thrace to Greece. In this way Bulgaria has lost an outlet on the Ægean Sea. She was also obliged to limit her army to 20,000 men, to surrender all warships and airships, and to pay a total indemnity of 135 crores of rupees.

Rise of new Sovereign States.

The Peace Conference gave much attention to nationality as a guide to a just settlement. Plebiscites, or popular votes, were held in various disputed areas, in order to determine what were the real wishes of the inhabitants. The need of respecting historic rights likewise required consideration, together with the necessity of securing strategic frontiers and access to the sea for the new states about to be created. Racial, historical, geographical, and economic factors thus combined to complicate the boundary problems before the conference. In 1914, the Serbo-Croats were distributed chiefly in the independent states of Serbia and Montenegro and in the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, Carniola and Slavonia. The state of Jugoslavia represents a voluntary union of all these peoples. The Albanian principality created by the European Powers in 1913, disappeared completely soon after the opening of the Great War. But Albania now forms an independent republic. The Czechs and Slovaks were very unwilling subjects of Austria. During the War more than one hundred thousand Czecho-Slovaks surrendered to the Russians, and many of them enlisted in the armies of the Czar. The collapse of the Dual monarchy was followed almost immediately by the setting up of a Czecho-Slovak state. It embraces Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia, and Slovakia. This latter province was taken from Hungary. A republican form of government was established in this new state. During the War, Poland was a theatre of War. In 1914, the Czar Nicholas II promised autonomy to all the Poles, both those in Russia, and those to be liberated from Austrian and German rule. It was reserved for the Peace Conference to create the free and independent Poland of 1919. Restored Poland includes much of the territory taken from that country by Austria and Prussia in the partitions of the 18th century. Poland is also

a Republic. The Germans had over-run Lithuania in 1915. But it was evacuated in 1918, and it is now an independent republic. The Letts lived in the Russian provinces of Courland and Livonia, around the Gulf of Riga. They have also been put in the independent republic of Latvia. After the triumph of the Bolsheviki in Russia Esthonia became independent. It is now a republic. In 1917, the Finns declared their independence of Russia, and Finland too is now an independent republic.

Bolshevik Russia. The Bolsheviki in Russia reorganized the territories under their control. They created a great federation, known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The largest and the most important state in the federation is Soviet Russia, or the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, as it is called. This includes all the area occupied by the Great Russians in Europe, together with the former Asiatic provinces of the Czar's empire. The second member of the Federation is White Russia. The third is Ukrania, which comprise those areas, where Little Russians predominate. The Federation also contains three small republics in the Caucasus, namely, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. Soviet Russia grants to the other states in this union some degree of independence in local concerns, but requires them to maintain a Bolshevist government and controls their foreign relations. The new federation is declared to be a decisive step towards the "union of the toilers of all countries into one world Soviet Socialist Republic".

Treaty with Turkey The disposition of the decrepit Ottoman Empire presented one of the thorniest problems before the Peace Cenference. A treaty with Turkey was signed at Sevres near Paris, in August 1920, but it was never ratified, owing to the opposition of a new and vigorous Turkish Government that had been set up at Angora in Asia Minor. The Nationalists, as the patriotic

Turks called themselves, would not accept a treaty which, besides depriving them of the territories over-run by the Allies, in the war, also gave to Greece a further slice of Turkey in Europe, Eastern Thrace, and the city of Smyrna and its environs in Asia Minor. This part of Asia Minor had belonged to ancient Helles and still contained a considerable Greek population. The Nationalists found an able leader in Mustapha Kamal, a Turkish officer who had won distinction in the Gallipoli campaign. He organised a strong army, drove the Greeks out of Smyrna, and took possession of Constantinople and Eastern Thrace. The Allies, confronted with this *fait accompli*, had to consent to a new treaty far more favourable to Turkey than the one originally framed. The treaty of Lausanne was signed in July 1923. It allowed the Turks to retain both Eastern Thrace and Smyrna and also recognised Turkish sovereignty over the waterways leading from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. The treaty further provided for the compulsory exchange of Greeks living in Asia Minor for Turks living in Greece, so that each country might henceforth be freed from the alien element in its population. Having triumphed over the Allies, the Nationalists proceeded to remake the Turkish Government. They deposed the Sultan, because he had consented to the humiliating treaty of Sevres, expelled him and his family from the country, and declared the Sultanate abolished. They also did away with the Caliphate, or spiritual authority which the Turkish rulers had asserted over the Muslim world. A National Assembly in 1923 declared Turkey a Republic. Mustapha Kamal was the first president, and Angora in Asia minor its new capital. The policy of the Turks is "Turkey for the Turks," and this has resulted in a wholesale withdrawal of Christians and Jews from Asia Minor. But in spite of their diplomatic victory at Lausanne, the Turks paid heavily for allying themselves with the Central Powers.

They surrendered all claims to the non-Turkish provinces of Kurdistan, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, thus losing about a third of the population and about half of the area included in the Ottoman Empire of 1914. The French were given a Mandate for Syria. The British received the Mandate for Palestine, and Mesopotamia. In Palestine, Great Britain is pledged to develop the Holy Land as a national home for the Jews. A good many "Zionists" or Jewish nationalists, are now emigrating to Palestine, but the bulk of the population in this country is still Arab. This has given rise to a great amount of conflict between the Arabs and the Jews. A new kingdom was established in Hejaz. The Arabs revolted against the Turks in 1916, under the leadership of Hussein the Sharif of Mecca. He was promptly recognised as king of Hejaz, or Western Arabia, by the Entente Powers. But in 1924, Hussein had to abdicate, in consequence of a revolt of the Wahabis, a militant sect of the Arab Muslims. Central Arabia and Hejaz are now united under Ibn Saud. The Allied Powers also wanted to create an independent state of Armenia, but here they did not succeed. Some of the Armenian districts were reconquered by the Turks, and the remainder now form a small republic in the Caucasus in alliance with and subject to Soviet Russia.

New Europe. The treaties concluded by the Allies with Germany at Versailles, with Austria at St. Germain, with Bulgaria at Neuilly, with Hungary at the Trianon, and with Turkey at Sevres and Lausanne, together with the diplomatic arrangements entered into between the Allies themselves, constitute the Peace of Paris. The territorial changes made by the peace affected directly or indirectly every continental country except Spain and Portugal. Really, at the Peace Conference, a new map of Europe was drawn. This new map is based, to a very great extent, on the principle of self-determination, as applied to nationalities. It

had received little or no consideration in the great treaties of Westphalia, Utrecht, and Vienna. After this peace, Germany, Turkey, and Russia, shorn of their alien elements, became essentially national states. Austria and Hungary are also now national states, each with a homogeneous population. There are also other national states, like Jugoslavia, Albania, Czecho-Slavakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland, Some countries have as a result of this peace, completed their national unification, France by the acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine: Italy by securing *Italia Irredenta*; and Roumania by the incorporation of Bukovina, Bessarabia and Transylvania. But since the number of states in Europe has increased, the total length of international boundaries has also increased which may mean defence of longer frontiers. Then again when the World-War began, two thirds of Europe was under autocratic rule, but after the conclusion of the war, monarchies were abolished, and republics have now become the fashion of the day.

The League of Nations. The World-War and the Peace of Paris made an end of the political system that developed between 1871 and 1914. The international combinations like the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente were broken up. But the general control of all matters springing out of the treaties was vested, originally, in the principal "Allied and Associated Powers". As soon as the peace conference opened at Paris, a committee representing the Allied and Associated Powers began to work on the various proposals which had been put forward from time to time for an international league. The Committee presented the first draft of a constitution to the conference in February, 1919. This document after much discussion and amendment was then inserted in the peace treaty with Germany. The signing of the treaty and its subsequent ratification set up the League of Nations in active operation. The constitution, or Covenant of the

League of Nations was written mainly by President Wilson. It is a short, simple, and dignified document. The objects of the organization are thus stated in the preamble: "The High Contracting Parties, in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honourable relations between nations, by the formal establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations." The League of Nations originally consisted of an Assembly, in which each member had one vote and not more than three representatives; a Council, made up of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of six other members of the League; and a permanent Secretariat at Geneva in Switzerland The Assembly holds a meeting once a year at Geneva, for the admission of new members and for the discussion of matters of international interest. Such power as the League possesses is in the hands of the ten members of the Council, who meet every few months and decide on action to be taken in the name of the League. All important decisions of the Council require a unanimous vote. At the first meeting of the Assembly of the League held in 1920, delegates of 41 nations met. Iudia is one of the original members of the League. After this many other nations have become members of the League. Any self-governing state, dominion, or colony, may be enrolled by a two-thirds vote of the members. Any member may, after two years' notice, withdraw from the League, if at the time of the withdrawal it has fulfilled all its international obligations. The United States of America, however, did not join the League, and Germany and Japan have now withdrawn from it.

Functions of the League. Some important duties arising out of the Peace of Paris were entrusted to the League of Nations. It administers the internationalised areas, like the Saar Valley, Danzig, and Fiume. It also supervises the government of mandated territories which were taken from Germany, or liberated from Turkey. These mandated territories are governed by the conquerors as trustees, at their own expense and without any definite benefit to themselves. They must submit an annual report to the League, which has final authority to pass judgment on the discharge of their trusteeship. The mandatory system rests on the principle that backward and undeveloped countries, unable as yet to achieve or preserve independence, ought to be treated as international responsibilities, and not as opportunities for national profit and aggrandizement. Such countries should be governed in the interest of the inhabitants and for some common advantage of the world. The League serves as a convenient agency for dealing with matters that concern all its members, such as the prevention and control of disease, the regulation of the traffic in dangerous drugs, and in conjunction with the Red Cross, the mitigation of suffering throughout the world. A very important department of the League, the International Labour Office, is concerned with the betterment of industrial conditions in the various countries. One of the significant provisions of the Covenant requires that any treaty or international engagement concluded by the members of the League shall be registered with the Secretariat and published. Unless so registered it shall not be binding. This Regulation does away with old "secret diplomacy." The Covenant declares that a war or even a threat of war is a matter of concern to the whole of the League The members promise to submit any dispute likely to result in a rupture either to arbitration or to enquiry by the Council. If the dispute is submitted to arbitration, they pledge themselves to carry

out in good faith any award that may be given, and not to resort to war. If the dispute is submitted to enquiry by the Council, and the Report of that body is unanimously agreed to by all the members, excepting those that are parties to the dispute, they also pledge themselves not to resort to war. In case the Council's Report is not unanimous, they agree not to go to war until three months after the Report has been made. Should a member take up arms in disregard of these agreements, it will be considered as having committed an act of aggression towards all other members. They must then sever trade and financial relations with it, thus subjecting it to economic boycott. The Council of the League may further recommend that the members of the League be requested to contribute military, naval, or air forces for use against the recalcitrant state. The members of the League are further required to respect and preserve "as against external aggression" by a non-member the territory and independence of one another. The League has so far succeeded in preventing minor wars. It is yet to be seen whether it can check the war-like activities of big powers. But so far the League of Nations has not succeeded in reducing armaments. The League by its labours in the cause of peace, is gradually accustoming the nations to accept some measure of supervision over their foreign relations. But the humanitarian activities of the League have already been very numerous. The treaties signed by various nations of Central Europe, to remove discrimination, against racial and linguistic minorities within their borders, are also the work of the League. There is one criticism against the League. It is stated that the Council has too much authority, and the Assembly too little authority. The great powers have an undue influence in it. What is required is to make the League more democratic. Its services as a clearing house for the whole world, in matters economic and humanitarian, are of very great importance.

The League also established in 1922 a World-Court for the settlement of disputes among the different nations. It consists of eleven judges chosen by the Council and the Assembly of the League. Its headquarters are at the Hague, and it holds regular sessions at definite times. This Court acts as a legal adviser to the League of Nations, and hears such cases as are submitted to it.

Summary

1. *Growth of Militarism in Europe.* After 1871, there was in Europe a general increase in armament in every country.

2. *Development of German Navy.* It was from the accession of Kaiser William II, to the throne of Germany, that German navy began to develop very much, till at length it became a rival of the British Navy.

3. *Movements for Peace.* The first international conference for the promotion of peace was held in 1899. But it did nothing to reduce armament. The second Hague conference was held in 1907. In this conference some rules were framed for the conduct of war.

4. *Rivalries in Trade and Commerce.* International rivalries were in the 19th century caused by two things, the partition of Africa between the different nations of Europe and in connection with the Near Eastern Question. It was under these circumstances that the Triple alliance was formed between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, and a Triple Entente between England, France, and Russia. Japan also became an ally of England, Turkey of Germany. Germany tried to break up the Entente, but without any success.

5. *South Eastern Europe.* In 1878, Austria was permitted to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1908, there was a revolution in Turkey. On this Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria became independent, and the island of Crete became united with Greece. In 1912-13, there took place the Balkan Wars, as a result of which Serbia was doubled in size. But since Serbia was not allowed to absorb Albania, there was a great tension between Serbia and Austria. It was the ambition of Serbia to unite all the Southern Slavs. So there arose a secret movement to drive the Austrians from Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovania. As a result of this agitation, the Crown Prince of Austria and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo on the 28th June 1914.

6. *Pan Germanism.* From 1871 to 1914, the population of Germany had increased from 41 million to 65. Her foreign trade trebled. She had a powerful army and an efficient police. So she was proud of her army, navy, police, schools, universities, science, art, music, and literature. She began to believe that her culture and civilisation was higher than that of any other nation. She began to think that it was her mission to civilise other nations. This could only be done when they are conquered. War, therefore, was necessary for the promotion and extension of culture and civilisation. War was also necessary because other nations were hostile to her. The German military classes, the merchants and manufacturers, university professors, diplomats, and government officers all wanted war. It was the plan of the Germans to conquer Europe, nation by nation.

7. *The Sarajevo Assassination.* The Crown Prince, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and his wife were assassinated on 28th June 1914. The Austrian government alleged that the Serbian government had incited this murder. So it supplied a convenient pretext to the Austrian government to declare war against Serbia. The German government supported the Austrians.

8. *War breaks out.* On 23rd July the Austrian Government sent an ultimatum to Serbia. The Austrians demanded that Serbia should dismiss from the Civil service all those who may be found to be implicated in the propaganda against Austria, to suppress Austrian propaganda, and eliminate Anti-Austrian teachers and text-books from schools. Only 48 hours were given to reject or accept this ultimatum. Efforts were made to preserve peace. Serbia offered to refer the whole matter to arbitration or to the great powers for decision. War was declared by Austria on 28th of July. On this Russia mobilised. On the 31st July the Kaiser of Germany sent an ultimatum to Russia to stop mobilisation. Russia refused. On 1st August Germany declared war on Russia. On this France began to mobilise. On 3rd August Germany declared war on France. Germany then invaded Luxemburg, and rushed her troops through Belgium.

9. *The violation of Belgian Neutrality.* The neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed by all the powers, including Germany. But on 4th August German troops entered Belgium. On this Great Britain declared war on Germany.

10. *Great Britain at War with Germany.* It has always been the policy of Great Britain to prevent any strong military power from taking possession of the Belgian and Dutch coasts, which control the English channel. It was on this issue that she fought with Philip II,

of Spain, and Louis XIV and Napoleon Bonaparte of France. Great Britain asked Germany to respect the neutrality of Belgium. She refused, hence there was war with Great Britain.

11. *Responsibility for the War.* The primary responsibility for kindling war rests on the shoulders of Germany and Austria Hungary, who rejected all proposals brought forward for the settlement of the dispute between Austria and Serbia.

12. *The Great War,* converted the Triple Entente into a Triple Alliance. But the Central Powers possessed a superiority both in the number of trained soldiers, and in equipment. In case of a short war the Central Powers were likely to win.

13. *Western Front.* The hostilities began on the western front. The Germans occupied Luxemburg without any resistance, but the Belgians delayed the advance of the Germans to the French frontiers by 12 days. That enabled the French to completely mobilise, and the English to send an expeditionary force to France. The Anglo-French at first retired to the south, playing delaying tactics. The Germans were allowed to advance to a place 15 miles from Paris. Here they were checked. The Germans then tried to extend their lines northward, and reach the sea. But the Belgians cut the dikes, and stopped their advance in that direction. After this, trench warfare started. The western front extended six hundred miles from the North Sea to the Swiss border. The belligerents remained facing each other on this front during 1915, 1916, and 1917.

14. *Eastern Front.* The Russians mobilised earlier than was expected. She invaded East Prussia, on the one hand, and Galicia on the other. But she was soon driven out of East Prussia by Hindenburg. After occupying Galicia, the Russians began to penetrate the passes of the Carpathians, and enter Hungary. This caused the Germans to withdraw some forces from the western front. At the same time Hindenburg was put in command of both the German as well as Austrian armies on the Eastern front. During 1915 the Austro-German armies occupied the whole of Poland, and the lines of the Eastern front now extended from the Gulf of Riga to the Roumanian frontier. In 1916, the Russians recovered Bukovina, but the outbreak of revolution in Russia in 1917, stopped further fighting on this front.

15. *The Balkan and Italian Fronts.* On the outbreak of the war, Montenegro joined Serbia. Roumania, Bulgaria, and Greece, however, remained neutral.

16. *Turkey* joined the Central Powers on the 30th of October 1914 The Sultan proclaimed Jehad, but the Muslims of North Africa, Egypt,

and India, loyally supported England and France. The Allied Powers tried to force the Dardanelles but without successs.

17. *Bulgaria* joined the Central Powers in October 1915. On this Serbia being attacked on both sides, collapsed. Montenegro was also conquered. The result was that now there was through communication between Berlin and Constantinople.

18. *Roumania.* The occupation of Bukovina by Russia, and the victories of the Anglo-French armies on the western front induced Roumania to join the Allied Powers in August 1916. She invaded Transylvania, but a counter-attack by the Austro-Germans led to the speedy conquest of two-thirds of Roumania. That gave to the Central Powers an access to the grain fields and oil wells of Roumania.

19. *Greece.* After the failure at the Dardanelles, the Allied Powers concentrated their forces near Salonika. At length Constantine, who was a brother-in-law of the Kaiser, was deposed, his son Alexander, was put on the throne, and then Greece joined the Allied Powers in June 1917.

20. *Italy* had at first declared her neutrality. But when she realised that she could get from Austria the Italian districts of Trentino, and Trieste, she joined the Allied Powers in May 1915. The Italians made very slow progress, but on the break-up of Russia, after the revolution of 1917, large forces of the Central Powers were freed from the Eastern front, and they soon conquered a greater portion of Venetia.

21. *The Military Position in 1916,* was favourable to the Central Powers. On the western front they held Luxemburg, Belgium and a broad strip of France. On the Eastern front they held Poland, Lithuania, and Courland. In the South they had over-run Serbia, Montenegro, northern Albania, and a large part of Roumania. They had also taken a large portion of Venetia from Italy.

22. *The War Outside Europe.* Immediately after the outbreak of the war, Germany lost all her colonies in Africa, to France and England. Her possessions in China were taken by Japan. The islands in the Pacific were divided between England and Japan. Turkey, the ally of the Central Powers suffered the greatest amount of loss, England proclaimed a protectorate over Egypt. Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria were also conquered by England. Arabia revolted and became independent. On the sea, the ships of the Central Powers were soon swept away. The High seas remained open for the Allied Powers.

23. *The Submarine Warfare.* The Allied Powers declared a blockade of the Central Powers. On this the Germans tried to break

this blockade by means of torpedo boats. Since neutral merchantships also began to be torpedoed by the Germans, the Americans suffered a great loss.

24. *America declares war on Germany.* The submarine activities of Germany roused very much the feelings of the Americans against Germany. At length America declared war on Germany in April 1917. In May conscription was introduced in America. Large number of Americans crossed the Atlantic and came into the battle-fields of France.

25. *Collapse of Russia.* Soon after the outbreak of war it was discovered that the Russian armies at the front were not receiving proper support from the Russian Government. The Duma also became unmanageable. A provisional government was formed in March 1917. The Czar Nicholas II was compelled to abdicate. A revolutionary cabinet consisting eventually of Socialists was formed. The Socialists wanted to end the war. They wanted peace on the basis of "no annexations, no indemnity, and self-determination." People rose in many places, and Councils of workingmen and soldiers and peasants were formed. Finally, in November 1917, Lenin and Trotsky supported by soldiers and peasants overthrew the socialist government of Kerensky, and founded a dictatorship of the proletariat. The party led by Lenin and Trotsky was called by the name of the Bolshevists. They abolished private property in land, and capital. In March 1918, peace was concluded between the Central Powers and the Bolshevic government of Russia. The Russians agreed to give up the Ukraine, Finland, Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, and certain districts in the Caucasus. Shortly after this, capital was shifted from St. Petersburg to Moscow. Russia was practically dismembered.

26. *The End of War.* The conclusion of peace with Russia, freed German and Austrian armies from the Eastern front. They were now all brought to the western front. The Allied powers decided to remain on the defensive so long as the American troops had not come to France in sufficient numbers. At length in June 1918, the Allied forces were put under the supreme command of Marshal Foch, and the counter-attack then began. Four months later war was ended.

27. *Collapse of Bulgaria.* When counter-attacks against the Germans began on the western front, Germany could not come to the help of her allies in the east. The result was that Bulgaria was the first to collapse in September 1918.

28. *Surrender of Turkey.* After the collapse of Bulgaria, Turkey was isolated. The British forces supported by the Arab allies advanced northwards from Jerusalem, and took possession of Damascus and

Aleppo. In the meantime Mesopotamia was conquered. At length in October 1918, Turkey surrendered.

29. *Defeat of Austria.* A few days after the surrender of Turkey, Austria-Hungry also collapsed. The Austrians had been driven out of Venetia in Italy. The Collapse of the Dual Monarchy caused the disintegration of the Empire. Separate independent states were set up in different parts of the empire.

30. *Germany gives in.* Germany could not hold on single handed after all her allies had surrendered. The Americans had also sent their armies into France. From June 1918 she began to experience reverses. On this the people began to demand peace and democratic form of government. The Kaiser tried to save his crown by giving concessions but revolution at length broke out. The Kaiser was compelled to abdicate. He fled to Holland, and after his departure a Republic was established in Germany. This new German government signed armistice on the 11th of November 1918. She evacuated all the territories she had occupied during the war, and surrendered her submarines, and the best part of her fleet.

31. *Europe in Confusion.* On the conclusion of the war, the empires of the Romonoffs, the Hapsburgs, and the Hohenzollerns, broke into pieces. So the problem before the Peace Conference was not only to arrange for the indemnities in money and territories against Germany and her allies, but also to create a number of uew sovereign states. The World War was to to followed by a World Settlement.

32. *Peace Conference.* In August 1917, Pope Benedict XV had proposed that peace should be made on the basis of *status quo ante bellum*. But no lasting peace could be made on this basis. In December 1917, the Bolshevists proposed to settle terms of peace in a conference consisting of delegates from the parliaments of every country. In January 1918, Mr. Lloyd George declared that permanent peace could not come till sanctity of treaties is re-established, territorial settlement is based on self-determination, and armaments are reduced. Soon after this in January 1918, President Wilson formulated his celebrated 14 points. The Peace Conference assembled at Versailles, Paris, on the 18th of January, 1918. The direction of affairs fell naturally into the hands of the five great powers, United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan.

33. *Peace with Germany*, was signed on 28th June 1919, which was ratified on 20th January 1920. By this treaty she gave Alsace-Lorraine to France, she ceded the Saar basin to France for 15 years,

she gave northern portions of Schleswig to Denmark, certain districts in the west to Belgium, the Polish districts of Posen, West Prussia, and southern Silesia to the new state of Poland. She renounced all her rights over Danzig, and Memel. The Peace-Conference undid much of what had been done since Frederick the Great. She also lost all her colonial possessions. East Africa, and South-West Africa, were taken by Great Britain. Cameroons and Togoland were divided between France and England. Her possessions in China were taken by Japan, and her possessions in the Pacific were divided between England and Japan. She also agreed to pay a huge war indemnity of 10,000 crores, to limit her army to not more than 100,000 soldiers, and to destroy her forts west of the Rhine.

34. *Peace with Austria*, was signed in September 1919 at St Germaine. Czecho-Slavakia and Jugoslavia were recognised as independent states. South Tyrol, the Trentino, the city of Trieste, and most of the peninsula of Istria were transferred to Italy. Galicia was handed over to Poland, and Bukovina given to Roumania. The remaining territory was constituted into a separate inland state of Austria. But it was not to be allowed to be absorbed in Germany.

35. *Treaty with Hungary*, was signed in June 1920 at the Trianon, Versailles. It reduced Hungary to another small inland state. The northern parts of Hungary were handed over to Czecho-Slavakia, the Slovenian and Croatian territories were given to Roumania. King Charles I was exiled to the Madiera islands, where he died in 1922.

36. *Treaty with Bulgaria*, was signed at Neuilly in November 1919. It slighty rectified the western frontier of the state in favour of Jugoslavia. In the south a part of Thrace was given to Greece, and thus she was shut out from the Aegean Sea. She was to surrender all warships and airships and pay a war indemnity of 135 crores of rupees.

37. *Rise of New Sovereign States*. In addition to Albania, Jugoslavia, Czecho-Slavakia, and Poland, there were created other new states of Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland.

38. *Bolshevik Russia*, is now a federal state consisting of Great Russia, White Russia, Ukrania, and the three Caucasian republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, Soviet Russia grants to other states in the union some degree of independence in local concerns, but requires them to maintain Bolshevist government and control their foreign relations.

39. *Treaty with Turkey* was signed at Sevres near Paris in August 1920, but it was never ratified. The nationalist Turks did not agree

to surrender Eastern Thrace and Smyrna to the Greeks, who were driven out by Mustapha Kamal from these places. The Allied Powers were on this compelled to consent to a new treaty signed at Lausanne, in July 1923. The Turks were allowed to retain Eastern Thrace, and to control the water ways leading from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. But the Turks were compelled to surrender the non-Turkish provinces of Kurdistan, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. The French were given the Mandate over Syria, and Great Britain over Palestine and Mesopotamia. In Palestine Great Britain is pledged to develop a national Home for the Jews. The Hejaz was put under the Sharif of Mecca, but he was in 1924 displaced on account of a Wahabi revolution. Ibn Saud of Central Arabia is now ruler of Hejaz also. After the Treaty, the Turks abolished the Sultanate and the Caliphate. Turkey is now a Republic under the Presidency of Mustapha Kamal.

40. *New Europe.* All the different treaties concluded by the Allied Powers with Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, together with the diplomatic arrangements entered into between the Allies themselves constitute the Peace of Paris. The Peace Conference really drew a new map of Europe, based upon self-determination and nationality. The states in Europe are now either national, or in some cases the states have completed their national unification. Before 1914, two thirds of Europe was under autocatic rule, but now monarchies have in most cases been abolished. Republics have now become the fashion of the day.

41. *The League of Nations.* On the conclusion of the War the old political system was ended. The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente were broken up. The general control of matters springing out of the treaties has been vested in the Council of the League of Nations, which first met in 1920, The League of Nations consists of a Council, made up of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of six other members of the League. A permanent Secretariat has been set up at Geneva, in Switzerland, The Assembly of the League of Nations consists of the representatives of all the states which are members of the League. The Assembly holds a meeting once in a year, for admitting new members and for discussing matters of international importance. The ten members of the Council of the League meet after every few months. All important decisions of the Council require a unanimous vote. Any member can withdraw after giving two years' notice. The United

States of America did not join the League, and Germany and Japan have withdrawn from it. India is an original member of the League.

42. *Functions of the League.* It administers international areas like the Saar valley, Dazing, and Fiume. It supervises the administration of Mandated territories. It deals with matters that concern all its members, such as the prevention and control of disease, regulation of traffic in dangerous drugs, and mitigation of suffering. It maintains the important department of the International Labour Office, which is concerned with the betterment of industrial conditions in the various countries The Covenant of the League requires that any treaty or international engagement concluded by the members of the League shall be registered with the Secretariat of the League, and published. Secret diplomacy is thus done away with. The members promise to submit their disputes for arbitration or to enquiry by the Council. They also pledge themselves not to resort to war if the decision of the Council is unanimous. In case of majority decision also they are not to resort to war for three months. If any power resorts to war in disregard of these rules it is supposed to have committed aggression towards all the other members. Such an offender is then boycotted economically. The Council of the League may even recommend that the members be requested to contribute military, naval, or air forces for use against the recalcitrant state. The members are required to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and independence of one another. The league has so far succeeded in preventing minor wars. But its humanitarian activities are numerous. It has also done much for the protection of racial and linguistic minorities. But it is true that the League is dominated by the great powers. In 1929, the League established a World Court at the Hague for settlement of disputes between different nations. It consists of eleven judges chosen by the Council and the Assembly. It also acts as a legal adviser to the League of Nations.